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A. OPENING SESSION

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PREVENTION SUCCEEDS

(PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS)

Homer Folks, Secretary, State Charities Aid Association, New York

At the opening of our fiftieth anniversary session, we glance backward a moment, to get the trend of our present movement. Our history has been continuous and consistent, but each decade has had a particular emphasis.

In the records of the first ten years, statistics figure largely; a natural inheritance from the parent organization, the Social Science Association. It was a census enumeration; a line survey, not a Pittsburgh survey; the method, addition, not analysis. The second decade emphasized humane care, the correction of abuses and neglect. The third decade made the transition from care to cure. Its spirit was expressed in hospitals and nursing. In the fourth decade, the thought of prevention became prominent, but rather as a profession of faith than as a working program. In the last decade the preventive program is a fruitful reality.

This transition from prevention as an article of faith to prevention as an operating program is our special subject.

Only a few choice spirits took the early talk about prevention very seriously. The dependable public officials of the community, and its stable and well-to-do citizens, found their real satisfactions in the many agencies of cure and correction; in solid and substantial hospitals, where visibly the sick were made well; in orphanages, which seemed so superior to ordinary homes; in reformatories; and in family aid. They had no misgivings as to the success of such agencies. To them, the prevention of sickness, distress, and crime existed as a theory, an ultimate objective; it seemed rather of the nature of a speculation, worth trying, probably, people spoke well of it, but, at best, highly uncertain as to results; undoubtedly very expensive; and bringing tangible benefits only in the distant future, if ever.

Portions of a preventive program have now been in operation for a decade or two, and it is time to take a trial balance. This is not easy, for we have few measurements of social progress. Even social workers, in the midst of things, may easily underestimate the rate of change, the volume of accomplishments. For so tremendous a blessing as release from some great scourge only one generation is grateful or even conscious of benefit. Only the generation which has seen smallpox appreciates vaccination; only that which has seen yellow fever, holds in grateful recollection those who risked their lives to learn how to control it. We all profit daily by the preventive work of the past, but are unconscious of our monumental obligations to those who, in spite of skepticism and opposition, planned and carried through the advances which make our lives more attractive and secure.

Few statistics of families receiving aid, of destitute children in institutions, of patients entering hospitals, and the like, have much value as an indication of social conditions. They are more likely to reflect the attitude of the public officials of the time; the confidence of people in relief agencies, or the education of the public to the

fact that relief may be had. The death statistics, however, though subject to qualifications, corrections, and interpretations, are our only real basis of comparison. The number of deaths throws light on the vastly greater number of illnesses. The volume of illness and the number of deaths in turn reflect the volume of poverty. Mortality statistics if our only available measure of human welfare, are dependable.

These, and other available evidence, show a complete reversal in the relative positions of cure and prevention.

We are not nearly so sure of the complete success of curative and correctional agencies as we were. Do sanatoriums cure tuberculosis? Yes, but the patients have a distressing way of not staying cured. Do reformatories reform? Sometimes, possibly only occasionally. The hospital finds its morgue an important adjunct; and of the patients who leave by the front door, some are cured and stay cured, some are cured temporarily, some are partly cured, and some are not cured at all. In fact, it almost begins to seem that any really serious disease is seldom wholly and permanently cured. A slight damage to some vital organ often is the beginning of a process which, years later, becomes a serious disease, diminishing usefulness and shortening life.

In the social field the trend is the same. The saying that a man may be "down" but is never "out" may be true in a theological or philosophical sense, but hardly in a practical sense, for the great majority of those whom the community calls the "down and outs" do not come back. What of the laborious, long-continued efforts for the rehabilitation of the families of habitual deserters, drunkards, shiftless ne'er-do-wells? Success is possible? Yes; frequent? No.

Worst of all is the correctional field. Personally, I have come to the conclusion that we shall never learn to manage prisons and jails. The demoralizing effect upon human beings of being placed in charge of other human beings, who are deprived of their liberty and civil rights, is too great a strain. I do not think we shall ever reform prisons and jails, but I have every confidence that we shall outgrow them.

There is little basis for optimism in studying the results of cure or correction. Meantime, prevention, from being a pious hope or a tolerated speculation, has achieved an undoubted success; has established its right to the confidence of the community, and to the unqualified devotion of every social worker.

Going directly to the biggest fact of all, in fifty years the average lifetime in this country has increased from forty-one years to fifty-six, a gain of fifteen years. This simple statement carries implications in social well-being almost beyond our grasp. It means a saving of more than half a million lives each year; a reduction in mortality of more than 40 per cent; a reduction in the current amount of illness, at all times, of about a million persons. It means the release for productive purposes of those who would have been ill, and of those who would have been busy caring for them.

Tuberculosis, formerly the greatest cause of death, has been reduced one-half, and moves down to fifth place; typhoid, reduced to a remnant, moves rapidly toward the vanishing point; diphtheria has fallen to a small percentage, and can be made to practically disappear, almost at once. In a few years infant mortality has been reduced as much as we thought it could be in as many decades.

These gains are impressive, because they can be stated in mortality rates. If we had similar methods of measuring sickness, poverty, and distress, I am sure we would find the results astonishing. I do not say that this saving of life is comparable to, or will lead to, better standards of living and less poverty; it is the same thing. Pre-

ventive efforts are not separate; they are intimately bound together. To say that tuberculosis has been reduced is simply another way of saying that fewer children are forming well-beaten paths from their homes to the poormaster's office; fewer families are having their standards of education and health smashed in a long struggle against hopeless odds; fewer widows need pensions; fewer half orphans are sent to institutions or become wayward through lack of parental care. As tuberculosis goes down, living standards go up; and it is one operation. Every untimely death prevented means less waste, more income, better standards of living, more happiness, and more general well-being. Improvements in health and in welfare, are not separate, nor even different; they are the same thing.

Conditions of life have improved in large cities through better housing, greater cleanliness, more education, and better administration, until even the look of things has changed. The slums have gone. They now exist only in fiction and in the moving pictures. We look much more sharply for juvenile delinquency, but find less of it, and reformatories have many vacant beds; societies for the prevention of cruelty to children, in the earlier sense, are becoming obsolete.

These are only instances. The closer the analysis of present conditions, the stronger becomes the impression of a notable amelioration, effecting the very texture of human society. Standards of living have risen. Education is more general and more practical; wages have increased; hours and conditions of work have improved; people are happier, healthier, more useful, and live longer. Most of them don't know it, but that does not alter the fact.

In speaking of preventive measures I am not thinking solely of efforts directed consciously toward particular results. Extraordinary events, such as the decline in tuberculosis, are not due wholly, possibly not largely, to the particular things done in the anti-tuberculosis campaign, varied and inclusive as those are. I am including broader movements, which, by conscious aim, or as incidental and unintentional by-products, have achieved the betterment of human life in concrete ways.

The sum total of these activities, direct and indirect, has proved beyond doubt that prevention is possible; that human affairs are manageable; that conditions of life can be modified; that man has power by his own effort to improve (and equally to depress) the average level of human well-being.

But prevention is not only possible, it is also practicable. It costs less than cure, and is simpler. The cost of the funeral of one victim of typhoid would pay the bill for chlorinating the water supply of a great city, which takes effect instantly. Shick-testing and immunization against diphtheria are among the simplest things a doctor does; but the treatment of a serious case of diphtheria is a heroic undertaking. Preventive dental hygiene requires little skill, and is quick and painless; fillings and extractions are difficult, painful, and ever dangerous. The cost of probation is a mere fraction of the cost of institutional care; but even probation gets into action rather late, when much damage has been done. The earlier and broader measures of recreation, health, family preservation, and early discovery and care of mental defects, are the real prevention of delinquency.

In fact, the preventive program possesses those virtues which we have found measurably lacking in cure and correction. Cure or correction is, as a rule, uncertain, incomplete, temporary, expensive, and slow. Prevention, on the other hand, is relatively certain, complete, permanent, cheap, and quick.

We should expect prevention to be practicable. It is in line with the accumulated wisdom and mature judgment of mankind. The twig is easily bent, but the tree cannot be straightened; the stitch in time is taken much more quickly than the nine; a pound of cure is less effective than an ounce of prevention; the child that is trained in the way he should go will not, when he is grown, depart therefrom.

Our few efforts at prevention have been remarkably successful, but we are only at the beginning of a real program of prevention. We have devised and sharpened our tools; we have worked out methods and a technique. Our next and immediate task is to develop our fragmentary program into one that is definite, comprehensive, and convincing. The general outlines of such a program will emerge, it is hoped, in the papers and discussions of this conference, but two or three of its major elements may be mentioned.

1. The conservative American Public Health Association declared at its last meeting, by formal resolution, after serious consideration, that, without further additions to our present knowledge of disease, but simply by the more complete application of what we now know, twenty years can be added to the average span of life within the next half century. That is a call to which every social worker, worthy of the name, must respond. It would mean a great simplification and diminution of every one of his problems.

2. The school, the agency through which every child comes into contact with organized community life, offers the great opportunity for discovering, near their source, and for correcting while they are still incipient, those departures from the normal, which, left uncorrected, produce so large a part of the need for relief and correctional work.

3. We must complete in detail the plan, already sketched in outline, whereby fully trained medical examination and advice is available, on a sound economic basis, to every individual, from the beginning until the end of life.

One serious qualification must be made in the assumption that data is already available for an effective preventive program. In mental hygiene we are proceeding rather on the basis of hopes and of intimations, than of fully demonstrated methods. The great and continuous increase in the population of institutions for the mentally disturbed, whatever factors may account for it in part, suggests to me the probability of some actual increase in the volume of mental disturbances. In any case, it constitutes one of the heaviest drains upon the public purse, and is a tremendous strain upon our entire social structure. We do not seem to have pushed back far enough along the chain of cause and effect to recognize mental disturbance near the point of origin. We do not straighten the bent twigs in the mental hygiene garden, because we do not see that they are bent until they are half grown. We must proceed with the best light we have, hoping and confidently expecting that more intensive study, over a longer period of time, will give us further insight into those obscure factors, and not only enable us to bring help when help can be effective, but also diminish the need for help. No sum would be too large to devote to research in the field of mental hygiene, under competent direction.

We have spoken thus far of cure and of prevention as though they were wholly separate; of course, they are not. Some activities are both, and equally, curative and preventive. All stages of the transition are represented. The difference is partly one of emphasis, of objective, of the inspiring spirit, of a longer perspective. What we

call "good case work,"—the joy and luxury of helping a family in the best way it can be done with our present knowledge, purely remedial in its origin—takes into account at every stage the long look ahead, the health and development of each individual, and is one of the most fruitful methods of starting the processes of prevention where they are most needed. "Back to the home" almost summarizes the trend in every field of social work.

But the fact that the transition from cure to prevention is gradual, should not obscure the fact that it is real; and that the acid test of every social activity is its preventive value.

When we begin to integrate our present and proposed activities into a balanced preventive program, we confront the major topic of this anniversary session, "Social Work in the Life of Today." Such a program can be carried into effect only when its objectives are understood and accepted by those permanent institutions of society, which we are to consider during the various days of our session. It must touch every field of human life, redefining objectives, giving them a new content; its appeal must be so compelling or so attractive that the school, the home, the church, and public opinion will be drawn irresistibly to its support, and ever to claim it as their own. The contact of social work with industry is wholly of a preventive character. Industry, in some of its unsolved problems, reduces standards of living, impairs health, and undermines family life; social work urges that it puts its house in order, as a matter of public concern and public policy. The twelve-hour day and the seven-day week, and such survivals, must disappear before industry will be safe for democracy.

Thus, preventive work takes on inevitably, whether we like it or not, a very broad and general character. Our preventive aims do not fall into any one category, nor follow any one method of approach. Some of us are prone to think of prevention as meaning things of a highly technical character, such as, let us say, the prevention of typhoid fever by a pure water supply and a pure milk supply; things of which the average citizen is likely to be quite unaware, the benefits of which are equally shared by the just and unjust, the social and the anti-social. Such workers may be slow to join in urging measures touching debatable questions of social policy. Others of us, gifted with more courage, or possibly, with more liking for combat, are less attracted to the destruction of germs, and are really interested only when attack is made on some problem which directly involves wages, hours, or conditions of labor. A constructive preventive program must include all these things and many more, and must enlist in its support not only all these kinds of social workers, but all good citizens.

A preventive social program must concern itself with all these standardized procedures and administrative agencies which we call "law," and "government." It is in this field that we are most likely to be misunderstood. The social worker applies anew the standard test of social results to all these slowly elaborated agencies of governmental, social, and economic life. He may be a little more apt than others, when told that a particular piece of the household furniture is a priceless family heirloom, to examine it for a trademark, half expecting to find it stamped "Made in Grand Rapids, U.S.A." Even so, if it be an instrument of comfort and refreshment, he would not discard it, but would keep it and use it.

When confronted with what someone calls an unchangeable law of economics, the social worker (knowing well that there are many such laws, and that they are extremely important) may, nevertheless, inquire carefully as to whether this particular law may

not be of human and volitional origin, and recall that it is of the essence of human laws that they may be amended, or repealed. He is keenly aware of the great sweep of governmental action and of the strategic significance of the power of taxation, but he is restrained from indiscriminate socialization by the fact that the very center of the objective of social work is the individual. Its highest aim is that each person shall be enabled to realize the best that is in him; to live through as nearly as may be the normal experiences of a lifetime; and to make the best contribution he can to the common weal. Whatever may happen elsewhere, among social workers, liberty will never be in danger of becoming obsolete or negligible.

In these debatable fields, where even the wisest may not be too dogmatic, the social worker is not a doctrinaire. His position is precisely that of the true practitioner of scientific medicine. Dr. Abram Flexner, in a singularly lucid chapter in his report on medical education, pointed out that whereas all the medical cults and separatists founded their various schools upon some one principle or theory, with which they must rise or fall, scientific medicine itself is wholly empirical or pragmatic, trying all things, and holding fast to that which works; unfettered by any preconceived theory. The position of the social worker is exactly analogous. He belongs to no one school of sociology, economics, or government. He looks only to results; he is not made afraid by any labels or precedents of any device or plan which, to the satisfaction of all reasonable tests, contributes to human well-being. It is precisely because of this common scientific basis that both medicine and social work are making, at the same time, the great transition from cure to prevention.

As we thus see social work as an influence permeating and modifying the objectives and operations of such venerable institutions as the Church, the home, the school, industry, law, and government, it is clear that social work cannot be in any sense a distinct and separate field of human action. It is simply the entire community in one aspect, at particular times, consciously taking thought as to the happiness and well-being of all its members, aware of their kinship rather than of their differences, asking conscious effort to subordinate distrust, strife, and the excess of competition, and putting on the gentler aspects of understanding, co-operation, amelioration, and benediction. It is the job of the social worker to bring it to pass that such community moods, instead of being exceptional, become more nearly habitual and normal.

How far can such a program of prevention go? To what extent can it afford a satisfactory philosophy of life? It certainly would remove most of the major disabilities and misfortunes, which now cripple, stunt, blind, maim, and degrade human beings. The intelligent application of our present knowledge of human life, without involving any change that, to the most timid, might seem dangerous or even sudden, without making appreciably greater demands upon public or private funds, and without requiring administrative skill beyond what has already been demonstrated, would place mankind upon such a new basis of hope and accomplishment that thereafter the horoscope would need to be cast anew, and it may well be left to that generation to do it.

Meeting in the national capital, the question of federal action in our field naturally arises. The origin of the national conference was an awakening of various states, as such, to their responsibilities in the field of social welfare. Earlier laws in these states have left social duties to the localities, to villages, towns, counties, and cities. In the decade after the Civil War, there arose a sense of the necessity of co-ordination of local efforts, of state leadership. State boards of charities and correction were established to inspect, educate, and lead the way in legislation and administration. It is now plain

that this growth in state activity has not hindered local initiative and growth, but has increased it. Under this state stimulus, the county is emerging more and more as the operating welfare unit. The promptings, inspections, investigations, and educational leadership of the states, have helped the localities to see their opportunities and to do better work.

There is now, in the first decade after another war, an increasing sense of the need of a more adequate national agency of research, information, and, in a sense, leadership in social work, just as there was fifty years ago in the various states. The individual states, or most of them, have reached a fair degree of cohesion and unity of effort within their own borders, but there are still forty-eight different varieties. Some of our lines of work are represented in the federal field by a bureau, or a fragment of a bureau, and some are not represented at all. These bureaus and fragments are scattered through a number of departments. In some important fields, such as public relief and correction, we have no federal organ whatever for the collection of facts as to state and local legislation and administration, and none for that broader research and sifting of the experiences of the states and of other countries. Such information should be the starting point of state action, but obviously it is impossible for each of the forty-eight states to do this for itself. Think of what the nation could have done and can do in research and in education, in such fields as mental hygiene and criminology. The shifting in emphasis from caring for the end results of disease and poverty to a constructive preventive program, including public agencies, makes it all the more imperative that action be planned upon the widest possible basis of knowledge. A grouping together and rounding out of the various federal activities dealing with social welfare in one adequate department, which, by its name and dignified position, carries at all times the broad message of social welfare to the entire country, seems a natural solution. The nation need not, probably should not, take over any duties now performed by the states. Its activity would not diminish the responsibility of the states. In authoritative source of information, of education, of leadership, of that stimulation which arises from definite knowledge, would increase the efficiency of state action; just as the states by similar methods have raised the standards of local administration.

We must carry our thought of prevention one step further—from the national to the international field. Every social worker recognizes one outstanding enemy above all others; one which can undo in a brief day all that he may hope to accomplish in a generation—war. Since, in the relatively minor fields of human misfortune, taking thought and employing reasonable means has forestalled and prevented the occurrence of disaster, so, in the greater fields of world affairs, we are justified in a confident expectation that it will be found equally possible, by suitable means, to turn aside the greatest of all evils, and thereby to afford to peoples of the world an opportunity to realize their hopes, and develop their individual and communal lives, as now the individual in his own locality rests securely upon the assurance of law and order. Here, too, prevention must pass from a declaration of faith to a definite program.

To individuals communities, states, nations, and the world, then, the way is open, and it is not difficult to shake off these legacies of evil and prove themselves truly masters of their fate.

Social workers of America, who so well situated as you, in a country blest with wealth, peace, and security, to read rightly the lessons of your own experience and to lead the way—God grant that we may rise to our opportunity.

SOCIAL WELFARE A FACTOR IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Charles E. Hughes, Secretary of State, Washington

In extending to you a word of cordial greeting, it is not my purpose to review the important activities in which you are enlisted, or even to discuss with any approach to adequacy the interesting topic you have assigned me. I should like merely to refer to some of the by-products of your work.

We cannot fail to realize that the basis for all social betterment must be found in peace and productivity, the one affording the essential condition and the other the necessary means for improving the standards of living. Whatever may have been possible in primitive times, today, with the complexity of our relations, social welfare cannot be attained by any policy of negation and destruction, but only as the fruitage of the civilization which rests on the opportunities and understandings of peace. I am fond of speaking of the department of the government with which I have the privilege of being associated as the "department of peace." No one can question the primary aims of American foreign policy in maintaining the national security, in protecting the rights, and in safeguarding the fair opportunities of our citizens; but in the happy phrase of Bryce, "these legitimate aims can be pursued in a spirit of justice and friendliness" to all peoples. We seek thus to pursue them and, with respect to the ultimate aim, our whole effort is to provide a sound basis for what you are striving to do; that is, to protect, to foster, and to make human life more secure and wholesome.

I am glad to say that, so far as our relations to other peoples are concerned, there is every assurance of abiding peace. The clouds which two years ago darkened the Far Eastern sky, have been dissipated, and, to the disappointment of those who make bitterness the test of patriotism, we have been able to associate the great powers of the Pacific in a friendly accord supported by mutual confidence, while at the same time we have carefully preserved the sound American tradition of freedom from alliance and the principle of equality of opportunity. How was this accomplished? Simply by achieving a disarmament of thought and by creating a better mutual understanding. At the Washington conference we managed to scrap distrust as well as the vessels of war, and to end an unnecessary and wasteful competition which spelled not security but suspicion. Today, notwithstanding the gravity of unsettled issues, we find throughout the world ample reason for encouragement in the earnest efforts to remove the economic evils following the Great War in the exhibition of enhanced industrial capacity, in the swift repair of damaged areas, in the extraordinary extent of recovery despite all difficulties. So great has been the progress that it is not too much to say that the whole aspect of affairs would instantly change if only means could be found to dispel the fear and apprehension which is the barrier to accord and to give a sound basis for the confidence which all desire.

The more we reflect upon the essential conditions of peace the more clearly it appears that they are not to be found in any artificial arrangements, important as these may be as facilities; that it is the disposition of peoples that counts. Any sort of contrivance will fail if peoples are not disposed to peace or are not able to find ground for belief in each other. It is idle to talk of proscribing war unless the peoples are intent on maintaining peace. You cannot maintain peace by force, for who will supply, who will control, who will direct the force. Great nations may indeed discipline a weak power, provided they are united in policy and provided always that the weak power is

not a necessary weight in some contrived balance of power. But when great nations do not agree among themselves, who shall guard the guardians? In that case, all the arrangements which are made to depend upon their harmony of view are bound to fail. If those who are keenly desirous of enduring peace will descend to the contemplation of realities, it will be seen that there is only one way to the goal, a long and difficult way, that is, by the cultivation of the spirit of friendship and good will among the peoples, through which alone the sources of dangerous strife can be dried up. If you find anywhere in the world, as, for example, we happily find in the case of our relations to our neighbor to the north, a complete assurance of lasting peace, it is not because of treaties or political arrangements of any sort; it is simply because the roots of amity strike deep in the thoughts and convictions of both peoples.

It is the commonplace of diplomats and statesmen, in their confidential intercourse that they would like to do many things, which are reasonable in themselves, in order to remove differences and to settle disputes, but that public opinion in their respective countries will not permit them to act in the way in which they would like to act. This, in all negotiations to adjust differences, is found to be the last refuge of unreasonable-ness. We hear much of the intrigues of diplomats, and they are accountable for much, but far worse offenders are those who create a public sentiment which makes it difficult for honorable statesmen to find ways of practical adjustment. I do not minimize the opportunity and responsibility of political leaders in rushing nations into war, or in keeping controversies alive, relying upon an aroused patriotism and sense of national danger to support them. But the desire and purpose to promote the peaceful settlement of controversies from which serious trouble may ultimately arise is quite as often, if not more often, the desire and purpose of conscientious statesmen rather than the will of their constituencies. Responsible leaders are harried by their opponents, ambitious rivals are ready to take their places, editors and orators are quick to excoriate those who would seem to make any national sacrifice in the interest of a reasonable adjustment, and thus an atmosphere is created which renders futile the agencies of peace however admirably contrived they seem to be. Thus, in the long run the hope of world peace lies in those quiet humane efforts by which peoples come to understand and to trust each other until they reach the point that war between them becomes unthinkable, and with that sentiment any difference can be composed by direct approaches and the processes of reason. Looking beyond immediate exigencies, I believe that if there is a powerful and continuous influence at work to bring humanity to the desired goal, it is to be found in the manifold humanitarian activities in which you are engaged.

The importance of humanitarian work in this aspect is that it touches the human heart out of which are the issues of life, the springs of national emotion. If our America is understood abroad, it is because of the gratitude of millions of people to whom the American Red Cross and the American Relief Association have brought succor from distress and starvation. There are those who speak of the hatred of America; that is a superficial and too readily accepted view which, I believe, takes little account of the confidence in the generosity and humane purposes of the American people, a confidence which you will find deep-seated and abiding among vast numbers of people in the countries of Europe where children have been nourished, disease checked, and the afflicted relieved through the efforts of our national or quasi-national agencies. It is true that we have poured out of our abundance. But no worthy cause appeals to America in

vain, and among all peoples, whatever differences may exist or complaints be voiced, it is fully realized that here, if anywhere, will be sure response to the cry of need. I mention this because it is well to recognize that there is this feeling, what has happily been called a "ground swell" of popular good will toward this country. We may count upon it in our efforts at peaceful settlements and we owe it to the endeavors of the sort which you have so effectively organized. You are the apostles of peace because you carry the gospel of friendship and helpfulness.

You know how earnestly we have sought to maintain the most cordial relations with our sister republics to the south. Our national policies have furnished an opportunity for their development secure in independence and in immunity from foreign intrigue. All know, except those among us who unfortunately suffer from mental indigestion and are unable to assimilate facts and those who find pleasure in libeling their country, that we have cherished no imperialistic designs and desire to see all our neighbors strong and just, with unimpaired sovereignty and constantly increasing prosperity. But I question if the efforts of this government for one hundred years have accomplished as much to promote understanding and good will in Latin America as the recent well-directed endeavor of American philanthropists in combatting disease and thus directly contributing to human welfare. When the American forces of medical science stamp out pestilence, when American skill safeguards the very foundation of healthful activity, they create a sense of gratitude and friendship which will do more to remove distrust and to draw our peoples together in a mutually beneficent co-operation than any possible political pronouncement. It is one thing to address governments; it is quite another, and much more difficult, to reach the heart of peoples, but this must be done if we are to be of aid in removing the causes of strife. The same results follow our efforts for public health throughout the world. The field of co-operation in resisting the spread of disease, in fostering child life, in promoting hygiene, in controlling the production and distribution of narcotic drugs, in promoting scientific research, and in strengthening educational foundations affords a vast opportunity for effort congenial to the American spirit, in every way consistent with American tradition, and worthy of all the skill and intelligence which we can give.

We need these humanitarian activities not only to promote international good will by helping others, but in order to help ourselves and to increase our own capacity for a sound and helpful influence in international relations. We need among our own people the unifying influence of humanitarian work in which all races represented in our population co-operate to secure common ends. There are those who speak of American co-operation in international affairs as though we were of one mind and had one voice. When there is a dominant American interest or a supreme issue transcending racial differences, we have displayed a most gratifying degree of unity and an extraordinary power of concentrated effort. But when there is no such dominant issue and questions involving foreign political interests arise, we exhibit, because of our racial divisions, not simply the normal divergences of opinion always to be expected in a democratic community, but the viewpoints, controversies, and rival interests of European countries. We have large groups organized among our people in the interest of what they respectively call "their country," which, however, is not ours. They range themselves in antagonistic forces according to the groupings of the old world and try to bend American policy to particular foreign interests. This is undoubtedly the natural result of

racial ties, of deep-seated affection, and of the traditions associated with race and language. It is none the less a grave menace and deprives America of her just influence. There is no artificial method of changing this. It would not be changed by appointing a delegate to a conference, or by any mechanism of intercourse, which very likely would lead to a more intense controversy over our attitude and the instructions to our representatives. If the question is one involving the political controversies of Europe, we have naturally but regrettably the divisions due to the European antecedents of the different portions of our population, and instead of healing controversies abroad we tend to reproduce them at home, and thus burden and embitter our domestic politics, already heavily laden, by foreign issues. Our historic foreign policy takes account of this by keeping us out of broils which do not directly concern us.

But how are we, in a world in which the seeds of dissension have been so lavishly sown, to unify our people and to produce in world relations a distinctly American consciousness, making possible an impartial, just, disinterested, and hence helpful point of view? I find the best promise of this in the purely humanitarian endeavor of all our people for all peoples. Here we find common ground and welcome opportunity; here we realize the benefit of ascertaining what has been done elsewhere, of broadening our horizon, for we have much to learn; here in the community of human interest we may gradually be able better to understand each other, to remove prejudice, to appreciate the difficulties of other peoples, and to develop to a larger degree a true American sentiment which will be proof against the efforts of propagandists to make us serve foreign political purposes and thus enhance our capacity for wholesome co-operation. If this is to be accomplished, it is imperative that organizations for humanitarian purposes shall not be associated with political controversies. Nothing could be more unfortunate than to limit the vast possibilities of American helpfulness in philanthropic work by striving to link it to any sort of political program. You may think one way is better than another, but others may think differently, and to the extent that you insist on political controversy to attain your end you will unfailingly lose your social momentum. The first essential of our capacity to help is to take these activities out of politics.

Peace must have its heroism no less than war, and your achievements of fifty years are replete with the finest heroic endeavor. We are somewhat disposed of late to wonder for what we have won liberty and defended democracy. The victories of war have given us opportunity but we can use it only through the victories of peace. These are the victories of science, with its conquest of disease, its manifold inventions, and its discovery of new applications of natural forces for the protection and enrichment of human life. They are the victories of a discriminating judgment, which give us the better organization, the more perfect methods, the intelligent utilization of power. Social welfare becomes impossible, however good the motive, in a community which has not sense enough to conserve the bases of productive effort and to avoid the waste and folly of wild schemes of the enthusiasts who after all are the most dangerous enemies of society because they not only dissipate social energy but would destroy its sources. There are finally the victories of sacrifice, of the painstaking, self-denying individual effort, without which all organization becomes a mockery.

You are celebrating the accomplishment of fifty years, but you are at the threshold of achievement, and not only the future well-being of individuals, but the assurances of peace itself as the essential condition of social welfare are largely within your keeping.

B. DIVISION MEETINGS

HEALTH

SOCIAL WORK AND HEALTH PROGRAMS.

Dr. Livingston Farrand, President, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York

I am glad Mr. Folks did not announce the topic printed on the program. After a long experience I have learned that the chief reason for announcing a formal subject is to permit a speaker to say what he pleases and, in the exercise of that privilege, I certainly do not intend, at the close of a long and wearying day, to discuss in technical terms the situation which now exists in the campaign for health. I think my most useful function must be briefly to sum up certain of the tendencies in the great health movement now under way, and possibly to crystallize some of the results of today's discussions.

Dr. Biggs has just given me all the text I could wish. It is a very wholesome thing to have a conservative adviser like Dr. Biggs always at hand. If you follow him in your tendencies to make predictions you will always be safe. He can combine dramatic achievement with lugubrious prediction more consistently than any man I know. I have sat at his feet in health work for nearly twenty years, and the conservative tone which he has taken tonight is very familiar to me. Of course the day must come some time when Dr. Biggs will be right and the conservatism of his predictions borne out by the facts; but up to date the decline in the mortality curve has annually exceeded what he has been willing to forecast. Naturally this cannot go on forever, and there is no doubt that some day that curve of his is going to flatten out.

One thing is clear, and that is that in the picture he has presented and by the means he has outlined there is much yet to be achieved. You and I, associated as we are with certain of these organized movements, are often in some danger of misconceiving our task. Much is imputed to us from time to time in the way of claims of which we are not guilty, but we must be very careful that, as members of any organization for the fighting of any specific preventable disease, we do not lay claim to a reduction in the death rate as being largely due to us or our efforts. What we are seeing is undoubtedly the result of a vast accumulation of forces of improvement; but that result is also undoubtedly greatly accelerated by the intelligent direct effort of specific organization.

We have seen these societies born and developed through various stages. Some of their growth has been unconscious but most of it has been due to intelligent and wise direction.

It is difficult to single out any one index of progress, but one of the most useful and today most striking is the increased expectancy of life which has become so notable in recent years. There has been, in a way, a certain correlation between the increase in life expectancy during the centuries and the growing appreciation of social responsibility. There was a slow and gradual increase during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, when knowledge was slight, and then in the nineteenth century came that enormous development of knowledge when new discoveries of science were applied to human life and dramatic changes were the result. With the encouragement lent by a picture which all could understand, and with the growing appreciation of the significance of ill health and lack of vitality as an economic and social handicap, we

discovered a new appreciation of opportunity on the part of the public, and there was a widespread movement, expressing itself in different ways, which demanded that the world should have what could reasonably be expected from the application of knowledge already in our possession. The result was the springing into being of a very considerable number of independent organizations, each directed toward the control of this or that preventable disease. During the last decade there has arisen, as a consequence of this situation, one of the most puzzling problems which has ever been presented to social workers; namely, that of bringing these independent organizations into harmony. This is far from having been accomplished, although healthy progress is being made.

I am inclined to think that our particular problem as health workers is to see to it that we get the benefit of the concentrated energy of an informed public. This can only be obtained by closer concentration. As these movements have developed, certain general truths have emerged which afford a basis for common action. We now realize that the primary responsibility for leadership in the health campaign must rest upon the public official. We must never entertain the fallacy that a lay organization can replace official authority and responsibility. On the other hand, we must accept full responsibility for creating a public opinion upon which the public health official can rest. We must improve the conditions which surround him. We must give him the tools he must have with which to work, and we must support him in the efforts which modern medical science has indicated as sound and necessary.

There will, however, always remain a certain field which can be filled best probably by the laity rather than by government officials. It is in that great field that I think we find our particular function, and by it I mean the education of the public. The health official should not be apart from it. He should inspire it. But, after all, the work of education can probably be carried on best by you and by me. It is the function of these organizations represented here tonight to seize the facts pointed out to us by men like Dr. Biggs; to outline the opportunities so presented; to promulgate the methods which experienced authority indicates as practicable, and, by broadly informing the public, permit the application to the welfare society of those methods which knowledge has shown to be sound.

When I see the potential energy represented by this great conference, I cannot help feeling that, after all, our largest responsibility is perhaps not as laborers against any specific evil. I see here an agency of tremendous power for the development of broad and sound ideals of democratic citizenship. I am sure there are graver evils abroad in the country and in the world today than those described by mortality and morbidity statistics. If we can agree upon some of these more fundamental aims and ideals, and can bring about united effort for their achievement, improvement in the specific fields we are organized to occupy will follow. As we look the country over today and see the reign of prejudice of every kind on every side, the tendency of every group to seek repressive legislation, the apparent anxiety to impose the will of one upon all the rest, to translate by legislation the opinion of a group into a code of conduct to which all must conform, I feel that we are as a people laying an axe at the very root of democracy. We are turning away from that spirit of tolerance without which democracy is impossible. In other words, it is time for us, as men and women interested in the great social problems of the day, to look above and beyond our specific fields and realize that we have an even broader duty and responsibility; and that is the responsibility of American citizenship.

HEALTH AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

*Doctor Ludwik Rajchman, Director, Health Section, League of Nations
Geneva, Switzerland*

I do not think that you would like me to deliver an academic discourse, neither do I think it would be appropriate for me to do so, so if you will allow me I will not tell you what the problem of health in international relations should comprise, but I will try to express, as briefly as I may, and as clearly as my knowledge of your language will allow me, what has been accomplished in the last few years in the domain of public health from the international point of view. In doing so I do not want to refer to the international work undertaken and carried out so splendidly and admirably by the various relief organizations of which this is the home. It would be impertinent for me to do so, nor am I competent to speak of it, but I should like to tell you in a few words about the activities of the various public-health services in and outside of Europe in relation to urgent problems of the day.

In talking about health problems in Europe during the last few years we must, of necessity, take into consideration first of all epidemic disease. You know that after November, 1918, when the armistice was proclaimed and the nations of western Europe had seen the soldiers return home, the eastern part of Europe had become a scene of strife. War, revolution, and famine succeeded each other and left behind a disorganization of the economic conditions, and from the health point of view, widespread epidemic. Now, you have heard a great deal, I am sure, about the enormous focus of epidemic disease which was formed in eastern Europe and in Russia, particularly in 1918. I should like, if I may, to show the actual proportions of this epidemic in the several states over which it has been scattered.

Now (pointing to illustration on chart), this chart represents the growth of the epidemic of typhus in Russia since the year 1905, nine years before the war. Between 1905-18, the curve is on the same level. In 1918, when the Bolshevik revolution broke out, and when the Reds were fighting on every front, there was complete disorganization of normal life and the epidemic situation assumed gigantic proportions. You will note that in 1920, there were 3,358,000 cases of typhus reported in Russia. Now, in talking to social workers, I need not state the difficulty in reporting epidemic disease in any country, and what particular difficulties there must be in Russia. This figure represents a minimum estimate. Very careful inquiries were made as to how many times this figure should be multiplied in order to arrive at a correct estimate, and the most conservative figure was that it must be multiplied by two and a half or three in order to get the number of cases found here. As you see by the chart it went down and then came up again. Although in the year 1922 it was still very high, since last fall there has been a most remarkable improvement in the situation.

This enormous epidemic infection of typhus can be expressed in one figure. In the four years between 1918-22, there must have occurred in Russia between thirty and forty million cases of typhus. The consequences of this outbreak are perfectly clear when you look at the curve for the same period of time for the infection of typhus in Poland, which is the next border state to Russia, and the largest of them. You will note that these two curves are almost identical. In the scale at which they are drawn the Polish figure would have to be multiplied seventeen times in order to give you the right comparison, and thus may be seen the effect of this enormous infection which has been carried over the borders in a very remarkable manner.

Another map represents the extent of the epidemic last year. You will notice at once how the shaded portion of that map changes in the direction of the west. This map is so prepared as to demonstrate the intensity of the infection. You will notice then, the two very wide areas of epidemic and you will see the farther west it goes, the less pronounced it is. In Poland you will still see in the eastern part shaded districts. The farther west you go the less it is in the western part of Poland. You may ask why has it been acting as a filter through which infection was passing and infection was stopped? Why was that infection carried through? For a very simple reason. This territory in central Europe during the first three years following the armistice has been the marching ground of millions of people. There were two big movements on both sides. On the one hand there were nearly two million Russian prisoners of war kept in Germany, who returned to their homes; and, on the other hand, millions of prisoners in Russia had been sent to their respective homes in Europe; and, finally, and this is the most important of all, in 1915 the Imperial Russian Armies evacuated into the interior between two and three million peasants who scattered from the eastern district of Poland and from the other border states all over the territory of Russia. Now these men began to return in a more or less disorderly manner, and carried with them the epidemic from that enormous focus of infection. The conditions along that line became very difficult indeed, and perhaps you may be interested to know that through the main quarantine stations there have passed, in six months, about one-half million refugees that have been registered. Over the length of that line from November, 1918 to November, 1922, 2,265,000 emigrants crossed. These are not figures of imagination. Those are the people who have been registered in the same orderly way at the border stations as you have all been registered here.

In addition to that there has been a movement unregistered and uncontrolled along the front. That is roughly the situation as it existed at that time.

You will ask what steps have been taken? I am not going to speak about the misery of hundreds of thousands of people nor about the work of the various relief organizations carried out in so admirable a manner. Here was a problem clearly calling for international action because the problem was caused by international activity and there was now need that it should be dealt with on an international scale. Let us consider what was done by governments in the past when an epidemic was threatening the rest of the world. In the past the usual quarantine measures were enforced against the states from which the epidemics were starting. That is to say, everyone was trying simply to protect his own country. This time a new and very commendable step was taken; namely, it was decided to carry the war into the enemy's territory and try to control the epidemic on the spot. I am extremely glad to say that this first step was taken by the government of the United States and that the first detachment sent by any government to help any other government in its fight against disease, as distinguished from a relief organization, was that sent by the American government, and a very distinguished Washingtonian, who is at present in this room, had command of this unit.

Let us consider for a moment what importance, what bearing, the famine in Russia has had on this situation. The famine in Russia had caused the migration of hundreds of thousands of people in various directions, and whatever order had been brought into the situation slowly, as noticed by these slow decreases of the incidence of the disease, had been again, so to speak, distorted by this mass movement of the population. It

became so serious that at the beginning of last year, 1922, it was evident that a very dangerous situation had developed along that line. It became so serious that the governments of Europe decided to take council and take immediate action, and in March last year a most remarkable health conference met in Europe, in Warsaw.

This conference was attended by technical experts of twenty-seven governments, and, for the first time since 1914, all the governments without any exception, attended this conference and, side by side, sat Poles, Germans, French, representatives of Soviet Russia, Turks, Bulgarians, and so on. These experts in the first place decided that it was of the utmost importance that the various health services of the interested nations should know exactly what was happening beyond their own frontiers and that this information should be available for all of them at all times.

In the second place they have worked out a definite program of attack. They have decided, and this is extremely important, that the point of attack should not necessarily be a region of the most intensive epidemic, but a region most vital from the economic point of view, from the point of reconstruction of that vast area of Europe. They have selected as this region, the basin of the Don, in south-eastern Russia. They have decided further that the lines of communication between that region and the rest of Europe should be particularly protected; finally, that a zone of sanitary defence should be built up on both sides of this front between Russia and her neighboring states. This zone exists in an almost complete form on one side of the frontier. The red dots (indicating) on this side of the map show the epidemic hospitals that have been created in the last three years, numbering 117. I am very glad to be able to say, in regard to those hospitals, that of those built there during the last two years, not one has been built entirely by the Polish government or by the epidemic commission of the League of Nations, but toward all both have contributed.

Let us return to the decisions of the conference. A very careful estimate of the cost of the campaign was made, but, unfortunately, the governments did not provide the necessary funds and therefore this part of the program lapsed. You may ask why I regard this conference as a very important one. I regard it as very important for this reason: the public health experts, the various experts of the various governments who met for the first time since the war, had decided they must conclude between themselves agreements and sanitary conventions which would enable them to keep themselves mutually informed of the progress of the work, and to adopt common methods of attack. Where no money was required the success was immediate. During the last twelve months, eleven such conventions have been concluded and, as this chart shows (indicating), these have been concluded between Russia and all the border states, with the exception of Roumania, between Poland and Germany, between Poland and Czecho-Slovakia. There is a convention between Czecho-Slovakia and Austria, between Bulgaria and Roumania, and between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. I feel certain you did not hear much about such reconstructive efforts on the part of the governments. You seldom do. Let me give an illustration. In the last few days the newspapers have been full of threats of war and the possibility of warlike activities between Poland and Russia. You will be interested to hear that a fortnight ago, as a consequence of these conventions, a special Russian-Polish sanitary board was created in order to see the convention was properly carried out on both sides of the front.

This is, then, an example of the international activities in the fight against epidemic disease, but this fight, in order to be properly co-ordinated, requires a third party,

some outside organization that will try to keep immediate and constant contact between the various governments interested. Well, such an organization exists, and I will, perhaps, refer to it in a few moments. But you will readily understand that in order to keep up work of this nature, the constant collection of immediate information about the development of the epidemics is necessary. You will be interested to hear, perhaps, that the governments, not only of Europe, but the whole world, are thoroughly alive to this necessity and at the present moment there is in progress a sanitary survey which is being conducted in some seventeen or eighteen European countries, which are all marked on this map (indicating) of Europe; and at the same time special, very representative committees of inquiry, consisting of the foremost public-health governmental experts, have been collecting information, on the one hand, concerning the Near East, and, on the other hand, concerning the Far East.

It is not sufficient for such information to be gathered. What is necessary is to try to bring into immediate contact the rank and file of the public services of the world. Here again during the last twelve months steps were being taken to consummate this idea, with the object in view of an interchange of public-health officers of the various countries. At first, some eight governments participated in this interchange. Then there were seventeen, and now we hope still more. It is an interesting fact that in all of these public-health activities no distinction whatever is being made by the governments; no distinction as between the victors, the defeated, and the recognized powers; medical officers of all nations are grouped together in perfect friendship.

You will ask me now, perhaps, what is the connecting link between the various organizations? The connecting link exists in the form of an international health organization. This international health organization is trying not only to correlate the efforts in the way I have described, but also to make it its business to take the initiative in such efforts of international activity, from the medical point of view, which may have immediate and practical results. The international health organization cannot substitute, and never will be a substitute, for the public-health service of the various countries of the world. The strength of such an organization can only lie in the fact that it may act through the intermediary of every and any public-health service in the whole world when the necessity arises.

Let me give you here an illustration taken from another sphere of activity altogether. You know that diphtheria is being treated by injections of antitoxin; it so happened that the measurement of the unit of potency had not been carried on according to a uniform standard. Although the medical research had discovered a standard unit, it was not universally adopted. Steps were taken to do so, and eleven foremost research institutes of the world,—beginning with Japan, and passing through New York, Washington, London, Paris, Brussels, Berlin, Frankfort, Vienna, Copenhagen, Rome, Basle, through all these European countries and ending in Moscow, have, for the last twelve months, carried on medical and laboratory experiments as a basis of international team work according to a uniform plan, with the result that as far as this serum, at any rate, is concerned, an international unit has been finally introduced.

You will ask me, perhaps, what is the constitution of this international health organization. This international health organization is in the hands of a very representative committee in which practically all parts of the world are represented. There are representatives of the public-health service of Belgium, Switzerland, Spain, Poland, Italy, Japan, Brazil, India; there are representatives of France, and of Germany; the

surgeon general of the United States Public Health Service is acting in an advisory capacity, and, if occasion demands, the Russian Soviet minister of public health also attends those meetings. This committee has executive officers forming its permanent secretariat. Those secretaries may, perhaps, be looked upon as a staff of more or less interpreters who have to translate English into French, French into English, Italian into French, and French into some other language, and in doing so to try to discover what is the common denominator for the efforts and the wishes of all those public-health services.

The International Health Organization may have, perhaps, to accomplish more, far more, interpretation of what is in the common mind, and, if I may end by paraphrasing very famous lines, I may say, perhaps, that it is the foremost duty of the International Health Organization to see to it that recommendations and decisions requiring international action shall be carried out and shall be put into effect, and should there be any reason to suspect that something will go wrong, then "ours is to reason why, to try to do the work and not to let it die."

HOSPITAL SOCIAL SERVICE AND HEALTH

SOCIAL CASE METHOD IN HEALTH WORK

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In many minds and in much medical practice the two main requirements for the care of sickness continue to be isolation of the patient from his natural surroundings and pursuits and his restraint under the authority of the physician. This idea of the physician's authority lingers in our everyday speech—"doctor's orders," "doctor's permission," "disobeying the doctor." It would not be difficult to show that the usual conditions met by the physician in the care of sickness during past ages required both isolation and restraint. There are still today, and beyond doubt always will be, many disease conditions which are best managed by isolation and control. When pneumonia attacks us or an automobile runs us down, may we always find strong, capable hands to control us; but to say that such have been, and to a considerable extent still are, the prevailing conditions under which medical work is performed does not deny that there are and always have been other factors. It may also be true that through failure to recognize fully these other factors due emphasis has not always been given them.

In the last two decades or more an idea of treatment has developed which is the opposite of restraint and isolation, the idea, namely, that better effects can be obtained by making the patient a participator and co-operator in his own care, and by handling him not in isolation from his everyday surroundings but with his surroundings as part and parcel of him. Indeed, it has been fairly well demonstrated that the patient can be adequately understood and helped only as his surroundings are understood.

I do not mean for a moment to suggest that medical practitioners at large are thinking first and foremost of the patient's participation and his orientation. I am fairly sure that this is not so. As nearly as I can get the general attitude of the medical

profession, the factors of first importance are physical signs; that is, chest signs, temperature, blood pressure, mechanism of joint, measurement of eye, etc.—interpreted in the light of past history, onset and development of the disturbance, plus laboratory findings.

As physicians reach fuller and deeper comprehension of physical signs, they are able to find them in earlier stages or to isolate them in obscure combinations. At this point perhaps the physician first recognizes the value of the patient's intelligence as co-operating in the search for pertinent symptoms and events. Then, when early signs can be interpreted and measures of relief or control decided upon, the patient and his world nearly always assume a large share in carrying out such measures. The point of emphasis, here, is that medical practice itself creates the need of the patient's participation, and participation creates the need for search into the highways and byways of the patient's being and encompassing world.

I believe I express only the general conception of those dealing with health problems, including medical social workers, in stating that the job of so-called "medical social service" has its place in modern medicine primarily because of medicine's new emphasis on the patient as partner in his own health care and on the patient's surroundings as affecting the course of health care. After watching medical work for several years, I have come to the opinion that while the more brilliant successes as, in surgical technique, bacterial discoveries, functional interpretation, etc., may exhibit no large social component, yet the failures of practitioners generally do exhibit inadequate understanding and management of the person treated.

Many items may go to make up the causes for such failure. I have heard physicians express commonly two opinions about the matter: that the responsible physician lacked really deep and sincere interest in the patient, or that he was careless in his study. Both these reasons would lay blame on the failing practitioner, but they do not seem to me to account for the great frequency of failure. I have known too many earnest physicians unable to convey or communicate plans or enthusiasm, and too many who were careless in the study of cases, who nevertheless had conspicuous ability for managing patients. It seems to me that the old idea of the patient as an isolated unit and the doctor as unquestioned authority—"the Olympian attitude," as it has been called—plays a large part in frustrating medical effort. If I am not mistaken, this traditional attitude is being modified by the growing tendencies in practice which have called the patient's co-operative participation and the orientation of the patient in his surroundings. Most practitioners today recognize the obligation to know as much as possible about the sum total of the patient and to find means of securing his active interest and help in promoting his own health.

What are the areas of the health field in which this new co-operative relationship between medical wisdom and human need for personal medical guidance appears to require a special technique? The health field and the health work therein is probably co-extensive with civilized life, or, if we count in the wide-flung undertakings of the Rockefeller Foundation, the International Health Board, and other agencies, the field and health work therein is accurately described as encircling the globe. Within the field the operations are divided into two kinds: those where the health service and the individual meet and interact in respect to the individual's special requirements; and those where the health service meets masses of individuals in respect to their communal needs, either as to the needs of associated individuals or as to their dependence on the material environment.

It can be shown that some work of case-method nature underlies the foundations of mass operations, but it is generally agreed that mass operation as such is performed with a technique different from case technique. Yet the two must be often combined, and it would be of real importance to case-method exposition to show that campaigns and crusades and broadcasting are more effective when followed by case work with individuals and with situations in which individuals are interlocked. It is, however, in the field of health work which deals primarily with the individual; that is, in medical practice proper, that a special case technique is needed. The phrase "co-operative participation by the patient in the care of his own health" has been employed to picture headline fashion a need which is forcing radical changes in medical practice.

Think just a moment of a few of the attributes which present-day medicine requires of the patient. I fancy even fifty years ago, before anesthetics and trained nursing were developed, that the attributes a patient needed most were courage and endurance. Today intelligence and perseverance can, I believe, be put at the head of the list. The prescription of a modern practitioner for the care and management of conditions like rickets, gonorrhea, or diseased joints, requires a fairly high level of intelligence, not only on the part of the patient, but also of his family. A very high degree of perseverance is also required in many kinds of maladies where long, tedious treatments are called for—the correction of posture, the correction of any habit, whether of our muscles, glands, or nerves. Syphilis is typical of certain conditions which require both perseverance and intelligence on the part of the patient; treatment is unpleasant and often shows little result, is long drawn out and frequent, and all the while the patient may feel no pain or disablement. These problems cited are old in medicine, but the part which the patient is asked to play in present-day treatment of these old problems is becoming far greater and more rigorous. Wherever medicine is practiced, more and more participation is being demanded of the patient. At the same time, also, this patient is being individualized and studied as he never has been before. Two facts are recognized simultaneously: that each applicant presents a unique problem, and, to a far greater extent than had been thought, there resides within the applicant the means for solution of his problem.

A case technique is used to seek the factors, especially those in the client's thought, his view of his own plight and of the people and things connected with him, and of previous events and actions that have induced his present state. Furthermore, a case technique is used to perform certain parts of treatment, explicitly and mainly those parts modifying and regulating habits and those controlling the things and people associated with the client. In major aspects the technique used for such study and treatment appears to me identical with that being learned and used in what we are calling "social case method," which is that of standard social work.

It seems then to follow from the argument thus far that the use of the so-called "social case method" in medicine is hardly to be described as supplementary to the skill of another profession. The method seems necessary for the performance of component and integral, rather than of supplementary, parts of the service. That is to say, the physician—the practitioner—as distinguished from the sanitarian, has always practiced case method. Case method emphasizes what is unique, singular, special among individuals, while mass method emphasizes what is common to many and general. Each patient comes out of a different background and presents a condition peculiar to himself. He may resemble many, but the best medical tradition regards him as individual and unique. The more he is thus regarded, the more his ability as a

partner in working up his case is valued. So much for the need of case method in medical practice.

Now what do we know about the technique of case method? Does the experience of social workers throw any light on this technique? Can we give any idea of the actual process enacted within us? I have myself had dealings with several thousand patients. Attempts to reproduce in imagination the processes of my approach to them, my encounter, and exchange with them yield me little. Every case is different, I say, and I behave differently toward each. Yet we know there are common elements and effects. Have I patterns, as it were, which I follow? It seems I must have, for I am sure I have passed through uncertainty and trial to assurance and comfortable exercise in respect to some processes. I seem to have had always in mind numerous effects I desired to accomplish. Imagination of an accomplished effect seemed to stimulate my activity and determine the means I tried. Can I instance any general modes of behavior in encounter and exchange with patients? I believe I use most frequently, and depend on, two. One consists apparently of something of this sort: filling my whole mind with impressions of the person before me, obliterating for the time being any extraneous interests in order to sink into him and imagine myself seeing his problem through his mind and with his emotional reactions. The second may sound like an odd bit of confession, but candor urges me to relate it, for I believe I depend on it more than on any other mode—constant watching for humorous aspects, for combinations and conjunctions of affairs during an encounter which can produce a smile or laughter.

This past winter a small group of social workers, of which I was a member, endeavored to study the processes of interviewing in social case work. We discovered that a good deal had been said and written about place, time, attitude, and other conditioning circumstances, and a good deal about purposes and ends, but little of the processes of the participants or the technique of operation as such. We had all had similar experiences, had all employed similar means and devices. We came to feel that an interview was more alive, more complex in organization, than we had realized. In actual practice I believe we grew a little more aware of cause and effect, grew better at utilizing an advantage secured or avoiding a risk. We agree that the interview is the social case worker's all-important means or instrument for gathering information and bringing about changes. We agree further in thinking that the technique for its performance may be improved in some measure by critically judging effects secured and means employed, and exercising ingenuity to imagine better effects and better means.

If medicine is more and more to seek the partnership of the patient in his own care, then ways of discovering the patient's qualities and capacities and converting them to use must be learned and taught. In order to teach an art we must be able to describe how its effects are achieved, as well as to feel and describe its effects as such. The latter has been beautifully done in the chapter "Social Case Work in Being" in Miss Richmond's last book. But little has been done, as far as I know, to show the processes of achieving effects. Might it not be worth while to begin analysis with some simple unit of operation, one familiar and much used, and seek to separate its component parts? One of the daily operations of every medical worker, doctor, social worker, and nurse is the instructing of patients. We all do it without much heart searching, and fancy we have conveyed meaning to the patient. Results show that we fail often, and yet I believe that we can, if we will take pains, learn to succeed.

The operation "instructing" may be described as: getting the patient's state of mind, or "sizing him up"; getting subject-matter over to him. "Sizing him up" may be itemized as: learning his store of information about the subject; learning his store of misinformation about the subject; and learning his lack of information about the subject. When I have reached this point, three things have been accomplished: the patient has in a measure revealed himself to me, I have in a measure revealed myself to him, and, most important, he has in a measure revealed himself to himself.

You notice that I have at no point in this supposed analysis really described the processes by which effects are produced. I have merely prepared the material for analysis. Did I ask questions or did I tell the patient something that suggested his telling me something? And how have I learned to choose one mode of approach for one manner of man and another for another?

There is, I feel, no aspect of medical practice that needs study and experiment more than this technique of patient management. Rough-and-ready methods we know, and rule-of-thumb practices help us to scramble through the day's work, but these are far from being the adequate systematized body of principles and practices we need for the conduct of any part of a business so vital as medicine. We need the help of great thinkers and educators like John Dewey. Even more I believe we need to study together our own procedures and products. Research into records of our work is good; research into the live thing on the wing is better.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF HOSPITAL SOCIAL SERVICE TO HEALTH CONSERVATION

Edith Baker, Director of Social Service, Barnes Hospital, St. Louis

What do we mean by "health conservation"? Health is defined as "that condition of the living body in which all the bodily functions are performed easily and perfectly and unaccompanied by pain," but this only depicts physical health, the foundation upon which mental health must be reared if we are to consider the whole human being, for the mind of man is the great objective for which we build the healthy body. Conservation is variously interpreted as "to protect and develop the fullest usefulness of the great natural resources" or "the act of keeping or protecting from loss or injury." It is with this latter function that we are primarily interested, keeping or protecting individuals, families, neighborhoods, cities, states, and nations from loss of or injury to health. The individual is the unit with whom we are concerned, for national welfare and efficiency are largely dependent upon individual health and sanity.

The general or special hospital occupies a strategic position in the whole field of health promotion and protection, although its rôle in public health activities is relatively modern. The main functions of a hospital are generally given as the care and treatment of the sick, technical training of medical students and nurses, and scientific research; any feeling of responsibility for service to or education of the community is of recent growth. Before the construction of new hospitals, there is now a tendency to inquire into the needs of a community, thus endeavoring to meet them and avoid duplication.

This growing social conscience of the hospital has undoubtedly been fostered by the social-service department. Patients coming to a hospital or dispensary present

indications of conditions as they exist in the community; so patients with tuberculosis, lead poisoning, and trachoma introduce problems of communal health which the hospital cannot ignore. Here the medical social workers not only aid in the care of the sick, first by interpreting to the patient his physical condition and necessary treatment and, second, by adjusting his environment so that treatment can be effective, but also assist the public health authorities, the industrial plants, and the schools to relieve or to prevent the diseases with which we are confronted in the hospital. Thus it is seen that medical social service reaches out from the hospital into the community to accomplish these results. The medical social worker must know her community, its housing and sanitary laws, its agencies for relief or family case work, its child-placing societies, its nursing service, and all the forces that can be utilized for the betterment of health. She is interested in all organizations for the promotion of health, whether public or voluntary. While the majority of public health activities deal with the masses, the medical social worker reaches the units of the mass. Only by influencing the units can you leaven the mass as a whole.

Doctors grow discouraged and are reluctant to diagnose and advise patients in dispensaries when there is no assurance of their recommendations being carried out, or to care for those patients in hospital wards whose further treatment or post-operative care after discharge cannot be assured. With an adequate corps of social workers to help them, doctors are more apt to do their best work and so assist those whom scientific knowledge can aid to conserve their health.

The study of the personal, environmental, and economic situation of the individual patient, comprising the social data gathered by the worker, occasionally aids the physician in making a diagnosis, and is taken into consideration when the final program for treatment is outlined. Social treatment seeks to uphold the requirements of sanitation and hygiene, and to establish the standards of health, through promotion of the doctor's plan of treatment, plus co-operation with social, educational, religious, industrial, legal, and public or private health resources. To summarize: The aim of hospital social work is to assist in the cure or prevention of disease; the function is service to the sick or potentially sick; the method is case work based on social diagnosis and treatment.

Hospital social service has contributed to health conservation by aiding in the early diagnosis and adequate treatment of tuberculosis. It assumes responsibility for the follow-up of suspects, the instruction, supervision and disposition of tuberculous or pre-tuberculous patients, and the examination of contacts. Through the interview with patients as soon as the diagnosis of tuberculosis is established, and while they are in a receptive mood, social service can frequently influence their whole reaction to the disease and persuade them to follow the prescribed treatment. In many localities, after the first interview, the remainder of this work is delegated, through the social service department, to local boards of health, tuberculosis associations, or public health nurses, but the social worker retains an interest in the family until this program is accomplished.

The annual mortality in the United States from all forms of cancer is estimated as 90,000. While 80,000 soldiers died during the war, during the same period, 180,000 people succumbed to cancer. Although the educational campaign against this disease has been carried on since the American Society for the Control of Cancer was founded in New York in May, 1913, there is still much to be done in disseminating and

utilizing knowledge concerning it. Through ignorance of warning symptoms and delay in seeking medical advice, many lives are needlessly sacrificed each year. However, early and accurate diagnosis of cancer is futile unless skilled surgical treatment can follow. When patients do not believe in the seriousness of their condition, which may be painless, and refuse operation, the doctors turn to social service. In their private practice they have the confidence of their patients, and their advice is readily accepted, but in a crowded dispensary where time is limited, it is necessary for the social worker to supplement the doctor's arguments. The worker, by establishing friendly relations with patients and by careful and repeated explanations to patients and their families, generally succeed in convincing them of the perils of delay and the imperative need of following the doctor's recommendations.

The adequate follow-up of patients with syphilis and gonorrhea is recognized as an essential part in the program for the control and reduction of venereal disease. In many clinics this is the function of the social service. The worker also acts as interpreter of medical data to outside agencies and the general public. In this capacity she can do much to educate toward a saner conception of the medical and social aspects of venereal disease.

In recent years, heart disease, as a preventable infection, has been given careful consideration by the medical and social professions. The rôle of the social worker, as an assistant to the doctor in cardiac clinics, is well recognized. With adults her task is mainly ameliorating the hardships caused by the crippling of the wage-earner or the home-maker, arranging for rest, suitable employment, or the lightening of duties. With children, much can be done to prevent recurrent attacks and thereby establish good compensation. The social worker regulates the restriction of activity and sees that attention is paid to teeth, tonsils, and nutrition when indicated. If chorea is present, the child must be carefully supervised, taken out of the home if necessary, and placed in restful surroundings. As heart disease vies with tuberculosis and pneumonia for first place among the causes of death, the prevention of cardiac cripples constitutes a major problem in health promotion.

From the point of view of numbers, nervous disorders and mental disease present a larger problem in the field of health than any other. Knowledge of the patient's behavior at home, at school, at work, and among his friends may be essential as elements in the doctor's diagnosis, yet inaccessible to him save through the social worker. Moreover she can do much to carry out the re-education, the family readjustments, or the institutional treatment which may be specified. As an interpreter of mental hygiene to social agencies, she contributes to the earlier recognition and better understanding of neuro-psychiatric problems. Because of the realization of the need of this skilled service, the trained psychiatric social worker has been developed.

The whole field of industrial medicine has much to contribute to health protection by the control of industrial human wastage. The dangers of fumes, dust, strained positions, and too long hours of toil are easily recognized but are not easily remedied when more emphasis is placed on the product than on the producer. The medical social worker, as the connecting link between hospital, factory, and home, may be of service. But as yet we need enlightened public opinion and further medical leadership before much can be accomplished.

The diminution in the maternal and infant death rates during the last quarter of a century has been gratifying. In pre-natal, sick, and well baby clinics much advice

given by the doctors would be lost if social service did not adapt it to the intellect and circumstances of the mother. This teaching not only assists in safeguarding the health of the mother, but also if expectant mothers are given adequate instruction concerning the care of their first born, subsequent children will be more apt to receive a fair start in life.

The disorders of nutrition, which underlie so many of the medical problems met with in the hospital, present a need for careful dietary instruction and hygiene teaching. With children of pre-school and school age, undernourishment, if neglected, often leads to serious impairment of health. The hospital social worker is frequently confronted with the task of training patients or their parents to put aside age-long habits and inherited customs. In some hospitals these patients are treated in groups or classes, but there is always the necessity of individualizing the instruction, for each patient must be made to feel that the directions are fitted to his particular needs.

In orthopedic clinics, doctors depend on the assistance of the social worker, not only for the obvious task of procuring apparatus, but for supervision of patients, such as those with bone tuberculosis needing long recumbent care. Many hospitals caring for acute cases cannot keep these patients in their wards for the necessary length of time to insure good results. Chronic hospitals or convalescent homes accepting this type of patient are few, and the ingenuity of the social worker is taxed to provide the necessary resources. Also patients with scoliosis, infantile paralysis, and so on, must be followed closely until treatment is completed. Yet the results in straight, active bodies, with as little deformity and functional loss as possible, certainly justifies every effort. Such patients are then assets rather than liabilities in the community.

In addition to service to individual patients, the social worker has the opportunity of raising the standard of health in other members of the family by bringing them under medical direction. Through recognition and interpretation of health problems and hygiene-teaching, not only the patient but his family and associates may be given a better grasp of the laws of health. Our numerous interrelations and dependencies make the physical and mental condition of each the concern of all, and in this respect may not an enlightened ex-patient become the most ardent and convincing exponent of health principles that any community may have?

The influence of hospital social service therefore cannot be measured by statistics of admissions or discharges of patients, for through the medium of the hospital it reaches out in ever widening circles into the community, working with all the resources in order that disease may be prevented and health conserved.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF HOSPITAL SOCIAL SERVICE IN FRANCE

Marguerite Noufflard, General Directrice, Hospital Social Work, Paris

Ten years ago Dr. Charles Winchester du Bouchet, at the time surgeon of the American Hospital in Paris, was so struck during his visit to the states, by Dr. Cabot's social service department in the Massachusetts General Hospital at Boston that on his return to Paris, he gave an enthusiastic description of this work to a few friends. Among them was Dr. Nageotte Wilbouchewitch, who made from the tracts and material

he gave her an impressive report on "Hospital Social Service." This report, bringing to light the necessity of social work in helping the doctors and the patients, was read to the Society of *Pédiatrie* in November, 1913.

In March, 1914, Mme Georges Getting collected some funds, and, with the approval of Professor Marfan, the first "Social Service" was started at the *Hospital des Enfants Malades*, with a trained nurse, Mlle Oelker, as social worker. This work grew very rapidly, and was appreciated, not only by the doctors, who were happy to feel that somebody was there to see that their advice was followed and understood, but also by the patients, and by the nurses of the hospitals.

In August, 1914, when the war began, everything was stopped, Mme Getting and Mlle Oelker having contracted nursing obligations near the wounded, but some months later Professor Marfan, who had so much appreciated social service, requested a visiting nurse to resume this work, and it has been in her hands ever since.

In 1917 Dr. Charles White, chief of the Bureau of Tuberculosis, of the Department of Civil Affairs, of which Mr. Homer Folks was director, entrusted to Mme Georges Getting, who had just finished her work at the American Ambulance at the *Lycée Pasteur*, the organization of hospital social service in the barracks. These barracks had been erected in haste in Paris hospitals to receive the soldiers evacuated from the trenches for tuberculosis. One of them was appointed to the sick wives (many of whom were widows), mothers, daughters, and sisters of all fighting men, because it was here among these poor anxious women that the social worker's presence seemed most needed.

In January, 1919, under the supervision of Dr. Adair, of the Children's Bureau, social service was started in four maternity hospitals, Mlle Oelker, released from duty, taking the lead once more in Saint-Antoine Maternity Hospital. Three other trained nurses were put in charge of Lariboisière-Tenon and Baudelocque hospitals. Within a few months Dr. Adair left France, calling upon a very small group of people to carry on this work, and in July a French committee was organized to continue the work begun by the American Red Cross.

In the spring of 1919 the Bureau of Tuberculosis was also dissolved. Our chief, Dr. Garvin, transferred us, with the kind permission of Dr. Williams, to the Rockefeller Commission, with two hundred and sixty-six thousands francs balance remaining from the revolving fund awarded to our work, Dr. Garvin feeling that this sum would be spent with efficiency. In June, 1920, a French committee, with the help of Dr. Louste, in charge of the tubercular wards at Uvry, was formed to take charge of the tuberculosis section. The social service already existing in Professor Léon Bernard's tubercular wards joined this section. Dr. Louste has remained a fervent friend of social service and is a great help to us in all circumstances.

An attempt had been made by the children's bureau to provide two social service departments in children's hospitals with social workers, but this demonstration came to an end when the American Red Cross left Paris.

In January, 1921, hospital social service having proved so valuable to the doctors, an effort was made by Mme Getting to secure a subvention from the Ministry of Hygiene, to enable the reorganization of social service in children's hospitals. Our experience in maternity and tubercular wards enabled us to progress this time more rapidly, and within a few weeks the work was started at *Hopital Bretonneau* and at the *Enfants Malades*.

Having established social service on a firm basis with a paid worker at the head of each department giving full time to her work, with a responsible committee and treasury for each section, we decided to federate our groups under the name of "Hospital Social Service," so as to put more unity into our methods of work and to gain more force in our appeals for public subventions. This federation took place with solemnity on May 31, 1921, at the Assistance Publique, under the presidency of its director, Dr. Louis Mourier.

Following the advice of Miss Monica Moore, field worker of the Rockefeller Commission, who had been a very encouraging and devoted friend, a committee on propaganda, under the presidency of Princess Jacques de Broglie, had also been formed.

Since that period we have worked incessantly to improve and enlarge our work. When the American Red Cross left Paris in the summer of 1920, eight hospital social services were working regularly under two separate organizations. At the present date, May, 1923, twenty-six hospital social services are working in Paris, all under one organization. We have received subventions from the Ministry of Hygiene, the Red Cross Societies, the Conseil Municipal, etc., amounting to 64,000 francs. Our subscriptions have been 65,527 francs, and our committee on propaganda has brought in 63,957 francs. Our budget for 1923 is 250,000 francs.

A section of surgery has just been adjoined to our hospital social service, the first service being started under Dr. Dujarier in Boucicaut Hospital. This hospital is our field for demonstration, as the maternity wards, the tubercular wards, and the surgery wards each possess a social worker.

The Assistance Publique has turned over to our workers in the maternity wards, for nearly eighteen months, the task of filling in the records for each request concerning the assistance awarded to forsaken women, and quite recently has entrusted us with the care of extending social service to the hospital staff suffering from tuberculosis. Within three months our workers have taken in charge one hundred and fifty-three officials and personnel. They are examined by Dr. Rist at Laënnec Hospital and relieved from all mental and financial difficulties during their illness.

A mental hygiene dispensary for out-door patients has been attached to the Ste. Anne Asylum, and we have been asked to organize their social service, to do the follow-up work in connection with their patients, and keep them in touch with the dispensary.

We have been requested also to appoint a social worker in hospitals treating venereal diseases. Social service is most needed there, as the doctors do not know what becomes of their patients when they leave the hospital, and have no way of persuading them to continue their treatment if interrupted. Our financial resources, however, do not permit us, for the present at least, to answer these new demands. With the hope of raising yearly subscriptions and following your methods of work, we have engaged a propagandist. She has been working for only three months on special donations. This experiment has proved sufficiently successful, so that our committee has agreed to keep her on until the end of the year.

Having given you an outline of hospital social service in Paris since the time you turned it over entirely to our hands, I want in a few words to tell you of the work itself.

In the maternity hospitals the social worker sees the women at the pre-natal consultations and gives them all the information concerning the public assistance they are entitled to receive. She makes sure that the future mothers will come back

regularly to the consultation. She visits them at home so as to know exactly the difficulties that have to be met and put aside. The worker encourages the mothers to nurse their babies. She exerts her influence on the mother who is tempted to abandon her child, by drawing up, pencil in hand, a budget, showing that it is not impossible for a woman, alone, to bring up a baby, with the co-operation of private and official assistance. When there are other children in the family, the worker sees that they are admitted to temporary homes, while the mother is in the hospital, and tries by every means to have her reach the time of her confinement in the best physical and mental condition.

In the tuberculosis wards the first object of the social worker is to put the patient's mind at rest about his family during his absence from home. After having had the children examined, she sends them to the country, if necessary, and sees that at home elementary hygiene is carried out. The social worker visits the patient's employers, asks for a relief during his stay in the hospital, and tries to obtain assistance to send him to a sanatorium or convalescent home when the time comes.

In the hospital wards the worker creates an atmosphere of mutual confidence and sympathy by being the link between the patient and his family or all other organization. When the patient returns home, she tries to find appropriate work for him and refers him to the district dispensary through the Medical Confidential Exchange. This exchange was organized by Major Duffield, statistician of the Rockefeller Foundation. We are using it now in eight hospitals, and have reported to it from our tuberculosis section alone 2,978 cases utterly unknown to the dispensaries.

In the children's hospitals the social worker assists at every out-patient consultation, and sees that the prescriptions are properly understood and carried out at home. The worker teaches the mother how to prepare diet, how to make a poultice, how to bathe a sick child, etc. She relieves the mother by finding temporary homes for the other children, so as to allow her to give up all her time to the small patient. She finds work for the father if he has none. The social worker is much appreciated by the doctors, whom she assists daily by giving in a few words full particulars about the case.

Our hospital work extended this year to 8,105 cases, which were taken in charge and followed; 11,894 visits were made at home; 1,282 children were placed in foster homes or sent to the country; 100 mothers with babies found situations; 71 infants were put out to nurse under medical supervision; 61 infants on the point of being forsaken were kept by their mothers; 3,645 cases suspected of tuberculosis or venereal diseases were sent to the dispensaries; 632 patients were sent to private sanatoriums; 232 patients discharged from sanatoriums after recovery were provided with situations. Through our workers' personal efforts, 61,500 francs were raised for the direct benefit of the patients or their families.

The following cases have been followed up until they needed our assistance no longer:

Mme S., who has already four children, gives birth on November 15 to three boys. She lives in the suburbs, in two small rooms, which became entirely insufficient with the three extra babies. The father has incipient tuberculosis. It being impossible to find better lodgings, we decided with the president of the Associations des Familles Nombreuses to rent near their present home, for 450 francs a year, a piece of ground, where we instal the family in two postal wagons equipped as a home. The

association, above named, paid for the first year's rent of the ground. The social worker raised for this family 1,235 francs, 600 of which were spent in the acquisition and transportation of the wagons. Owing to this acquisition this family now lives in the open air and possesses a kitchen garden with poultry and rabbits. The father has been able to retain his situation at the gas company near by, and, living in the same neighborhood, they keep in touch with those who helped them out of these difficulties. The mother was also provided at the same time with three cradles and infants' clothing.

L. L. is an American boy aged seventeen, an orphan, with two young sisters at school and an old feeble grandmother, who can only work occasionally a few hours a day as charwoman. He was admitted at the hospital, La Charité, for general fatigue and asthenia. After investigation, it appeared that this physical and mental depression was caused by deplorable hygiene. Young L. lived alone in a furnished room, his meals consisting chiefly of bread and chocolate. The different employers who were visited on his account all complained of his irregularity at work and his neglectfulness. He was dismissed from different firms, and, being out of work, fared worse than ever. The social worker's first attempt was to send him, for at least three months, to the country to recuperate, before trying to secure work for him. His ambition is to become a wireless telegrapher in the navy or on a cargo boat. After many requests to the American Relief Association to help send L. to the country, we received 300 francs to send him for three weeks to the seaside in Brittany, but the journey was so expensive that we insisted that this sum should be employed to send him to a convalescent home within a few miles of Paris, where the price of board was reduced for him from 10 to 7 francs daily. Our committee promises a contribution so as to allow L. to remain at least two and one-half months at Gambville. The worker's ambition is now to prepare L.'s future when he leaves the preventorium. After investigating the school of wireless telegraphy, he found that a sum of 750 francs was needed to pay for the courses, books, etc., and that 1,050 francs were indispensable for boarding at the Y.M.C.A. during six months; in all 1,800 francs to set L. afloat. After two months' proceedings at the American Church, the Morgan Bank, etc., the American Relief Association let our worker know that a group of Americans were disposed to help L. and to look after him financially and morally. Our worker immediately got in touch with the director of the Y.M.C.A. and asked him to receive L. After a thorough medical examination, the Doctor at Gambville advised L. to resume a normal life, a longer spell of idleness being bad for him, so on the first of March he came back to Paris, in good physical condition, seeming very anxious to resume work. He has now in his own hands the means of making a good situation, and his future depends solely upon the will he puts into his work.

The members of the F. family are interesting people. They have seven children. A boy of nine has spine trouble, the youngest baby is aged five months. The father has deformed feet from rheumatism and can only work occasionally. They live in dark lodgings, the lamp burns all day long, but the rooms are kept remarkably tidy and clean. At the first visit the worker asked them if they had no relatives in the country. They had a father-in-law in the Department of Savoie who would be ready to rent them a home and a field but they couldn't afford to move or pay the railway fare. From March 25 to June 24, the social worker tried to get these good people back to the country. At last she collected, from different organizations 450 francs and their railway tickets free of charge. They have written frequently since that time to say how happy they are.

The results we have obtained are due chiefly to the excellent qualities of our workers. We have a picked staff, chosen from the Amyot and Chaptal schools, the School of the Comité National, the School of Puériculture in Paris, the Florence Nightingale School in Bordeaux. Each worker has a personality which we try to develop. Though the basis of the work is the same, the work differs according to the patient's needs and the doctor's comprehension of social service.

In Dr. Rist's and Dr. Armand-Delille's Services, also in Professor Convelaire's at Baudelocque Maternity, the workers are prompted to gather all medical information from the different clinics through which the patient has passed, so that no previous diagnosis should escape the doctor's knowledge. They are prompted also to investigate and report on the psychology of the patient, on his mentality toward treatment, or toward resuming work after a lengthy stay in a sanatorium, or having been for a long spell discharged from duty.

So, to keep in constant touch with our workers, our mornings are devoted to going the rounds of the hospitals. Once a week they meet in our office, each section separately, to discuss their case work. Once a month all the workers meet together to get well acquainted with one another, and help to solve the problems of a family who comes under the obstetrical, the tuberculosis, and the child welfare division. These meetings are presided over occasionally by one of the doctors most interested in social work. Our workers hand us in every month a detailed report on their work. These reports are summed up every quarter to be read and discussed at our committee meetings, which are held regularly four times a year.

Our office, at 44, Rue de Lisbonne, Paris, is open daily from 9 A.M. to 12 P.M. and 2 P.M. to 6 P.M., Saturday afternoon excepted. A staff of three people is always on hand to give out all information applied for by numerous callers. A set of files of all charitable organizations, kept up to date, can be consulted on the spot. The office takes charge of all the individual cases that do not come directly under the head of a hospital social service, many very deserving cases having been helped and provided for through this channel.

Professor Sergent, Professor Bezançon, Professor Léon Bernard, Professor Convelaire, Professor Jeannin, Professor Marfen, Professor Nobécourt, Dr. Rist, and Dr. Guinon, all say that social service has entirely changed the atmosphere of the hospital wards, and that its influence on the students is very marked. We are very fortunate to work under their direction and to find so much keen and kindly interest shown us in our work. We hope to make hospital social service better known, and more appreciated every day.

We are far younger in the field than you are, but we are doing our best to make up for lost time. Mme Georges Getting, who was extremely sorry not to be able to attend this congress, pressed our committee to delegate me, not only to put before you the work that you entrusted to her, but also for me to gain more knowledge through your experience. Mme Getting is the soul of social work, and devotes all her time and advice to our work. She knows how to awaken the interest of everybody, and has the best influence over the social workers. We owe to her, alone, the work we have built up today. I hope that soon we shall see some of you among us in Paris, and that you will then see for yourselves the work we try to accomplish, after your example, for the good of humanity.

Allow me, before closing, to express our deepest gratitude for all you did for us during the war. Whenever I have met some of you at home, I have tried to convey

to you that our people do not forget. It is a privilege for me today to be able to say before so many representatives of the United States that there is not a poor family in France that has forgotten the wonderful support given them by the American Red Cross.

THE UNOCCUPIED FIELDS OF HEALTH PROMOTION AND DISEASE PREVENTION

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The speaker has on several recent occasions called attention to the vast unoccupied field of medicine and the untilled field of health promotion and disease prevention, and, in discussing that phase of our subject at this time, he can only repeat what has been said elsewhere. This field is of such great dimensions that to see it clearly and appreciate it fully it must be looked at in segments. So let us hastily glance at its main subdivisions.

The problem of maternity involves annually the pregnancy, the labor, and the lying-in period of 2,750,000 women. During their pregnancy these women receive but one-fifth of the professional attention which is needed both in the interest of the mothers and their children. From 30 to 35 per cent of them, in some sections of the country from 50 to 60 per cent of them, pass through not only their pregnancies but through the hazards and pains of labor without professional attention, being attended by midwives, many of whom are illiterate and the vast majority of whom are under no public supervision or regulation. In their lying-in period it is safe to assert that the women of this country receive not more than one-third of the medical care that all authorities, obstetricians, textbooks, and medical schools teach they should have. Considered in its entirety, it is altogether conservative and safe to say that maternity, involving the very sources of life and coloring, to a large extent, of the whole course of life, its length, and fullness, receives not more than one-third of the professional care that it should have.

From neglected and damaged motherhood how short is the step to impaired infancy! As a result of the neglect of motherhood, infancy is denied its birthright and given the mess of pottage instead—the artificial food in the place of the breast—and in consequence thereof we have a large percentage of the 1,500,000 cases of well-marked diarrhea and enteritis which annually affect our 5,000,000 infant population.

Moving on without a break in the continuity of the bond which relates one disease state to another, we come upon 700,000 cases of the common communicable diseases which occur in early childhood, and we pause in thought long enough to realize that much of the loss and damage to life by these diseases would be prevented if infancy were better cared for.

Lying just beyond and dependent, to a large extent, upon uncared-for maternity and abnormally fed and diseased infancy, we come upon the great problem of malnutrition, numbering its victims among the school population of this country at from 2,000,000 to 4,000,000. Emerson has pointed out the close relation existing between malnutrition and the common defects, calling attention to the fact that 80 per cent of the children who suffer from malnutrition are affected with some of the common

defects. The prevalent defects of childhood, significantly referred to as "the common defects," count their victims in the millions and include 1,000,000 public school children with diseased tonsils and adenoids, 4,000,000 with visual defects, and 15,000,000 who need dental treatment; all of them retarded and retarding our educational progress.

It is important that in considering diseased infancy the social worker should think not in terms of individual diseases but of the causative relation which one group of diseases in infancy and early childhood bears another. There is a continuity of pathology which extends from maternity through the early years of life, which is plainly visible in the pre-school and school age, and which, as a shadow, is not difficult to trace through adolescence into adult life.

The extent of disease in infancy and childhood and the surplus of untreated disease over disease that is adequately treated impresses one with the size of the opportunity and need for more adequate medical service during these early and telling years of life. Anyone familiar with the practice of medicine will agree that not less than from three to five times the medical science and care that is available at this age period is needed.

Moving from childhood into adolescence we have to take into account 2,000,000 fresh cases of venereal diseases that occur annually, and to these add the tremendous carry-over of old untreated cases and complications of last year and other years. This group of diseases largely supports three specialties and generously contributes to the general run of practice. Moreover, and most significantly, it will be admitted by the profession that this important group of diseases does not receive one-fifth the attention or one-fifth the treatment which the interests of society require that it should have.

Passing now into adult life, attention has been called by the Life Extension Institute to the fact that only one-fifth of the adults who need medical treatment are receiving it.

Summing up, it must be clear, even with a hasty review, that the field of medicine is not more than one-third, possibly one-fifth, occupied.

Finally, we must understand that when medicine has gained control to a reasonably adequate degree over the pathological phases of life, then the profession will utilize the opportunity for a still larger service—the opportunity that relates itself not to the small percentage of the population that is obviously diseased, but to the much larger percentage of the population that is apparently well. The tendency of the medical profession, especially during the last half or quarter of a century, has been more and more toward anticipatory treatment, or prevention, away from the pathological toward the physiological, away from the idea and work of repair to the work of improvement, of promoting health. The time is not far distant when we will realize that more can be done for society, more accomplished in raising the average level of life, by effort brought to bear upon the higher and medium levels than by effort expended upon the lower levels. To illustrate: it will be found less costly and of greater value to lift ten men from an 80 per cent to a 90 per cent level of life than to lift one man from a 20 per cent to a 90 per cent level.

How is this vast field to be occupied? In the first place, it cannot be divided into two separate parts, one labeled prevention and the other cure, one restricted to occupancy by the health officer and the other to occupancy by the practitioner of medicine.

The practice of medicine, as has already been pointed out, has for many years been extending its field of work to include more and more of the conditions antecedent to actual disease. Moreover, it is a fact, as Sir James MacKenzie says, that the medicine of the future will spend proportionately less time in dealing with diseases that have reached an "advanced stage" and more and more time with diseases in the "early stages" and the "predisposing stages." The practice of medicine as applied to obstetrics, including pregnancy, which is a normal, physiological condition, but one with special liability to disease and accident, is perhaps the earliest and most important emigration of medical thought and practice into the physiological phases of life. The practice of pediatrics, dealing again with a normal but enfeebled state of being, is rapidly following the practice of obstetrics in reaching out from the pathological and including the larger normal population. The recent studies of the Life Extension Institute and other agencies, particularly the medical work of the army during the recent war, in physically invoicing large populations, are serving to emphasize the importance of the practice of medicine, becoming more and more the application of biologic science to the whole population, sick and well alike. It is the business of medicine to anticipate as well as to cure disease. To anticipate is to prevent. Medicine has both the right and the obligation to practice the twin arts, cure and prevention.

Just as medicine has been extending its lines farther and farther away from the cure of existing disease and toward the anticipation of disease, so public health, with its initial interest and work largely restricted to prevention, has found that much of prevention is predicated on treatment and that to realize a further reduction in mortality and morbidity rates, its program must insist upon arrangements for the more adequate treatment of disease—disease in reality as well as in anticipation—for, after all, about the only difference between cure and prevention is chronological. The public can no more renounce its interest and its rights in the treatment of disease than the medical profession can afford to restrict its work entirely to cure.

In the development of medicine and public health the work of disease prevention and disease treatment have become so closely related that it is impossible to separate the two. Physiology fades into pathology, health into disease, as the green leaf of spring becomes transformed into the brown death of autumn. The unoccupied field in medicine, of health promotion and disease prevention, cannot be separated into two parts, one involving the problem of cure, the other that of prevention. The two problems are inseparable.

The interrelated, inseparable problems of disease prevention and treatment, cannot be dealt with by two separate forces, one responsible for cure and the other for prevention. Separation of forces means lack of understanding and absence of co-ordination between workers whose tasks are much the same; it means friction and conflict with resulting harm to both medicine and public health. Combination of forces means understanding, co-ordination, and increased efficiency for both branches of medicine.

But there is a much more important reason why two forces, one a group interested in prevention and public health and the other in the private practice of medicine, cannot occupy this field of disease prevention and health promotion, and this more important reason is that, practically speaking, there is but one group which is or can be made anything like adequate for dealing with this problem. That group is the medical profession. If the health officials of this country should undertake to organize,

train, and enlist a corps of workers sufficient to deal with the present field of disease prevention and health promotion, they would have to contemplate a force of from 100,000 to 200,000 professionally trained officers; furthermore, that force would be engaged in a task so intimately related to the work of private practice, with so much overlapping, that there would be constant friction, conflict, lost motion, and inefficiency. There can be but one well-organized force in the field of vital conservation, and that force must, both by reason and necessity, be made up of health officials, always greatly limited in number, and the rank and file of the medical profession.

As the work of health officials and physicians cannot be separated but must be co-ordinated, an understanding as to related responsibilities is essential. A proper division of responsibilities will be predicated on the general principle that the members of the medical profession shall perform such items of public health service, both of a curative and preventive character, as their training and number make possible, and that for such items of service they shall be paid a reasonable compensation, the medical profession taking into consideration, in determining what is reasonable compensation, the difference between bulk work and individual case work, between wholesale and retail prices; and, further, that health officials, representing the public interest, shall so organize and restrict their personnel as to provide for the medical profession rendering the aforementioned services, the health officials devoting themselves largely to the enforcement of health laws, particularly quarantine, passing upon items of service rendered by the profession for which remuneration is claimed, and in so organizing social and professional forces as to enable these forces to more completely occupy and hold the field of disease prevention and health promotion.

HEALTH DEMONSTRATIONS—PROGRESS TO DATE

FRAMINGHAM HEALTH AND TUBERCULOSIS DEMONSTRATION

Donald B. Armstrong, M.D., Executive Officer, National Health Council, New York

The chief yardsticks of progress in the Framingham Health and Tuberculosis Demonstration, without mentioning the research findings previously reported upon, may be briefly described in the following way:

First, the assumption of health service responsibilities by local community.—Up to the present time the local community, either through official or voluntary agencies, has taken over all of the pre-natal, infant, and pre-school work; all of the school health work; the general health administration of the community, including tuberculosis nursing, tuberculosis, and V.D. clinic work, etc.; and, to a large degree, the health and disease preventive activities in the industrial-age group.

Second, increased expenditures for health work.—The expenditures for health work in the community have increased from approximately \$0.40 per capita per year in 1916 to \$2.25 per capita per year in 1922. In addition, the demonstration is still spending from \$0.50 to \$0.75 per capita per year on such services as the diagnostic consultation service, X-ray expenses, etc., so that, when all the work is assumed, the total community expense will be in the neighborhood of \$3.00 per capita per year.

Third, statistical measurement of results to date.—In 1922 the general death rate was 11.48 per thousand—a 16 per cent reduction under the rate for the pre-demonstration decade average; the infant mortality rate for 1922 was 41.1—a 50 per cent reduction under 1916; the average tuberculosis death rate for 1921 and 1922 was 53.6—a 55 per cent reduction under the pre-demonstration decade average, the rates being corrected for non-residence and certification errors; satisfactory results have been reported for the first four and one-half months of 1923. Not only were there only two deaths from tuberculosis, but, in spite of a very active consultation service, only twelve active cases of tuberculosis have been discovered.

Fourth, there still remains in Framingham considerable work to be done.—In the first place, there are such activities as the consultation service to be financed in some way by local agencies. Contributions from industries and other agencies are now being received, covering a part of the cost of this service, and it is hoped that it may be wholly financed during 1923. There then remain certain ever present problems of effective co-ordination, economical and efficient organization, and local health leadership. However, the universally strong sentiment for health work in the community and the popular and enthusiastic support for health expenditures—these and other factors—give assurance of the effectual solution of the problems of administration and leadership.

MANSFIELD CHILD HEALTH DEMONSTRATION

Walter H. Brown, M.D., Director, Mansfield, Ohio

The child-health demonstration at Mansfield represents a distinct type. It is an effort to show what a typical rural county, containing a small industrial city (population 31,000), can and should do to assure all of its children an equal opportunity for a full measure of health.

The problem is being approached by means of an alliance between the people of Richland County and the National Child Health Council. The funds for this five-year venture in co-operation are being furnished by the American Red Cross.

The goal of the demonstration is to develop a child health program which will be economically practical for the community, rather than to conduct an intensive laboratory experiment. This does not preclude the possibility of scientific study or interfere with the trying-out of new discoveries in the health field.

The policy of the demonstration is one of assisting to build up all of the local agencies, public and private, which are concerned with the health of children. Guided by this policy, we have devoted our time and funds to the co-operative establishment of certain services which are conceded to be essential for the prevention of disease and the promotion of the health of children.

One of the valuable instruments in establishing and guiding these services has been a series of national advisory committees, which were organized by the child health council. These committees are made up of recognized leaders in their particular fields. Through the generous assistance of these leaders, we have been able to profit by the experience of health workers in all parts of the United States.

The demonstration began active operations in January, 1922. A preliminary statement was made at the Providence conference last June. This report is made to indicate the lines along which the work is developing.

Community relationships.—The disposition of the services established by the demonstration will be dependent upon sound community relationships. We feel that we have established such relationships with the official and unofficial health and educational agencies. The foundations have been laid for them to take over the parts of the work which have passed the experimental stage. This has already begun to happen.

Medical service.—This service is in charge of a full-time pediatricist. The consultation service (after the Framingham plan) has grown in amount and influence. As more and more of the local physicians have called the pediatricist, our medical relationships have improved in cordiality. To our main health center in Mansfield have been added two branch centers in the county. Through these centers, we have been able to furnish careful health supervision to 1,541 children under school age. The demonstration is assisting in establishing a system of medical supervision of schools through the co-operation of the county medical and dental associations. We have established a conference group on preventive medicine, which meets weekly at the headquarters of the demonstration. Through these meetings, sixteen of the more progressive medical men are being given a post-graduate course in preventive medicine, with particular application to children. Two important by-products of this activity are already apparent: the tendency of individual physicians to make health supervision a part of their private practice, and an increased willingness to support the demonstration and actively participate in community health projects.

Nursing service.—The nursing service is a co-operative undertaking between the Mansfield Public Health Nursing Association, Richland County chapter of the Red Cross, Shelby Public Health League, and the demonstration. Co-ordination of effort and improvement in nursing standards are being secured through the acceptance, by the local organizations, of the director of nursing of the demonstration as their executive. The work is being conducted on the generalized plan. The city and county have been divided into districts, with one nurse responsible for all forms of nursing in her district. At present we offer pre-natal, obstetrical, infant, and pre-school care and school nursing. The work is growing rapidly. During the first year care was given to 2,443 cases. Of this number 1,057, were bedside care; 1,355 were instructive cases, approximately 26 per cent were pay cases.

Health-education service.—One of the major activities of the demonstration is health education in the schools. Through the active co-operation of educational authorities, teachers, and parents, we are working out ways to make health habits attractive to children. It is possible for us to actively promote health education because the director of health education of the demonstration has been officially appointed supervisor of health education both in the city and county schools. The teachers have been reached through institutes, conferences, and extension courses. At the beginning of the last school term we held a four-day health institute on methods of teaching health. This winter an extension course has been conducted in affiliation with Kent Normal School. At present definite courses are being built up by the active participation of the teaching group, with the assistance of the advisory committees and field service of the American Child Health Association.

Nutrition service.—This service is laying the foundations for making practical for our community the newer knowledge of nutrition. It functions both as a consultant to other divisions of the demonstration and as a promoter of special nutrition projects. The undernourished child is being approached at first with the normal group. Through physical examination by physicians, extra mid-morning and mid-afternoon nourishment, and special classroom teaching, an attempt is being made to bring the underweight child up to normal. Special nutrition classes and a summer camp are to be used for the unresponsive cases. Through the home economics courses in the village and city high schools practical instruction in nutrition is being given to the future mothers of the community.

Research service.—Out of the needs of the local organizations has come a demand for a complete organization survey of the county. This is now in process of organization, with representatives from the state departments of health, education, and charities and the Bureau of Juvenile Research, Ohio Council of Social Agencies, Ohio Public Health Association, Ohio State University (Extension Service and Sociology Department), and Farm Bureau Federation. In the local field every agency, civic, social, and health is to participate. The success of this venture in co-operation will be gauged by the amount of this program which can be translated into a permanent part of the community life. We are glad to report that Mansfield and Richland counties are showing a willingness to accept the responsibility for those parts of our work which have passed the experimental stage.

EAST HARLEM HEALTH CENTER DEMONSTRATION

(Department of Health, City of New York, and Twenty-two
Co-operating Agencies)

*Kenneth D. Widdemer, Executive Officer, East Harlem Health
Center, New York*

The East Harlem Health Center is a demonstration in which twenty-two health and allied agencies have come together to solve some of the problems and difficulties presented in the co-ordination of health activities in a large city.

For eighteen months these twenty-two agencies have been working together in one building on the upper East Side of New York City, under a plan developed by the health service committee of the New York County Chapter of the American Red Cross. The two main objects of the demonstration were to show how, while enjoying complete autonomy each in its own field, the local health and allied groups could be co-ordinated and what it was possible to do in the way of establishing a well-rounded health program for a district of about 100,000 persons. The work has been carried on by a council of representatives from each of the co-operating agencies and a selected group of neighborhood leaders.

Before the health center was opened, a system for correlating the reports of the various activities was worked out. This involved a careful study of the existing record systems, the classification of similar items of service, and the preparation of forms on which all of the agencies could report their work. This "health bookkeeping system" as it is called, has made it possible to watch the work grow and to compare the services being rendered with the community's health needs.

The day the participating organizations left their various neighborhood headquarters and came together all in one house, the first important step toward the co-ordination of health activities was taken. But this was only the beginning. They had still to learn whether or not public and private agencies, which had so long worked apart, could live together in peace and amity and effectively relate their services for the common welfare.

To help solve these questions, a house council, made up of the heads of all the services operating in the building, has been meeting together and thinking together since the health center's opening. A tangible result of this thinking and working together appeared at the end of the first year, when it was found from a comparative study that the services of the agencies previously working in the district had increased 41.2 per cent. In the case of only one of these organizations was there an increase in personnel.

The agencies have also carried their work of co-ordination and health-service building out into the community. This is well illustrated by the health program developed in the local schools. During the first semester of each year a series of health talks and demonstrations is given. In the second semester, and this is the part of the school work in which the principals and teachers are particularly interested, a local interschool contest is held, in which prize scholarships are awarded to the two teachers developing the best classroom program of health-teaching. This competition is supervised through an arrangement with the American Child Health Association, and has as its aim the permanent establishment of regular courses of classroom health-teaching.

Each spring the children who are to be registered in the kindergarten or I-A the following fall, are brought to the schools by their mothers for a physical examination by the school doctors. During the summer the physical defects discovered are followed up for correction by nurses from the health center.

Intensive methods which may be applied by a local co-ordinated group are well illustrated by a house-to-house canvass for health education recently started. It was decided that every family in the demonstration area should be periodically visited and the message of the health center personally given. To this end educational visits are being made by nurses from three of the co-operating agencies.

A careful study of the community's health assets and liabilities disclosed a number of gaps in the district's health work. One by one the missing services have been provided through the co-operation of the health center agencies. For example: A bureau of health information was established by the New York County Chapter of the American Red Cross and a general medical examination clinic, by the Bureau of Preventable Diseases, of the department of health. The Association for Prevention and Relief of Heart Disease put in a cardiac clinic. A psychiatric clinic was established by the New York State Charities Aid Association. Two needed services for which there were no existing agencies—a dental clinic and nutrition work—were provided by funds from the health-center budget.

A demonstration is being conducted within the area to determine what might be considered adequate nursing and health service for a district of 40,000 people, what such service costs, and how the work can best be done. This experiment is known as the "East Harlem Nursing and Health Demonstration." The four agencies conducting this demonstration are Henry Street Visiting Nurse Service, the Maternity Center Association, the Association for the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor, and the

New York County Chapter of the American Red Cross. The annual budget is \$65,000, half of which is contributed by the four co-operating organizations and half by a New York foundation. This work has been in operation only a few months, and it is perhaps too early to attempt any consideration of its results.

It will be interesting to give some idea of the amount of work done by the East Harlem Health Center agencies. During the past eighteen months 14,823 different persons, or 13 per cent of the district's population, made 98,169 visits to the center. Of these calls 64 per cent were to health clinics; 23 per cent were to educational services; 9 per cent to family welfare agencies; and 4 per cent to nursing organizations. In addition, 71,877 visits were made to the homes; 55 per cent of these were for bedside nursing care; 19 per cent follow-up clinic visits and 26 per cent welfare visits. A comparison of these figures with a similar period before all the agencies came together under the health-center plan shows an increase in services rendered this district of more than 80 per cent. To produce this result, approximately only 10 per cent was added to the community's normal annual expenditure for health, nursing, and family welfare work.

The following two points in the progress of the East Harlem Health Center Demonstration are submitted as worthy of careful consideration by public health administrators: all of the public and private health and allied agencies in a defined local area of a large city have come together and worked together in one building with no important difficulties; health work in the demonstration area has been very nearly doubled in the space of a year and a half.

MULBERRY HEALTH CENTER DEMONSTRATION

*John C. Gebhart, Director, Department of Social Welfare, New York
Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor*

We began the work of the Mulberry Health Center with the conviction that the most conspicuous gaps in preventive health work with children lay in the pre-natal and the pre-school period. Our pre-natal service combines nursing instruction to the expectant mother with a careful observation of her condition, reporting back to the doctor in the pre-natal clinic unusual and alarming symptoms.

Since the pre-natal work is the entering wedge, the extent of this service measures, in a fairly definite way, the extent of our influence in this area. For the past three years, fully 50 per cent of the births of the area have been reached through this service.

The examination clinic for presumably well children of the families reached through our nursing service is an essential feature of our preventive health program. In April, 1919, we opened our own examining station in the district. At present we are examining approximately 2,000 children annually. There has been a steady increase in the number of children of pre-school age examined at this clinic. Defective nutrition has received particular attention from the very beginning of our campaign. During the first year five nutrition classes were in operation, but the work with school children has gradually been reduced, until today we are devoting practically all our attention to children of pre-school age.

All children of pre-school age, who are diagnosed by the doctor as under-nourished, are referred to the nurse for the correction of physical defects and to the nutrition worker

for nutritional care. With children of this age class work is obviously impracticable. The work must be done in the home. The workers visit the homes of the children, weighing them on a portable scale and calling to the mother's attention errors in diet and hygiene which are preventing the child from making the proper gain. At the end of three months those children who have made good gains are brought to the doctor for re-examination, to determine whether they are still below grade. If they pass the doctor's examination, they are discharged but kept under observation for three months to see if the health habits have been firmly established and the child has continued to make good gains. Those who, during the first three months of care, have not responded in spite of the improvement of health habits are usually problem cases and need further observation from the doctor.

The dental service for school children which we have been conducting for three and a half years in this area can hardly be adequately described in this brief report. The May number of "Mother and Child," however, gives a full account of this interesting service. Our plan has been to concentrate our staff in the schools where no work has been done and where work may go on from year to year without interruption. In this way we are assured that the work is being done where it is most needed and where the continuity of the service would enable us to secure tangible results.

One of the greatest contributions to be made by the health-center movement is the better understanding of health problems presented in particular areas, which intimate and intensive neighborhood work makes possible. A careful study of the defects found in the pre-school age period clearly indicated that the outstanding defects of this group were attributable to the high incidence of rickets among babies. This led to our undertaking, in co-operation with the health department, an interesting campaign against this disease, which promises to be a most effective preventive measure. An industrial and sickness census made by our staff last April has unearthed a wealth of material both as to the economic resources of the neighborhood and the types of illness which it encounters and the type of treatment afforded. A study of the vital statistics of the area for a five-year period shows an alarming mortality among children from pneumonia and among adults from tuberculosis, which calls for an intensive drive against these diseases if appreciable savings of human life are to be made. Out of the weighing and examining of children has come a study of the relation of height and weight to undernutrition, which promises to be a real contribution to this pressing national problem.

THE COMMONWEALTH FUND CHILD HEALTH DEMONSTRATION PROGRAM

Courtenay Dinwiddie, Executive Director, American Child Health Association, New York

The child-health demonstration program financed by the Commonwealth Fund is a venture in co-operative relationships between three communities of the United States and a national committee, in the interests of mothers and children of those communities and of the nation.

The demonstration program is based upon a fairly simple creed. No mother should die or be injured in childbirth because of lack of knowledge on her part or of proper medical and nursing attention. Every baby should be born under circumstances

that insure a healthful and vigorous start in life, so far as possible. Every child should have the advantages of wholesome living conditions and of health supervision which will maintain freedom from defects and facilitate a sturdy development. All boys and girls should learn those habits and acquire those ideals and attitudes which will contribute most to the making of strong bodies and minds and the preparation for greatest usefulness to their fellow-citizens and to their country. The committee believes that every child should have health supervision from before birth until adult life, and that every mother should have the best advice and guidance. Each stage of the child's development has its especial needs. Any sound plan for the protection of children and the promotion of their health must, of necessity, be closely woven into a complete plan for the health of the entire community. To help bring this about in each demonstration community will be one of the aims of the committee.

As part of the program of child conservation, the committee will advise the establishment of certain definite services, as they may be required by each community. Plans for these will be arranged and details carried out in co-operation with the local agencies and in conformity with conditions in the individual community. A center is planned for each of the demonstration communities, at which, with the co-operation of the local physicians, pregnant mothers may receive advice and supervision together with visiting-nurse service throughout the period of maternity. For children up to two years of age, height and weight records, periodic examinations, instruction to their mothers in care and feeding, and visiting-nurse service when required, will be available. There will be similar supervision for little ones from two to six years of age, including also thorough examination as a safeguard against defects and reference to the family physician for correction.

School children.—A complete plan of health protection, education, and development for the school child is considered of great importance by the committee. Any measures for the health supervision and education of the child in the schools involve the complete co-operation of the physicians and nurses, sympathetic understanding and appreciation by the teachers of the principles of health education, and co-operation of the parents. The latter may be stimulated by group meetings and discussions on the part of the parents, by home visiting, and general educational measures. Such co-operation of parents and citizens is essential to the understanding and permanency with which any measures are carried on by the community.

Financial responsibility.—The committee in charge of the Commonwealth Fund demonstrations has been granted an appropriation estimated as sufficient to cover three five-year demonstrations in three different communities of the United States. The sum to be spent in each place is not a fixed one, but will depend almost entirely upon the extent to which the community is prepared to carry on permanently work which may be initiated by demonstration funds. The committee is willing to finance the beginning of any type of work which is sound and definitely for the health of mothers and of children of any age, provided this is considered as a first step toward the community's taking over a supervisory and financial responsibility for such work within a fairly brief period. In addition, the committee will finance overhead expenditures and research and experimental work, which should not be a permanent charge upon the community, but which is necessary to proper guidance of the work as a national experiment and to a study and presentation of the results.

Supervisory responsibility.—A committee of representatives of the governmental authorities of the community—the physicians, the educators, the business, labor, and

civic organizations—should, from the very beginning, take its part in guiding the local work in co-operation with the director of the demonstration, who will represent the committee in each community.

Basis for selection.—The committee has laid down very simple conditions upon which it will judge of the eligibility of a community. The whole health situation, the needs of the community, its co-operative spirit, and its ability to carry on the work will all be most carefully considered in comparing relative qualifications of different communities.

The Fargo demonstration.—Fargo, North Dakota, was chosen from twenty-nine cities which made formal application for the first demonstration in the upper Mississippi Valley region. Doctor William J. French was selected as the director of this demonstration and soon after his arrival at Fargo he assisted in the formation of a local committee representative of the government forces and private associations interested in the health, social service, and civic development, and of the physicians and other groups. This local committee has been meeting regularly, and takes a keen and active interest in the affairs of the demonstration. With the full approval of the medical society, a whole-time pediatricist has been engaged actually to carry on medical examinations and to act in a consulting capacity with physicians who wish to help develop standards for pediatric practice in the community. The city commission has voted to engage a whole-time health officer who will be employed, on the pay-roll of the city, about September 1, 1923. His salary will be paid in part from the funds of the demonstration during the few months intervening, if he is appointed prior to September 1.

Three nurses already employed in the city, two of them in the schools and one engaged in work for the under-school-age child, together with three additional nurses supplied from the demonstration funds, have joined forces in the development of one complete plan of nursing for the city. Miss Brink, of the staff of the National Organization for Public Health Nursing, has visited Fargo and made a study of the local situation. Advisory assistance also will be given by members of the staff of the American Child Health Association. A well-baby conference carried on by the local chapter of the American Red Cross has been continued, and in addition another one is being started at the demonstration headquarters with the close co-operation of the physicians. The dentists have volunteered their services in the examination of the children in the kindergartens and the first and second grades of the public schools. The pediatricist has examined the children in these grades in four of the public schools since his arrival on April 15.

Limitations.—The committee does not imagine that any of the three communities in which the demonstrations will be located will, in the course of five years, develop a perfect working program for the health of the children. It is probable that other communities will have achieved much better results in some lines of work for mothers and children than any of the three in which these demonstrations will be carried on. It is, therefore, with no thought of reaching the millenium so far as child health is concerned that the committee anticipates possible results of its efforts. It does, however, very definitely hope that each of these three communities will show a gain in developing its own resources and in enthusiastically concentrating its energies upon the protection of its mothers and children, which will be an encouragement to other communities to carry out energetically the same measures. It is the hope of stimulating real progress rather than of the achievement of a perfect plan that is the committee's incentive.

A test.—The Commonwealth Fund appropriation will make it possible to answer several questions as to what such demonstrations can give to the health of our mothers and children: First, how far can the assistance of such a child-health demonstration committee, as that formed by the Commonwealth Fund, help three more or less typical communities to develop their own resources for saving the lives of mothers and babies and for promoting the health, strength, and sound development of children of all ages? Second, what is the relative value and cost of some of the measures to this end, so far as this can be determined, in the brief period of five years, under more or less complex conditions, the effect of which may not be easy to determine in so short a time? Third, what practical lessons can the average community which is not assisted by outside funds learn from such demonstrations as to how it may develop the best methods of saving life and promoting health under conditions such as it faces?

Whatever are the answers to these questions, it is certain that the national associations in touch with these three community efforts will learn much that can be given to the cause of maternal and child health everywhere.

MILBANK MEMORIAL FUND HEALTH DEMONSTRATIONS

John A. Kingsbury, Secretary, Milbank Memorial Fund, New York

Practically the entire year of 1922 was spent by the technical board and the advisory council of the Milbank Memorial Fund, with the intimate co-operation of the state department of health and the State Charities' Aid Association, in studying counties and cities in New York state available for health demonstrations. As the result of careful statistical and sociological surveys, the choice has finally rested upon Cattaraugus County, in the southwestern part of New York state, and the city of Syracuse, as the industrial city, while the metropolitan district remains yet to be chosen. The results of a year's deliberation may be summed up in the title of the program which has been adopted finally, viz., the "New York Health and Tuberculosis Demonstrations of the Milbank Memorial Fund." It will be noted that the program is no longer called "A Plan for the Control of Tuberculosis in New York State," and also that tuberculosis takes second place in the title.

The chief responsibility for results will rest upon the local public authorities and voluntary agencies. These authorities and agencies will have at their disposal the expert services of the technical board, the committee on tuberculosis, and Public Health of the State Charities' Aid Association, and their respective staffs, supplemented, when and as required and requested, by the state department of health. The details of local programs as submitted to the Technical Board, or perhaps individual projects in the programs, will be carefully studied by that board, the results of the study reviewed by members of the advisory council, and, finally, the projects will be submitted for the consideration of the board of directors of the Milbank Memorial Fund, which, if it approves, will make appropriations recommended by the Technical Board. Approval and appropriations obtained, the Technical Board will in turn be responsible for the distribution of functions and funds to the various agencies, state and local, responsible for the operations.

Cattaraugus County has a population of about 72,000, and occupies an area of approximately 1,343 square miles. It is located in a picturesque section of New York State, in the valley of the Alleghany River, adjoining the state of Pennsylvania. When this county was selected, it contained forty-nine more or less autonomous health districts, boards of health, and health officers. The first, and certainly not a mean, achievement resulting from the selection of Cattaraugus County was the action taken by the board of supervisors on authority granted by a recent act of the legislature, which permits a county, with the approval of the state commissioner of health, to establish a single health district and to appoint a board of health, which is authorized to appoint a county health officer. This has all been accomplished in Cattaraugus County. The county has made comparatively liberal appropriations from its own funds as an earnest of its desire and intention to co-operate. It has chosen one of the most highly qualified health officers in the country for this position of leadership—Dr. Leverett D. Bristol, recently professor of preventive medicine, University of Minnesota, and formerly commissioner of health of the state of Maine. The demonstration in this county is rapidly crystallizing into an effective organization, but the program still remains fluid.

If I were asked to indicate how this demonstration may be distinguished from others, I should be inclined to say by its universality. It deals with larger groups of population than other demonstrations; the character of the population is more varied; it has a greater diversity of population and environmental conditions. The Milbank demonstrations are concerned with all age groups; the diseases and conditions dealt with are universal, and the demonstrations include mental as well as physical health; there is universality of participation; everybody and every organization in the demonstration units are included, public and private agencies alike. There is no sharp time limit on the demonstrations; they deal with health not in its narrowest sense, but rather in its broadest social setting and social implication. The demonstrations of the Milbank Fund may be called efforts at social control of physical and mental welfare.

SOCIAL ASPECTS OF MEDICAL RESEARCH

PROMISING FIELDS OF MEDICAL RESEARCH BEARING ON PUBLIC HEALTH

*William H. Park, M.D., Director, Health Department Laboratories,
New York*

The topic assigned to me might seem on first thought to permit of almost endless suggestions. This would be true if it were not for the limiting word "promising." In the past, as it will be in the future, the importance of many problems affecting the public health has led us to attack them even though we had merely the slightest hope that we might be successful in obtaining a solution. Most of these attempts end in failure, but occasionally they result in brilliant discoveries and in marked advances in our measures to promote the public health.

As my research experience has been confined largely to the prevention and cure of the communicable diseases and to the relations of micro-organisms to disease, I

will confine my remarks to this restricted field. Those who discuss the subject will be better able than I to suggest promising lines of research upon diseases due to such causes as a deficiency of vitamins or of types of nutritious elements or of internal secretions. The striking results already obtained from these lines of research in the prevention of rickets, scurvy, pellagra, and diabetes are known to all of you.

A study of the history of the rise and decline of many of the different communicable diseases afflicting mankind brings to us the interesting information that with settled communities during the past fifty years in nearly every instance there has been a great reduction in the number of deaths, while only in a few has there been anything like an equal reduction in the number who become infected. Thus, while most of us now as was the case fifty years ago at some time in our lives still become infected with a little tuberculosis, only one-third as many die as fifty years ago and less than half as many develop serious illnesses.

Scarlet fever, while it has diminished only perhaps one-half in its morbidity rate, has decreased 95 per cent in its mortality rate. The fact that in these and other diseases where we have developed no efficient vaccine or where we cannot destroy the connecting carrier of the disease, as the mosquito in yellow fever and malaria, or destroy the virus in our food, as in the sterilization of water and the pasteurization of milk, leads us to the comforting knowledge that by increasing the body resistance to the development of infection by non-specific means we bring about a lessening of the virulence of the infecting microbes. There appears also to be an increase in the average immunity of the population. We thus gradually cause a decline in the severity of the individual communicable diseases while we are striving more or less successfully to eradicate them.

Before considering the reasons for these changes in the severity of many of the communicable diseases and suggesting fields of further research, let us first review a few of the changes that have taken place so that we may be assured of the correctness of our statements.

In the decades ending in 1873, or fifty years ago, and those ending in 1923, we find the following contrasts:

	1873	1893	1923
Scarlet fever			
Death rate	91	31	4
Sickness		300	150
Measles			
Death rate	32	18	10
Sickness		450	420

The drop in the number of deaths from measles can probably be attributed to better medical care, increased average specific resistance to infection at the time of contracting the disease, and of average lessened virulence of the measles microbe. The drop in tuberculosis is due to the same causes and also in addition the increase in non-specific resistance through better food, rest, and change of environment and the elimination of bovine infection in the young through the pasteurization of the milk. The drop in the deaths from scarlet fever is due to the same causes as measles and, in addition, the prevention of many from ever becoming exposed because of better isolation of patients and the pasteurization of milk.

It is also probable that in well-populated communities there is a gradual increased specific immunization of the average population; partly by the most susceptible dying and so not adding to the population the probably very susceptible children, and partly by immunization through becoming carriers of attenuated pathogenic bacteria. Thus we know that during the war the men from the cities developed less severe respiratory infections than those who were from the farms. We know that the endemic typhus virus is much less virulent than much of the foreign virus, and that there are forms of endemic smallpox which are much less severe than that imported from outside. We also know that children in the city who are immune to diphtheria, as shown by a negative Shick test, show a much higher percentage than those from the country. Medical research has I believe, a most important and hopeful field of work in this study of the behavior of the different endemic communicable diseases and to study the best methods to increase human resistance through both specific and non-specific means and thus to bring about a decrease in the virulence of the microbe which we have been unable so far to eradicate. It is well known that when human beings are crowded together in unsanitary conditions diseases increase in virulence.

There are a number of diseases in which the microbes which cause them are still unknown, such as scarlet fever, measles, mumps, typhus fever, etc., and others such as influenza, in which the specific germs are suspected only. Most of these viruses are probably of most minute size and most of them are known to pass through stone filters. Information concerning them is just beginning to be accumulated. Medical research should be concentrated on the isolation and study of this important group of micro-organisms. The fact that the diseases attributed to them belong to the class in which one attack usually confers immunity against future infection gives promise of the development of vaccines or serums if we can discover the microbes and methods to cultivate them.

Carriers.—Medical research during the past twenty years has impressed us with the importance of the life of the pathogenic bacteria and protozoa in healthy persons, as well as in insects and animals, that act as intermediate hosts. We have reason to believe that if it were not for these carriers it would be comparatively easy to rid ourselves of many of the communicable diseases of man. The remarkable success that is attending the attempt to eradicate from the world the last case of yellow fever is due to the fact that the species of mosquito which is the necessary connecting link between case and case is a household mosquito that can be easily found and destroyed and its breeding places eliminated in the localities where the infection is apt to be. These characteristics do not belong to the malarial mosquito and therefore we have the utmost difficulty in eliminating it.

Up to the present time investigation has been occupied with the attempt to discover the carriers and to cure or eliminate them. The results of these studies have been more successful in detecting carriers than in eliminating the parasitic microbes. We have indeed had very few successes in which the conditions were favorable and the community approved, such as the extermination of the yellow fever mosquito, the typhus louse, the plague rat, and the rabid dog. On the whole the problem has hardly been touched. For instance, the germs that cause the respiratory infections are constantly in the throats of dwellers in all large communities, and frequently in the throats of all who come occasionally in contact with them. Carriers of typhoid bacilli, while in a few cases they are relieved by operations on the gall bladder or by intensive immuniza-

tion by vaccines, as a rule remain infected for life. Persistent carriers of diphtheria bacilli are frequently cured by the removal of the diseased tonsils, but the great majority of healthy persons who are carriers are necessarily undetected and untreated.

The matter of the cure or at least the control of the carrier is so important that it offers a most fruitful field for research work. Further study on the insects and animals that act as carriers will help us to understand their habits and thus be able to prevent or to lessen the chance of their becoming infected and so transmitting infection. The relief of the human carrier from the infecting microbes can be attacked from the standpoint of restoring the infected tissues to such perfect health that the microbes will disappear, or of increasing the material or specific antibodies, or of discovering chemicals which will inhibit the bacteria more than they will lower the vitality of the tissues. These chemicals may be applied best internally by vapor, or spray.

The origin of epidemics.—We have done little but guess at a solution for the mystery of epidemic outbreaks. During the past ten years infantile paralysis has been endemic in the eastern part of the United States. In New York City the cases have varied from 100 to 600. In 1916 there were over 9,000 cases and 2,450 deaths. From 1881 to 1904 there were between 200 and 400 deaths from cerebro spinal meningitis each year, then in 1904 there were 1,400, and in 1905, 2,025. After this the cases and deaths dropped back to their former amount and diminished in fact to one-fifth their former amount.

The influenza pandemics of 1891 and 1918 present the same peculiarities. The first two diseases were certainly endemic before the outbreak, and this is probably true of influenza. It seems to me that we must assume that the endemic virus had become less virulent and that many had become immune through becoming carriers and then a new strain was imported that was both more virulent and also of a different immunological type.

The development of epidemics and their decline opens up a most promising field for medical research work. Flexner and Amoss and others have already studied the rise and fall of epidemics among large groups of animals. These studies as well as those on man should be continued as we may gain information of great importance. The importance of this subject and the success already attained suggest broad lines for medical research. The human and animal material is at hand for study.

Let us look at a few examples of promising research in individual diseases. During the past fifty years measles has continued to be the expectation of each new-born child. Our progress has been intreating the cases so that broncho pneumonia is somewhat less common and fatal. The measles virus is filtrable, and we have no knowledge of its nature or ability to cultivate it. At present we have two leads which have important possibilities. The first is the use of serum from a convalescent case. Ten cubic centimeters is believed to give immunity for several weeks or months. The other is the ingenious suggestion of Dr. Herrmann, who conceived the idea of inoculating measles virus on the nasal mucous membrane of a child at six months of age. At this time the child has a trace of its transferred mother's immune bodies. A very, very slight attack of measles or just a suggestion of coryza develops. An immunity is conferred on the great majority. This will probably be tried, and on a large scale, in New York City this fall. The possibility of the preparation of a vaccine from a culture is bound up with the possibilities of culturing this filtrable virus.

The success obtained from the use of the typhoid-paratyphoid vaccine has encouraged us to use other vaccines. A number of observers have used the pneumococcus

vaccine. In New York, through a grant from the Metropolitan Life Insurance Society, we have been testing the vaccine for three years. A very considerable immunity seems to be produced which lasts for about six months.

Further research is very necessary to prove whether the immunity is of sufficient intensity and duration to make it a practical problem. Other methods such as spraying the germs or swallowing the germs have been suggested and are even now being tried. The first reports are favorable.

The use of vaccination with diphtheria toxin-antitoxin begun in human beings in 1913 has since then steadily increased. The immunity developed has been shown to last in the majority for at least seven years. The natural tendency of children in cities to develop immunity as they grow older supplements the immunity produced by the vaccine. In New York City, we have during the past two years, Schick tested—and, when necessary, immunized more than 400,000 children. The diphtheria mortality has dropped one-half in the past three years. It is only .13 per 1,000 for the winter months, which is less than any previous whole year. The morbidity has lowered nearly as much. Other cities in the United States are undertaking the vaccination. A few more years of testing will demonstrate whether we have in vaccination a practical method of eliminating diphtheria.

The use of therapeutic sera has been handicapped because of the mixture of foreign substances with the antibodies. The antitoxins were practically refined some years ago. Lately the antibodies in the antipneumococcus serum have been greatly purified. Research should find a very useful field in further attempts to purify the antitoxins and the other antibodies.

Similar investigations on the separation of the antigenic portion of vaccines so that we may obtain the immunizing stimulus without the annoying reactions. Work now in progress in some of the laboratories is very promising. For several of the protection sera and most of the vaccines we have no proper potency tests. Without these we find it difficult to separate the suitable from the unsuitable samples.

Better methods of diagnosis to separate regional diseases due to different microbes would be of great help in research work. Thus, for instance, there is no method of being sure whether a case of supposed influenza is really due to the germ of pandemic influenza or to one of the ordinary pathogenic germs, such as the pneumococcus or Pfeiffer bacillus.

I think I have touched on enough subjects to convince you, if you needed convincing, that there are many fields of medical research connected with public health which are most promising of useful results. Indeed there are so many that the provisions for attacking them are quite inadequate.

PRACTICAL APPLICATION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

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It has been said that the greatest need of the day in public-health work is the wide adoption of scientifically demonstrated procedures, which implies that research has gone forward faster than the application of its results. When we come to consider specific examples, however, one soon realizes that those who look to us for advice and

guidance have not been slow to take advantage of substantial progress in research. This progress must always be considered in the light of the social system and economic surroundings of the people in question. We must recognize that the world is not solely a theater for public-health demonstrations, and that the application of some of the results of research is not practical; in other words, that the results would not be commensurate with the cost. For example, nothing is better understood than the means of controlling malaria, and yet those who have had much experience tell us that in some communities the cost of malaria control would be so large as to be unwarranted; in other words, it would be better for the population to abandon the afflicted communities. Pellagra affords another example; research has shown that a sure preventive is to be found in an ample, well-selected diet, but where the disease prevails the economic status of the population is such that the suitable diet is not to be had, either through long-established dietary habits, want of understanding, or through sheer inability to secure the needed food.

A final example of inability to apply practically what we know theoretically is to be found in plague. The means of control of plague through efforts directed against rodents are well known, and when plague appears in an important community, where it interferes with business and jeopardizes a large population, it is promptly suppressed. Plague eradication, however, in rural districts, for example, among the ground squirrels of our Pacific coast, is another matter; covering an enormous area, the cost of eradication would be very high; so high that no one would feel warranted in spending the money necessary to wipe out an infection that causes two or three cases of plague per year, with half as many deaths, and money for public-health purposes can be used to better advantage in other directions.

Let us consider some of the results of research as applied to several fields. Small-pox vaccination, the logical outcome of 2,000 years of man's struggle to free himself from "the branding iron," was taken up and adopted rapidly throughout the civilized world, and though we recognize the failure to accomplish universal vaccination in any country, it remains perhaps the greatest direct result of the application of the experimental method in preventive medicine. This is said in full knowledge of the fact that communities become lax in taking account of this protective measure, and sometimes pay such penalties as Denver did a few months ago, and as Kansas City did a year earlier. Such experiences as these always leave vaccination in a position stronger than before.

Or, consider the speed with which diphtheria antitoxin became practically uniformly employed within a short time after its discovery. In this connection we may point out the almost universal application of the laboratory method in the diagnosis of the disease. The latest and most logical of all means of control—diphtheria immunization by the toxin-antitoxin mixture—we find widely employed even before the stage of experiment has been fully completed. Further illustrations may be found in the rapid spread of the use of Insulin in diabetes, and the less recent introduction of arsenicals in the treatment of syphilis. One who is in a position to observe the reaction of the public to promising work in public health quickly senses the eagerness to take advantage of any really useful advance.

Often practice outstrips research. For instance, it is, I think, generally agreed that the prophylactic value of whooping cough vaccine is problematical, and yet we know

of a community in which so much confidence is reposed in the procedure that whooping cough contacts are excluded from schools unless vaccinated. The pathetic eagerness of the public to be vaccinated against influenza and pneumonia is another example of practice outstripping research, as it is generally recognized that the vaccines against influenza and pneumonia are still in the experimental stage.

Recently, apparently through some misunderstanding, a rather optimistic report was broadcasted in reference to the success of certain investigations of influenza. The readiness of the public to accept and act on this information would have been a revelation to anyone who regards the great mass of the population as apathetic to scientific medicine.

We must I think, recognize that overconfidence in the results of research investigation is precarious. Only too often the result of a blood test is regarded, not as an indication, but actually as a diagnosis. Again, it is unquestionable that too much dependence on the laboratory report occasionally does harm in diphtheria.

Theoretically, we ought to have no such thing as morbidity due to anthrax, but in the present state of our knowledge we would have to discontinue the industries dependent on hides and hair if we would abolish anthrax.

Let us glance at the field of industrial hygiene; when we have a clear-cut remedy for an industrial hazard, such as the prohibition of a certain kind of phosphorus in making matches, it is not a difficult matter to have the remedy applied; when, on the other hand, we are as uncertain and vague as we must be regarding hazards and prevention of many diseases in industry, the public may be excused if it is in no haste to accept our suggestions.

Automobiles in the United States kill several thousand persons per year; indeed, one insurance company has on the average four policy-holders killed every day; here is a direct, certainly a preventable, loss of life. As an individual and as one interested in the conservation of life, I should like to see the automobile abolished, but as one interested in the welfare of the whole people I realize that the automobile is indispensable and that the loss of life, deplorable as it is, may be more than compensated in other directions.

It is often said that when a direct economic gain is to be effected, much more is to be expected in the way of adoption of public-health measures than when the argument is solely from the public-health point of view. No disease to which man is subject is more certainly preventable than rabies, and research has disclosed all of the essential facts of the disease, yet every year a number of deaths due to this disease are reported. The loss of live stock, due to the same infection, is very large, and yet the well-understood and readily applicable preventive measures are not applied with respect to men or animals. I am not sufficiently familiar with the field to speak with much assurance, but I venture the opinion that the eradication of rabies is not economically worth while, either from the public health or the agricultural point of view.

Upon the whole I feel that we can congratulate ourselves on the readiness of the public to utilize our substantial contributions to public health. We must take heed that we exercise such judgment in recommending the applications of our research findings as to continue to merit the confidence of our master, the great public.

THE GROWTH OF THE SOCIAL POINT OF VIEW

THE GROWTH OF THE SOCIAL POINT OF VIEW IN THE MEDICAL FIELD

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The growth of the social point of view in the medical field can be discussed or interpreted only in the light of history and the present development of medicine and surgery. Within the memory of many of our own parents living today, anesthetics, without which surgery could not be practiced, came into use. The thinning ranks of Civil War veterans, as they march on Memorial Day, are evidence of the short span of time since men went to war with army physicians who knew nothing of modern bacteriology and asepsis or of sanitation as it is carried on today by every city and state in the nation. It was not until the present century, which is a way of saying within the past fifteen or twenty years, that the profession of medicine became equipped with its wonderful methods of scientific accuracy in diagnosis and treatment, in immunization, and other means of prevention of disease and the conservation of health.

The almost incredible rapidity with which knowledge requisite for the practice of medicine has increased in the past fifty years, and the development of great hospital and dispensary organizations in every center of population have inevitably absorbed the attention and administrative skill of the best men in the field of medicine, and until very recently there have been relatively few women practicing medicine. These leaders have thus naturally devoted their efforts to intramural research and the individual treatment of patients. The students of medicine were most deeply impressed with this phase of medicine, and on graduation began practice with ideals of the highest service to each patient, but with no conception of any duty to the community or the families and associates of their patients. From the date of receiving his license the average successful physician has few contacts outside the immediate affairs of his private patients, and these contacts are largely limited to his office or bedside visits at which the important subject of discussion is the procedure in critical illnesses. One can hardly find another large group of influential highly trained men and women who have hitherto had less opportunity in their education, occupation, and daily lives to know what advances have been made in the growth of the social point of view.

Other reasons why physicians have been slow to play their full part in social work may be found in the spectacular development of public-health administration and of the nursing profession. The latter has increasingly relieved the doctor from the responsibilities for solving the social problems of his cases. With this opportunity for release from the general advisory relationship of the old-time family physician, he has buried himself in the technique of the specialties in medicine and surgery. This partnership between nurses and doctors has been in many ways a great benefit to patients in both private and institutional practice, but it has served to remove the physician further from contact with the social aspects of his profession. Likewise the transfer of responsibility for the control of communicable diseases from the physician to the public health official and the equipment of the latter with administrative power, laboratories, inspection services, and popular educational facilities has still further convinced the physician that the public considers his duties to be limited primarily to individuals who seek his advice and treatment.

All this, however, is only evidence of the physician's lack of understanding of social needs and social-work methods. It does not justify the deduction that the medical profession is opposed to participation in such work. The reverse is true. In every great emergency, such as the Dayton Flood, the San Francisco Fire, or the world war, and in local conditions wherever a physician has become interested as a citizen in the public welfare, his social point of view has developed along with that of this fellow-townsmen similarly interested.

More concrete evidence of this is found in the extent to which physicians have served as health officers without pay, or as members of boards of health, and in innumerable other welfare bodies to which they have given most generously of their time and money. The growth of free dispensary services, the later pay-clinic plan, and the recent health-clinic idea, all of which thus far depend largely upon voluntary or small honorarium service of physicians for their success, are additional evidences of the increasing degree to which physicians are participating in social work. The most encouraging new factor in growth of the social point of view in the medical field is the rapid development of the periodic health-examination program. This principle has long been practiced in dentistry and has of course been advocated by individuals, by school, by health authorities, and by such agencies as the Life Extension Institute, but only within the past year promises to become a national practice. Probably nothing will contribute more rapidly to completing the social welfare education of the physician than the success of this periodic health examination movement in which he must participate.

Other forces which are playing their part in leavening the conservatism and individualistic ideas of physicians are the experiences so many of them had during the war. Those who entered the army and navy learned that, important as is the treatment of individual cases, the great thing in winning a war is to keep the largest possible number of men on the battle line the greatest number of days in the year. This they learned could not be done by limiting their efforts to those who became ill or were wounded; the big thing was to keep them well. What the army and navy medical officer learned about prevention of disease and health conservation, the overworked physician who was held at home learned in his community and through co-operation with his local health official or by service with the United States Public Health Service. These experiences have been supplemented by participation in the organized health and welfare work of the American Red Cross and of other great philanthropic bodies. The enlarged health programs of industrial organizations and of the insurance agencies, notably the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, have still further enlisted and convinced the medical profession that the social aspects of its work must be given adequate attention. It is no longer the theory of social work in relation to medical practice which holds the physician back, but certain difficulties of administration and practical application.

The national health insurance schemes adopted by various countries in the past thirty years, notably the English Insurance Act against sickness and unemployment, have shown how to do some things and how not to do many others in relation to correlating the medical and social forces. The physicians themselves are working out many problems of co-operation among specialists, and costs of professional service, by their experiments in group medical practice and hospital-center facilities. The United States Public Health Service and industrial surgeons are doing much to demonstrate

and to apply to civil life on an economic basis standards of efficient service recognized as attainable. Certain experiments in what is frequently called commercialized medical practice, such as in Chicago the Public Health Institute, are being watched closely and, while still on the firing line of intensely controversial opinion over the ethics and professional standard aspects of such activities, they are producing information of great interest regarding methods of administration and cost data.

In conclusion of this paper which is intended to be merely a syllabus of factors related to the growth of the social point of view submitted to guide discussion, I desire to voice the opinion that physicians are now embarked upon a permanent program of co-operation in social work, and willing to proceed as rapidly as the ways and means are developed. The recent program for enlarging the activities and library of the New York Academy of Medicine, which has in the past done such notable work in the medical social field, is an outstanding example of this. There are only a few dangers, as I see the situation, and the chief danger among these is that the public will insist on too rapid progress, and will cast aside the vitally essential personal equation of doctor and patient. The success of medicine in future even more than in the past is dependent upon that complete understanding and sympathy between patient and professional worker which has been the glory of medicine and nursing and is now being established as a tradition in social work. All organization making for efficiency and true economy of personnel and money must be built around this principle of highly prized personal service by professionally trained and mature men and women who possess sound judgment, resourcefulness, and such liberty of action as is requisite for case work in the larger meaning of that term.

Just as medical practice can no longer be carried on efficiently without pathologists and a score of other specially trained associates of the surgeon and physician, and can no longer be conceived as satisfactory without the assistance of the professionally trained nurse, so the public and the medical and nursing professions are rapidly realizing that these forces already active must have added to them the co-operation of the professional social-service worker, who can bring to the disposition of each case essential knowledge of the social unit from which the patient comes, and the social resources available for application to the treatment, convalescence, and social rehabilitation of the patient, and the prevention of recurrence of the condition and illness. We need to emphasize and educate the public and the professional groups concerned to see and apply a broad program of co-operation and partnership on a basis of respect and equality among members of the professions of medical, nursing, and social work.

THE GROWTH OF THE SOCIAL POINT OF VIEW IN MEDICAL AND HEALTH EDUCATION

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In a discussion of this kind it is quite necessary, of course, that we have as clear an idea as possible as to just what we mean when we use the words "social point of view." Like many other pleasant sounding phrases, this term is used by many persons, glibly enough, without any really clear conception as to just what the term actually does mean. In default of any prior understanding as to the meaning of the word, it is permissible, I suppose, for each speaker to define the term for himself.

For the purposes of this paper, therefore, we shall consider the social point of view as that point of view which recognizes that cases of social maladjustment result usually from the interaction of a number of social factors, and that the solution of the problems presented by such cases of maladjustment can be had only through the co-ordinated efforts of persons especially familiar with the operation and control of these various factors. Specifically, therefore, the question propounded may be re-stated as follows: What progress is being made in the task of acquainting students of medicine and of public health with the influence of poverty, delinquency, and defect in the causation of disease; with the influence of disease in causing poverty, delinquency, and defect; and with the forces and agencies at present at work in an endeavor to control these factors?

Superficially this question might be answered quite easily by stating that, so far as any formal effort at instruction is concerned, there is no very evident growth of social viewpoint in these schools, and this paper might, without doing serious violence to the facts, be concluded with this statement. Fortunately, however, education, even in educational institutions, is not confined to matters taught in formal courses, and we may discover signs of a slow but somewhat encouraging growth of the social point of view in schools of medicine and of public health if we observe closely. Starting with the pioneer work of Doctor Cabot in Boston and of Doctor Emerson in Baltimore, in endeavoring to bring students of medicine into first-hand contact with social problems and growing with the development of hospital social service, we find the medical student, at least during his period of service in a hospital, thrown more and more into contact with social problems and social workers, and getting a more vivid and accurate picture of what modern social work means.

That this process has been slow, and that social work has found so little expression in the actual teaching of medical students, is somewhat inexplicable. Individual physicians everywhere realize the very close touch between medical problems and other social problems, and socially minded physicians are to be found serving on boards and working in close co-operation in the field with practically every social agency in the country. Such co-operation is, however, almost always purely personal, and there is nowhere, to the knowledge of your speaker, any real, official liason between the organized medical profession or organized medical teaching on the one hand and the organized social agencies on the other.

Mention should be made at this point of the very important developments in connection with the teaching of pediatrics in a number of medical schools. In some half-dozen medical schools in different parts of the country effort is being made by professors of pediatrics to bring their students into direct contact with the field problems of pediatrics. This is accomplished through service in welfare stations and sometimes through visits to the home of individual cases. The effect of this effort in enlarging the horizon of the student is, of course, direct and immediate. Here again, however, the effort is generally dependent upon the personal interest and enthusiasm of the individual teacher of pediatrics.

That hospital social work has not affected the point of view of the medical student more than it has and has not succeeded as yet in securing a place in the scheme of teaching, is another reflection, of course, of the psychology of specialization. Specialization leads to the development of great skill and interest in the special field, but also leads inevitably to a loss of interest in other fields. The physician in the hospital, concerned as he necessarily is with the medical aspects of the case before him, does

not find it easy to look from the disease itself to the circumstances under which it developed. The resident staff, particularly, of a hospital quickly loses touch with affairs in the world outside and comes to live in a special and wholly unnatural world. The psychology of the physician, therefore, undoubtedly contributes largely to the lack of co-ordination between medical work and social service. The fault is not all, however, on the side of the physician. The social worker has her own psychology and contributes her part to the building of the wall between medicine and social service.

Another cause for the failure of the social worker to impress the importance of the social point of view upon the medical student is the very common belief among workers in special fields that there is something essentially difficult or mysterious in their own work and that it is useless, or worse than useless, to endeavor to communicate any adequate idea of that work to a person having less preparation and experience than they themselves possess. This belief is due to lack of clear comprehension, on the part of those holding it, of the difference between the principles of any subject and the technique of applying those principles. It is perfectly true that successfully to apply the principles of social work to any particular case requires knowledge, training, and experience. If these principles are true principles, however, and not merely personal generalizations from experience, they may be comprehended by any person of average intelligence. It might be said that one of the best tests of the truth and soundness of any principle in any science is the possibility of expressing that principle in non-technical and easily comprehended terms. If the social worker, therefore, thrown in contact with the medical student will cease to make a mystery of social work and endeavor to explain the principles of such work to the student without any affectation of superior knowledge or appearance of didacticism, the result will not infrequently be beneficial in more ways than one.

That the growth of the social point of view in medical schools could be much hastened by the giving of formal courses of instruction, is, of course, apparent. In spite of the present frightfully overcrowded condition of the medical curriculum, this is not, in all probability, impossible of achievement. The success of such a course depends on the ability of the teacher to simplify the subject and to avoid overelaboration of details.

The schools of public health, though as yet few in number, will inevitably exercise an influence on the general psychology of health administration far greater than the numbers of their graduates would lead us to believe. The student in such a school, even in the absence of formal instruction in social work, cannot escape being far more impressed with the importance of social forces in the causation of disease than is the student of medicine. He is trained from the beginning to think of disease in terms of mass rather than of individuals, and to seek for general rather than special causes. His statistical training necessitates, of course, that he take cognizance of social forces in all his calculations, and his field investigations bring the tangible results of the operation of social forces clearly to his mind. The student of public health, therefore, cannot escape what is essentially the social point of view.

Again that this point of view could be made more definite and effective for such students by systematic instruction in the principles of social work is, of course, evident. Here too the principal obstacle is the overcrowded condition of the curriculum. The introduction of such courses is already under serious consideration in the schools of public health and will, I trust, soon be an accomplished fact.

Reviewing the field we may say, I think that the process of integrating medicine and public health with other social agencies has begun. The progress while slow is in the right direction. For the final accomplishment of our aim we may be forced to await the appearance of a real integrator, who will sum up the present scattered knowledge of the physiology, pathology, and therapeutics of community life into a social doctrine to be accepted by all. On the other hand this integration may be brought about by a concerted effort on the part of all of us day-laborers in the various fields to endeavor to understand the hopes and aims of workers in other fields and to develop a mass psychology among the workers in all fields that will lead us to our goal, a real social program.

THE GROWTH OF THE SOCIAL POINT OF VIEW IN NURSING

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To see present trends in their true perspective, one must take at least a fleeting glance back beyond the fifty-year limit of this conference, to the beginning of both nursing and social work. The impulse toward a service for others grew out of and was bound up with the religious spirit, and historically it has been closely associated with the church. Naturally, in the beginning, this spirit expended itself chiefly upon those two groups in the community most in need of help and least able to help themselves—the sick and the poor. These problems seemed so closely interwoven that for the most part they were thought of and met as one. The greatest stimulus and opportunity for the expression of this impulse toward service was to be found in the religious orders of the early Christian church. It was a logical development, as those who tended the sick and poor became a group set apart, to find a conscious need for more defined principles, on which basis the work might grow.

Such principles were enunciated by St. Vincent de Paul in whose Orders are found the fore-runners of our modern organized nursing and social work. The Sisters of Charity combined the responsibility of the visiting nurse and social worker. In the technical sense they did not have the professional qualifications of either, but their spirit toward the human problems and difficulties of their families is something beyond which we cannot grow. In his instruction to these Sisters, St. Vincent de Paul laid stress on the following two notes, which certainly carry the prophecy of our present conception: first, that "poverty is not necessary, but is the result of definite causes that can be abolished;" and, second, that, "alms are not enough in work among the poor, but constructive aid through a personal knowledge of their difficulties is essential." Gradually, as the work of the Sisters grew, not only in France but in other countries, and their emphasis was increasingly on nursing, it was evident they needed more preparation. Such a recognition was the beginning of the development of standards and training in nursing work. So we find that nursing and social work had the same beginnings.

To become a professional means, among other things, acquiring skill in performance as a technician. The result of this emphasis has sometimes meant, in the older profession of nursing, and may be a danger in the newer one of social work, dwelling too long on these processes, thus losing sight of more ultimate and more fundamental objectives. And it is not strange if, in the swing of the pendulum from chaos to

order, too much order results at first. It was just as nursing was finding itself somewhat restricted in its methods that interest in social considerations began to take shape as a distinct entity and an "about to be" profession.

Among all groups there is an increasingly general realization that technical skill is not enough in attaining professional rank. The acquisition of a knowledge content which is unique and special is of equal if not greater importance. It has been, in the development of a broader and sounder educational basis for nursing, that social work has made one of its most noteworthy contributions through continual revelations of the part played by social causes in disease. Social workers saw, in their day-by-day contacts, these causes at work and their direct results. Though the credit certainly cannot be given to one group alone for this emphasis on social causes, as it has been part and parcel of the new public-health movement, the definite application of this knowledge certainly has been brought vividly to our attention by studies initiated and carried on by social workers. Therefore one of the indirect but most far-reaching influences has been the active participation of social workers in the new public-health movement, which movement has revolutionized nursing and nursing education, opening up undreamed of possibilities and responsibilities. Even before this an understanding of each other's fields and interests had begun through the everyday contact and co-operation, in those days sometimes more fancied than real, of the early visiting nurses and social workers. Probably the social group that most affected those first beginnings in community nursing were the settlements, many of which had their own district nurses, in one outstanding example the two activities starting as one.

The development within the social field which has been most closely associated with the nursing profession at its source in training schools has been the hospital social-service movement. Through the observation and supervised work of pupil nurses in hospital social-service departments, through direct contact with these workers and their accomplishments in the wards and dispensaries, and through their lectures and classes, both the spirit and fundamental principles of social work have permeated throughout the whole nursing process in many training-schools. So profound have all these influences been, that we find them affecting the whole plan of nursing-education.

That branch of nursing most closely related to social work, and therefore most obviously and directly affected by it, is now called "public health nursing," having grown out of the older visiting or district nursing. In passing, it is worthy to note that this early visiting nursing, dissociated from religious orders, was started by William Rathbone, an active philanthropist in Liverpool, whose interest in the sick poor grew out of his personal knowledge of social conditions causing sickness. With the twentieth century came the new public-health movement with its emphasis on prevention, not just cure, and its more recent emphasis on health-education. Public-health leaders turned to those nurses already visiting the sick in their own homes as the best means of carrying the knowledge of how sickness could be prevented and of teaching the principles of personal hygiene, so that health might become a positive factor in each family.

Such a definite enlargement of their opportunities and responsibilities—from that of bedside nurse to family health teacher, who uses her bedside work as a most favorable entrance into homes, and as a means of demonstrating the principles taught—has increasingly necessitated more social knowledge. It has been in this transformation of visiting nurses into public-health nurses, out of which have grown a variety of special-

ized types of public-health nurses, that social work has played and continues to play an important part. So that there may be no misunderstanding of the use of the terms, may I pause here to define what is meant by a public-health nurse, as the use of the word "public" often causes misconception. It is a generic term for any graduate nurse who serves and protects the health of the public, giving attention to the social as well as the medical aspects of her function. This work may be supported out of public or private funds, the real criterion as to whether a nurse is a public-health nurse or not being whether her primary object is the protection of the health of the public.

The influence of social work, in the technical sense, on this phase of nursing has chiefly been along two distinct lines—case work and community work. From the former has come the emphasis on the family as the unit and on the development of a technique in assisting the individual to adjust himself to his environment. The result has been that increasingly we find the public-health nurse, whether as visiting nurse, infant-welfare nurse, tuberculosis nurse, or school nurse, seeing her greatest opportunity as a family health worker, using the general case-work method in her planning and carrying out of a health program for the family. Constantly she is observant of social factors, calling in a social worker when intensive social diagnosis and treatment are necessary. Out of this growing understanding of each other's procedure, at last, we are getting the kind of co-operation that is real because it springs from an understanding and appreciation of the other's aims and emphasis.

The best sort of co-operation may spring from a comparatively slight knowledge of the other's professional technique, and yet it is enough for intelligent observance and reference to the proper resource at the right time. Beside the general philosophy and certain processes of case work that have come to be part of the public-health nurse's approach to her own job, social case work has led to an appreciation of the importance of preserving the integrity of the family group which, if broken down at one point, may be undermined throughout. No longer do nurses see family treatment, therefore, just in health terms. Any constructive plan must take account of its effect on all phases of family life. Probably the greatest factor in bringing about such mutual understanding has been the case conference, where the various groups interested in any given family have come together to give each other the benefit of their experience and knowledge, so that a unified plan, with as little waste and duplication as possible, may result. Certainly this is the clinical method of learning and teaching, and points the way to the soundest basis for a constructive division of labor and responsibility in closely allied fields.

Now let us turn to the second concrete influence of social work. Ever since visiting nursing was first organized in this country there has been a growing tendency to make the work of the nurse in homes something more than a charity service. Small fees were charged to those who were able to pay, until gradually the service has been worked out on an actual cost basis, being used by everyone in the community, irrespective of their economic status. With the development of the public-health movement the importance of a non-charity, community-wide basis has been especially felt. Health, like education, is something that should belong to everyone in the community and should not carry with it the stigma of charity.

Throughout the special educational program for public-health nursing, as well as in nursing itself, is found the most definite evidence of the growth of the social point of view. The education committee of the National Organization for Public-Health

Nursing feels that no post-graduate course is complete that does not include at least four weeks field work in a social case-work agency. Such theoretical and practical training is not only for the purpose of facilitating understanding and intelligent co-operation, but is primarily to give the public-health nurse the fundamental social knowledge and technique for her to apply in the development of her own field. Such interdependence necessitates more group work in detailed planning and in community programming. Breaking down the barriers, preventing isolation, in fact, taking any profession from the rôle of one of the occult sciences into the open places of everyday life is the end to be desired. There are still enough special skills belonging to each, so there is no danger of complete identification. The way has opened up for sharing the adventuring spirit and learning processes together, each benefiting by the other's special knowledge and equipment. Through the recognition of the same fundamental purposes, through seeing the job to be done as one whole big problem, needing different processes in meeting it, some of the early religious spirit and stimulation from united effort and high endeavor is being found.

SOCIAL HEALTH PROBLEMS IN RURAL COMMUNITIES

RURAL SOCIAL WORK AND HEALTH

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Social work and public health have gone hand in hand in their development, although along somewhat different lines. Last year the American Public-Health Association celebrated its fiftieth anniversary in health organization, as we are now doing in social-work organization.

The early development of health work during the last half century was begun in a national and governmental way although previous to that date the colonies, and later the states, had developed regulations for the enforcement of quarantine, especially for ships. A few states had already organized health departments fifty years ago, and some 134 cities had some form of health organization.

The early task seemed to be the protection of the rural districts against the ills of the city. It was not until 1910 that the death rate of New York City approximately balanced the death rate of rural New York. Efficient health work in the cities has turned the scale in the other direction. The city must now needs be protected from the rural districts which have been neglected.

Efforts to extend social work to rural communities, while less extensive, have on the whole been more soundly planned than similar efforts in the field of health. Neither the financial expenditures nor the results, however, have been nearly so great as in the field of health. Outside of the emphasis placed upon the extension of home service by the Red Cross, with the incident overhead cost of supervision, no large resources have been available for this work. Centralized administration and control have been absent from such work as has been done, and there has been a conscious (though generally misguided) effort to enlist the active administrative direction of local leadership. It is upon this fact that we base the statement that in general the efforts to extend social work to rural communities have been sounder than those for rural health organization. These efforts may be classed as follows:

First, private organizations, conspicuously the New York Charities' Aid Association, which in 1908 organized a department of county agencies to further the development of county units for the care of dependent children throughout the state. This is the most significant voluntary state organization for the extension of social work to rural communities, and its experience in working out co-operation with public officials in more than twenty counties has furnished a more natural basis for the assumption of county welfare work as a public function than has existed in other states.

Second, the Iowa plan was first adopted at Waterloo, Iowa, in 1905. Its essential feature was a combination of public and private funds for the payment of the salary of a worker who served in the joint capacity of overseer of the poor and secretary of the local charity-organization society. This plan never extended much beyond the environs of half a dozen cities in Iowa, and Miss McClenahan, who chiefly promoted it from her position in the extension department of the university, herself clearly states that the plan presented four fundamental difficulties: there was no agency to systematically promote the plan, there was no general state advisory board with authority to promote uniformity of standards and of administrative policies, or even to be called upon for consultation and advice; the plan was purely voluntary, and both its inauguration and continuance depended upon the co-operation of local citizens and the county supervisors; in respect to relief work, the plan was legally restricted to city limits. It may be said of this plan, therefore, that it has no applicability except to rural territory contiguous to an urban community, already sufficiently developed with social forces progressive enough to inaugurate and administer the plan without outside aid.

Third, state boards of child welfare and state boards of public welfare, as illustrated by the laws and bills relating to county boards of child welfare and public welfare in Arizona, Arkansas, Minnesota, Missouri, North Carolina, Ohio, and Virginia. These laws and their administration are fully described in the recent bulletin of the Children's Bureau, No. 107, entitled "County Organization for Child Care and Protection." A criticism of two of these laws will incidentally bring out the fundamental principles of rural social work. Let us, therefore, examine the chief features of the laws of North Carolina and Virginia. Both laws provide for the employment and payment, out of local public funds, of a social worker to meet the public responsibility toward the dependent, delinquent, and defective, specifically as stated. This legal recognition of the essential need of such a worker represents a distinct advance over the attitude which only ignores, palliates, or sentimentalizes over the needs of these classes. The North Carolina law first made the employment of such a worker mandatory on the counties and was later amended so as to make it optional in counties with populations under 33,000. The mandatory provision was evaded in many counties by the employment of a nominal official at a nominal salary, and this mandatory feature of the law aroused legislative opposition which, two years after the passage of the act, came near repealing the entire plan. The Virginia law makes the appointment of the county board mandatory, and the employment of the superintendent optional with the county board upon provision of the funds by the county commissioners. In thus correlating public responsibility with higher standards of service, and, at the same time preserving local autonomy, the Virginia law is the sounder in this respect. A more centralized authority also appears in the North Carolina law in the method of appointment of the county boards. This board is appointed in North Carolina by the state board, which also has the power of removal. The Virginia board is appointed by the

local circuit judge from a list of eligible county residents submitted by the state board. In North Carolina the practice has been to appoint the county superintendent of schools and the chairman of the county commissioners and one other person, while in Virginia the practice is to prepare the list of eligibles submitted to the circuit judge from names suggested by existing local organizations as the most interested and suitable people. The North Carolina law vests the county board with advisory powers only. The Virginia law vests the board with legal powers—the inauguration of the county superintendent and the direction of his work. Both laws make regular meetings of the board mandatory, and the Virginia law provides that copies of the minutes of meetings must be sent to the state board within three days after each meeting. The provisions of the Virginia law would seem to be much more conducive to activity on the part of local boards than that of North Carolina, where, as a matter of fact, the boards as now provided for are regarded as a weak spot in the law.

The North Carolina law makes no mention of co-operation, and consequently the county board nor the county superintendent have any expressed concern with the co-ordination of county agencies or with the division of responsibility between the public and private agencies. The Virginia law does take this phase of community organization into purview, first by the method of choosing and appointing the county board, and by providing that the superintendent shall exercise his powers and duties “under the supervision, control, and direction of such local board and in co-operation with other public and private agencies.” It is stated as one of the duties of the board “to foster co-operation and intelligent division of work between all public and private charitable and social agencies in the county or city to the end that public resources and charitable donations may be conserved and the needs of the county or city be adequately cared for.” An examination of all the county welfare laws and their administration indicates an appreciation of two principles enunciated by committees of the Country Life Conference on Rural Social Service as basic, the enlistment of local leadership and control, and the employment of an executive of experience and vision.

The fourth effort to extend social work to rural communities is represented by Red Cross chapters situated in rural communities which, under conditions prescribed by the national organization, extended their work to civilian families. This will be further discussed later.

All rural work faces many handicaps that do not exist in the city, and chiefly it faces the absence of the idea of progressive social betterment, which is gradually if unconsciously spreading in the cities. Again it confronts the indifference to human values such as exists between aliens or distinct upper and lower classes. We have in mind the cropper tenant and the Negroes of the South and Southwest among whom there are still almost utterly unmet pioneer health and social needs.

Inadequate finances is another handicap to rural health and social work. Subsidies have been associated with most that has been done so far, and in our judgment will continue to be necessary for some time to come within practically every county in some sections, at least during a demonstration period. These subsidies in the past have not taken into consideration as soundly as they should local education and participation. They have been conditioned too largely upon financial participation through the public authority, and such participation only.

It would seem that the opportunity of the Red Cross to extend its home service to civilians in rural communities should have received more encouragement and confi-

dence from social workers than has been the case. It might have done more than it has in both this field and in that of public-health nursing had the leaders in these fields been more unanimous in their approval. It may be the opposition and struggle within and without the Red Cross has been for the best, because it appears now that the attitude and program of that organization is not regarded as overlapping or competitive and is characterized by a due sense of humility and a genuine spirit of co-operation. The Red Cross chapter groups contain an actual or potential leadership and an interest which, if vitalized by information and executive service, could supply an essential element to rural community progress, which would lead communities to organize gradually and understandingly to meet their problems. A subsidy of \$2,000 annually for three years, to a limited number of Red Cross chapters exclusively for their local work, would represent an interesting experiment. The donor should make the selection of the chapters to receive grants, these to be conditioned upon the chapter raising an equal amount annually for the same period and maintaining a local Red Cross program, including a trained social worker or a public-health nurse.

Heretofore such a proposal has not been practicable for three reasons: the absence of responsible local organization through which to work; the absence of any assurance as to standards of service; and the absence of supervision. The relation of the Red Cross chapter to its national organization and the facilities which such national organization provides are a guaranty of integrity and efficiency in these three respects.

If a public-health nurse is engaged, the program is reasonably standardized. If a social worker, the program should consist of the following direct activities, limited or extended by action of the Red Cross committee according to the local situations: first, in co-operating with school teachers by visiting homes to investigate causes of absence, and adjusting home conditions which are keeping children out of school (school-attendance work); second, in securing medical aid for children needing same; third, in giving oversight to dependent and delinquent children, and especially those on parole or probation; fourth, in making provision for disadvantaged and dependent children within the county; fifth, in co-operating with county authorities, church societies, and other organizations in the administering of relief and providing constructive aid; sixth, in systematizing, through himself as a clearing house, the collection of data relative to the community's social problems and ways and means of bringing this data and its implications to the notice of proper local groups.

In these activities the worker should be the executive, and act under the direction of the executive committee of the Red Cross chapter, and should utilize the co-operation and practical help of other groups which are or can be interested. The direct benefits to the individuals and families aided by such a program would be fully commensurate with the money expended, but such benefits do not represent the biggest results to be obtained. In a word, the main accomplishment will be to awaken the people of the community to an organized concern for the improvement of health conditions and the establishment of more adequate provisions for the welfare of children.

The field of health and social work is so inclusive, the "many ills that flesh is heir to" so complex, that in order to adequately serve, even the rural community, many types of workers are needed—the physician, the nurse, the social worker, the nutrition expert, the visiting teacher, the volunteer. In our rural communities obviously such a complete program is prohibitive. The pioneers must necessarily be the physician or health officer, the public-health nurse, the general social worker. But even here we

can often secure only the physician, or health officer, and the public-health nurse or social worker. The physician can in no case be dispensed with. Where only one community worker can be secured the logical point of attack must determine which shall be the first in the field.

THE NEGRO'S STRUGGLE FOR HEALTH

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Strange as it may seem, this subject partakes very much of the idea of the Negro's struggle to regain health. Research into the conditions of the Negro's health in Africa and in slavery presents a most interesting picture. Travelers in Africa have noted, prior to the advent of the white man in numbers, the almost total absence of certain diseases to which the Negro in America is addicted in larger proportion than the whites. This is especially true of tuberculosis and the venereal diseases which directly or indirectly have taken such a great toll of Negro lives.

In the slave régime in America it was to the advantage of the masters to keep their slaves in good health. Regular inspection of the slaves, clean quarters, good, wholesome food, enforced regulation of habits, and the like were on the best plantations and in city homes insisted upon in order that the slaves might be in the best physical condition and thus be able to render the largest possible amount of service. At the close of the Civil War, therefore, we find a group of Negroes living principally in the South, rural in the main, possessed of relatively good health, and prepared with a good physical background to begin a life of freedom and to take up the intricate and difficult problems of the new civilization.

For a period of nearly sixty years, the Negroes though free in name have struggled against great odds. Negroes have been the last group to get the benefit of better-health movements, yet in analyzing the Negro's health condition, one must take into account the Negro's remarkable powers of orientation, whether of the flesh or of the spirit. Self-preservation as the first law of nature asserts itself in most adjustments which this race makes. This law is seen in the struggle of the Negro group in cities to acquire better living quarters. In many large cities persons have misunderstood the motive behind the effort of members of this race to purchase or rent houses formerly occupied by whites. They have been accused of seeking "social equality" and "association with the whites" when it has been only some unconscious impulse which has prompted the Negroes, in their endeavor to survive or prolong life, to seek living quarters in that section of the city where garbage and refuse are regularly collected, where sanitary inspection is assured, where streets are paved and cleaned, where proper drainage is possible, and where the physical condition of the property is kept up to standard.

It would be natural to suppose that Negroes, as descendants of a tropical race, would be constituted, by nature, especially, to withstand the ravages of the diseases which are peculiar to torrid-zone races rather than to those peculiar temperate-zone races. Just as north Europeans have with difficulty acclimated themselves to preserve good health in torrid-zone regions, so would it be safe to assume that Negroes would find difficulty in meeting the health requirements of a temperate zone climate. Some writers have gone so far as to say that the laws of natural selection have been

operative, and the weaker of the Negro group have been the first to feel the effects of the attacks of those diseases which have become less destructive to white men, not only through the increased knowledge of methods to combat these diseases, but through the operation of the law of natural selection itself. That the disproportionate death rate of Negroes, however, has been due to environmental forces rather than constitutional weakness, is evident, as certainly it would not be possible for a race either to deteriorate or make a complete change for the better within a period of ten years. Even if the law of natural selection were in operation, one could not observe constitutional changes in a whole group within a period of more generations than are recorded within the life span of our longest-lived individual.

There are two sets of facts resulting from widely separated sources which when put together seem to have tremendous significance. Dr. Alfred Hess of New York City, who has devoted several years to the study of rickets and has conducted a number of successful experiments in the control of this disease, estimates that 90 per cent of the Negro children of New York suffer from rickets in infancy. This disease seems to have an unusual incidence among colored children and is the result of poorly controlled environment; specifically, inadequate exposure to sunlight and insufficient nourishment, both characteristic deficiencies of city life. The "bowed legs" and "knocked knees" which are the result of retarded development of the bone tissue of the body, while not in themselves conspicuous in adult life, have a most serious effect upon the bone tissue in more vital parts of the body. Narrow chests and lower muscle tone are some of the most serious aftermaths of rickets. These in turn result in diminished breathing capacity and render those children affected susceptible to respiratory diseases, especially bronchitis, pneumonia, and tuberculosis. On the other hand, the report of the surgeon general's office on army recruits shows that although Negroes registered superior physical proportions in practically all the measurements, they had a narrower chest circumference and showed a greater susceptibility to respiratory diseases. It is perhaps not too far fetched to suggest a possible connection between rickets in infancy and susceptibility to respiratory diseases in adult life.

The struggle of the Negro for health has indeed been an effort to learn "how to live in the city." The death rate of Negroes in rural sections is about the same as that of the neighboring whites in the same sections. As has been indicated, the Negro has in the past fared poorly when he has settled in cities. The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company has, however, increased its Negro policy-holders to more than 1,800,000 or about one-sixth of all the Negroes living in the United States. Its experience with these Negro policy-holders shows that there has been a reduction of 22 per cent in their death rate during the eleven years between 1911 and 1922. This has been due, principally, to a reduction in the deaths of children under fifteen years of age, at which age period the proportion of Negro deaths is highest in comparison with whites, and also to the reduction of the proportion of deaths from pulmonary diseases. The Negro death rate in 1920 for the registration area was 18.4 per thousand; for the Negro policy-holders in the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company in 1920 the death rate was 14.5 per thousand. The white death rate in 1900 for the whole country was 17.1 per thousand. Thus it would seem that the Negro is less than twenty years behind the white people of America in his struggle for a longer life.

The continuous migration of Negroes to the North since the Civil War, and the great influx of the past ten years which is still in progress, is beginning to challenge the

prediction of many that the Negro could not survive the rigors of northern winters and the competition of northern industrial life. In considering the 12.5 per cent reduction in the mortality rate of colored people living in the registration area of the United States between 1910 and 1920, it is interesting to learn that the death rate among colored people in New York City during that period declined 24.3 per cent. Between 1910 and 1921 the death rate among Negroes of Philadelphia declined 41.2 per cent. The rate was 15.7 per thousand in 1921. Between 1910 and 1920 the Negro death rate in Chicago declined 17 per cent.

The army records for the world-war show that Negroes had a larger percentage of men accepted for the army from those drafted than was the case with the whites; also that after they were registered, a larger percentage of Negro registrants were admitted for full military service. If we assume that in some sections of the country injustice was shown the Negro and a larger percentage of Negroes than whites were inducted into service as a result of physical examinations by the draft boards, the fact that a smaller percentage of Negroes were rejected after they had been inducted into service would indicate that the first figures were not far amiss.

I have presented vital statistics from various points and given facts concerning the Negro's general physical condition to show conclusively that the Negro has actually improved in health and is capable of improving further. It is just as interesting to study some of the causes of this change. Most of the improvement that has come about in Negro health has been the result of the Negro population seeking an adjustment to the requirements of their environments that they might survive. The forces that have been created by organized effort to improve the living conditions among whites have been tardy of approach to the Negro population. Of course, some of the work of city health departments and of private organizations has had effect on the Negro group, yet but little definite conscious effort has been made to reach the Negro population with health programs until a decade ago. The past twelve years, however, have seen a remarkable change in this situation.

In the first place, Negroes have, both through their own personal efforts and through the efforts of active placement organizations, found better jobs for Negroes, paying more wages and affording them advancement while at work. This has tended to create a greater degree of satisfaction and hope in the minds of the masses of Negroes, and just as is always the case when wages increase, general mortality and especially infant mortality, among the group has decreased. A smaller percentage of colored mothers in our large cities are now working from day to day to supplement the meager family income. In 1915 when an investigation was made of infant mortality among the Negroes in New York City, it was discovered that in one section of the city where the largest percentage of mothers worked and where the families had the smallest incomes and the largest percentage of lodgers and therefore more overcrowding, infant mortality was 314 per thousand, while in the entire city for the colored people it was 202 per thousand, and for the whites, 96 per thousand. A campaign of improvement was organized in which social welfare agencies, the health department, employment placement bureaus, public schools, and in fact all agencies that touch the life of the family were brought into active co-operation to handle effectively this unfortunate situation. The Negro infant mortality for the city was reduced in two years' time from 202 per thousand to 173 per thousand, or a reduction of 29 points. In 1919 the infant mortality among Negroes in New York was 151 per one thousand births. In 1920 the infant

mortality among Negroes in that district in New York City where the rate was 314 per thousand had been reduced to a point lower than the infant mortality of the whites in the same district.

These figures for New York in themselves tell a complete story when one compares them with the negro infant mortality of 1890 in Richmond, when it was recorded as 529.8 per thousand; in Charleston, when it was recorded as 461.7 per thousand; in New Orleans, when it was rated as 430.2 per thousand. In this connection, I might add that the infant mortality among whites in New Orleans in 1890 was 269.4 per thousand; in Charleston 200.4 per thousand; in Richmond 186.9; far in excess of the infant mortality among Negroes in New York at the present time.

Possibly the most effective educational movement for improving health among Negroes generally has been the National Negro Health Week which was started in 1914 by Booker T. Washington through the National Negro Business League at the suggestion of the Virginia Organization Society, which immediately received the co-operation of the National Urban League and, subsequently, the active aid of the surgeon general's office, state boards of health, and other national organizations. These agencies each year early in the spring conduct a week's campaign of health education followed up in as many places as possible by continuous health propaganda throughout the year.

One of the notable organizations performing this continued health service is the American Social Hygiene Association, which has a department which has given especial attention to sex education among Negroes. In connection with this reference to the effort to reduce venereal disease, it is proper to mention again the absence of venereal diseases among Negroes on their advent to this country. Possibly one of the most unfortunate incidents in connection with the Negro's contact with the whites was the transmission, from the whites, of the curse of venereal diseases to the Negroes. The Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association have also conducted helpful health programs. At the formation of the Community Service, Incorporated, Negroes were considered, and now there are more than 400 committees throughout the country engaged in providing leisure-time activities for the colored population. This of course has had and is still having a very excellent effect on the health conditions among Negroes, as recreation which affords fresh air and wholesome exercise is recognized as an aid to health. Through these educational campaigns, both of a health and of an economic nature, Negroes have been induced to save their money, to purchase their own homes, and to invest in housing projects. One out of every four Negro families in the United States today owns its own home. This of course tends to regulate the home life of the family with good results in improving health.

In the United States there are now among the Negroes 6,000 physicians, 3,000 trained nurses, 150 hospitals and sanatoriums; 100 national or state sick-benefit societies, with many hundreds of locals, and 500 social-service workers engaged in active service among the colored people. Fifteen years ago there were probably no trained colored social workers. There is a Negro physician now for every 1,700 of Negro population. Twenty-five years ago, not only were there few colored physicians, but it was claimed that Negroes had no faith in colored physicians and would not call in even a white physician except in cases which threatened to be fatal.

The Negro's struggle for health might be considered an effort of the race to survive. And yet in the mind of each individual it is simply an effort on his part to live as long as possible and to contribute as much as possible economically as well as spiritually to the world.

With the educational facilities being extended throughout the South, with the migration of Negroes from the South to the North still in progress, bringing more Negroes within the zone of better living conditions, with Negro leaders increasing in their appreciation of the value of public-health education, and with the whole standard of living of Negroes being raised to a higher level, there is sufficient reason to expect a continued improvement in the health of the race. This will result not necessarily in any increase in the percentage of increase decennially in the Negro population, but certainly in a steady increase in the population due, if not to more births, certainly to a much greater percentage reduction in deaths than in births.

ORGANIZATION OF RURAL NEGROES FOR PUBLIC HEALTH WORK

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The South will never be wholly healthy or wholly efficient until greater stress is laid on the health of the Negro. As the southern states gain admission into the United States vital statistics registration area the evidence accumulates proving the fact that the health of the whole southeastern and much of the southwestern section of the United States is conditioned by the health of Negroes.

There are nine million Negroes in this section, most of them rural Negroes. In addition, the contacts between the races are such that the health of the white people is dependent upon that of their colored neighbors. The food is cooked, the clothes washed, and many of the children nursed by colored people. A diseased colored community therefore, of necessity, means a diseased white community. But this works both ways, the health of the colored people is just as dependent upon the health of the white people. The dependence is mutual, and for this reason public-health work in the South must be teamwork between the two races. No other procedure will succeed. This phase of southern health problems is self evident, and should be well understood. It has not, however, been sufficiently emphasized in the past.

As a general rule the same diseases affect the colored and the white communities, but the colored people have their peculiar health problems which require especial emphasis in health work. They suffer more from tuberculosis. In Georgia there were more than twice as many deaths from this scourge among the colored people as among the white. A very high infant mortality rate accounts for the death of between 10 and 15 per cent of the babies before they reach their first birthday. Valuable lives of young mothers are unduly sacrificed in child birth. Chronic diseases, such as heart disease, Brights disease, and cerebral hemorrhage cause relatively very many more deaths among colored people than among white. The general death rate of colored people is 60 per cent higher than that of white people.

But there is a brighter side to the picture. Colored health is improvable and is rapidly improving. Based on their experience and careful record of 1,500,000 policy-

holders, Dr. Dublin, of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, in a recent very optimistic report, announces a striking improvement in Negro health during the past ten years. That this improvement is not an accidental thing and really reflects a thoroughgoing change in the mortality situation is indicated by the fact that the death rate has declined in every age period of life, and mortality from a diversity of conditions has been lessened. Among the very young children the death rate has dropped more than one half. Tuberculosis mortality has decreased from 418 per 100,000 to 244, or 42 per cent. Deaths from typhoid and malaria, which especially affect the rural districts, declined 75 per cent. In spite of the influenza epidemics deaths from pneumonia have declined 26 per cent. Improvement along so many and diverse lines is most hopeful and indicates beyond a shadow of a doubt that the colored people have awakened to the importance of the health problem in their affairs. They have actually determined to profit by the opportunity to reduce the unnecessary loss of life from which they have suffered.

If, to this determination and increased activity on the part of colored people, there can be added more organizations whose programs whole-heartedly provide for public-health work in the colored community, much progress can be made in the coming two or three decades.

The difficulties may as well be faced first, however. These are two: the ignorance of the mass of Negroes, especially rural Negroes, and the lack of organizations for spreading the health message.

The traveler in the rural south is impressed with the poverty of the community life in many areas. Where the land is held in large plantations, tenant houses are scattered, villages relatively few, and communication poor. The only rural institutions are the church and the school, and these are scattered, poorly equipped, and hampered by reason of their shifting constituency. Fifty per cent of the tenants live on the farm only a year and then move elsewhere. They are pilgrims, merely sojourning a while and having little or no interest in their community or its institutions and leaders. As weak as these institutions are, however, they are the starting point of any program which would reach out and be effective in the country districts. By ignoring them, too many of our county organizations have become units functioning only in the principal town and lacking in constituency and influence in the villages and open country. The colored preachers and the colored teachers are the natural advisers and counselors of their people, even more so than white preachers and teachers are of white people, because their leadership is not divided with other classes as is white leadership.

Very little has been done so far to increase the interest of rural preachers in public health, but some distinct progress is being made with the teachers. The Anna T. Jeanes Foundation, in co-operation with the state and county school authorities, maintains supervising teachers in 250 southern counties. These teachers travel throughout the county aiding all rural teachers with their problems and bringing up the standards of the country school as much as possible. Within the past few years these teachers have been very useful in attacking the school health problems and through the school the health problems of the community. This is a big field, however, and one in which much remains to be done. Entirely too many communities provide carelessly for the medical inspection of white school children and ignore the black school-children. So far as epidemics are concerned, such a policy defeats itself, for an epidemic among the colored children will rapidly spread to the white schools and undo

the work there. Any effort to reach the colored population with health programs must take into account these colored leaders—the preachers, the teachers, and the farm and home demonstration agents.

Next in importance to the colored leader is the southern employer. The living conditions on many tenant farms are such that hygiene and sanitation are strangers. It has been said of some of the houses that the school children can return home and study geology through the floor, botany through the sides, and astronomy through the roof. Our landlords need to be impressed with the actual cash value of a healthy labor supply. It is estimated that 450,000 colored people in the South are seriously ill all the time and 225,000 colored people die annually. If half of the sickness and death from preventable causes were eliminated, the saving in earnings alone would amount to about \$150,000,000. Much aid has been given to landlords by governmental agencies interested in better pigs, better mules, and better chickens, but, as yet, comparatively little has been done to help the farmer have better labor. Within the past few years the farm and home demonstration agents have passed from a purely agricultural program to one which lays more stress upon farm health and sanitation. These are the strategic people for reaching the landlord. Only comparatively few colored farm and home demonstration agents are now employed, but those who are on the job are demonstrating their worth in reaching their own people and influencing the sentiment of the employers.

These then are the elements in the community upon which to build: the present health organizations, the colored leaders, the farm and home demonstration agents, and the employers. The proper person to focus all these efforts effectively is the colored county nurse—not someone to do bedside nursing, but someone who can organize parents and teachers to follow up medical inspection of school children, organize neighbors to do the house-nursing work, organize midwives into instruction groups, and interest the doctors in clinics, especially venereal-disease clinics.

Many counties are now ripe for the services of such a worker if part of the funds could be supplied by an outside source for beginning the experiment. For every one of the 250 supervising teachers now at work there should be a county nurse on the job. Here is a big field of public health work ripe for the harvest. There is great need for the interest and financial support of foundations for Negro health operating as the foundations now in the field of stimulating Negro education. These foundations supply aid to states in maintaining state supervisors of schools, and they supply aid to counties by maintaining county supervisors and strategic schools. There is nothing whatever to correspond to these agencies in the field of public health.

Colored nurses, although working under established health agencies, will need aid in enlisting the interest and organizing the forces of the community. In order that this may be accomplished, an advisory body of white and colored citizens should be formed. The personnel of this body should represent the county and voluntary health organizations, the white employers, the educational boards, the farm demonstration forces, and the colored leaders. This board will provide the real teamwork which is so essential. In many counties such an advisory board may be found already existing in the county interracial committee. Eight hundred of these county committees have been organized by the Commission on Interracial Co-operation. The primary object of these groups is to promote good will between the races, but they feel that good will is

promoted best by working together for the good of the community. In a few places these committees are already backing health projects and through their co-operation during the past three years National Negro Health Week has been more widely observed than ever before.

ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL IMPORTANCE OF HEALTH

HEALTH—A NATIONAL ECONOMIC ASSET

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1. *The modern economic attitude toward human conservation.*—In the older viewpoint man, as a factor in production, was not given as much attention as the machines he tended. Today man is regarded as an end in himself for whom wealth is produced, not merely a human machine to be worn out in the creating of goods. Human powers and energies are now being viewed as the most important part of the nation's economic resources. Instead of filling places made vacant through disease and injury, the effort today is to prevent diseases and industrial hazards, not merely from a humanitarian motive, but because of a clearer realization of the economic wastes of the former system.

In the city especially and under the factory system, the worker's chief asset is his ability to work continuously and effectively. Workers need the protection of their health in order to take their proper part in industry and to maintain their standard of living. This might not concern the individual employer so much if he were willing and able to secure at any time another worker, to replace the one disabled, without additional expense to himself. But the procedure of replacing a disabled worker is expensive, as measured by the cost of training a new employee, by decreased speed of production, by spoiled work, and by compensation for injury if the cause of disability is an industrial accident.

2. *The modern view of resources.*—Abundant natural resources in forest, mine, and soil caused us to regard them as inexhaustible and until recent years the bounty of nature has been squandered by us without thought of future generations. It has been the same with human resources, and the results have been even more serious. The eager pursuit of quick profits has absorbed the attention of the business man and has led to the exploitation of the worker and the neglect of his health and safety. The rapid inflow of immigrant laborers, of different nationalities, and with widely different standards and ideals, has promoted this narrow view of human resources.

There has appeared a different attitude toward industrial progress. The health movement has for its object the conservation of health and working capacity over as long a period as possible. It costs society heavily in goods and services to rear men and women to maturity, when they are ready to contribute their returns to the common stock of wealth. If these potential workers be injured or disabled or if they die prematurely, industrial society suffers a serious loss by being deprived of a return for the cost of their rearing, or as measured by the goods and services required for their support during the period of their disability. We cannot afford to scrap workers at the period of their maximum capacity as we scrap machines at the end of their usefulness when they have earned their replacement. We cannot afford to continue the seven-

day week and the twelve-hour shift in industry. We cannot afford the present toll from industrial accidents and other occupational hazards. We cannot afford to have our population sick and disabled from preventable causes.

3. *Some of the liabilities of industrial society—unnecessary economic losses.*—In December, 1921, Charles H. Verrill,¹ statistician for the United States Employees' Compensation Commission, estimated the deaths from industrial accidents at 20,000 a year, and the temporary injuries at 2,500,000 per year, causing time losses to those temporarily disabled, aggregating about 38,000,000 working days. He also estimated the permanent partial disabilities at 100,000 per year, in which cases the earning power would be permanently impaired to a greater or less degree. These injured individuals and their dependents must curtail in most cases their expenditures, and their standards of living are undermined. Except in the case of fatal injuries, the number of persons to be maintained is not decreased, while the sum total of goods from which both the active and the disabled are maintained is decreased. By far the larger part of this economic waste is preventable. Besides, there are indirect effects of industrial accidents which influence the future working capacity of large numbers of workers. Children leave school early to supplement family earnings. Their education is curtailed, their physical vigor is lessened, and their working capacity is impaired. Lowered standards of living imposed by these circumstances give rise to ill health and intermittent employment, which impose additional future economic losses upon industrial society as a whole.

In 1920, Louis I. Dublin, statistician of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, and Miss Jessamine Whitney, statistician of the National Tuberculosis Association, constructed life tables for the insured policyholders in the industrial department of the Metropolitan Company, for the period 1911-16, showing the expectation of life at various ages, with all causes of death included and also with tuberculosis excluded.² In the general population of the entire country at that period they estimated that tuberculosis mortality subtracted about 2.5 years from the average life span under prevailing mortality conditions. These investigators attempted to express the losses in average length of life caused by this single disease in terms of estimated money losses. After an examination of the available data on wealth, income, and production, they estimated that a loss of one year of life was equivalent to a money loss of \$100 in national wealth. This estimate was submitted to economists for confirmation. Since tuberculosis mortality subtracts an average of 2.5 years from the life span of each individual, the loss per person would be \$250. For a population of approximately 106 millions, the total loss would amount to \$26,500,000,000. The present generation would add that much more net wealth if tuberculosis were entirely eliminated. The average lifetime is about 50 years in the United States. Therefore, this total loss means an annual charge of over \$500,000,000 on account of this one disease. But for each death from tuberculosis there are probably five or six other persons who are constantly ill from the disease. The angle of approach above outlined gives no consideration to the very large economic losses which result from the periods of partial and total disability due to tuberculosis. For many, work must be suspended entirely for a time, and probably for all working capacity is more or less impaired over a considerable period.

¹ *American Economic Review*, Supplement, XII, No. 1, March, 1922.

² *On the Costs of Tuberculosis*, Quarterly Publications of the American Statistical Association, December 1920, pp. 441-50.

During the ten years from 1910-20 there were 99,261 deaths from tuberculosis in all forms in New York City. Of this total for the decade, 56,555, or 57 per cent were between 20 and 45 years of age, of which about two-thirds were males.¹ This reveals a serious picture of economic loss at an age when men and women should be at the height of earning capacity and when deprivation of earnings places a heavy burden upon individual and family standards. But to this 57 per cent must be added another 20 per cent (19,544) of the 99,261 deaths which occurred between 45 and 60 years of age, still well within the economically productive age period; and about 6 per cent (5,866) between the ages of 15 and 20 years. The former group should have been able, during the period of 45 to 60 years, to earn a surplus above the cost of their rearing and the immediate needs of themselves and their dependents; the latter group, 15-20 years, were deprived almost entirely of the opportunity to compensate for their rearing, in an economic sense; cut off at the very entrance into productive opportunity.

4. *The economic losses from maladjustment in industry must be considered.*—Dr. Frederic S. Lee, in his book, *"The Human Machine and Industrial Efficiency"*, demonstrates the need for the experimental attitude toward the human factor in production, regarding the human body as a mechanism with its own peculiar characteristics which distinguish it from non-living substance. Notwithstanding its very great importance in industry, how crude are the present ways of handling the human factor in production! No such development of the science of the human machine employed in the factory has taken place as in the case of the other machines in use. This is, in part, a problem of conserving the health and energies of the worker by careful studies concerning the effects of factory conditions upon the laborers and their output. Much has been learned about the causes of industrial accidents and ways of preventing them, industrial poisons which affect workers and methods of avoiding their ill effects, and dusty trades and their relation to tuberculosis. But industrial health is not merely the prevention of occupational diseases and injuries. Working capacity is to be preserved and increased by a more scientific determination of the proper length of the working period, by the study of the effects of introducing rest periods, by the classification of workers according to their capabilities for various kinds of work, by a determination of the effects of overtime, night work, and seven-day employment upon the workers and their output. Fatigue in industry has become a matter for serious discussion and more careful definition. Activity, mental or physical, is the cause of fatigue, which may entirely disappear during rest; but persistent activity—as in many of the monotonous processes of modern production, in overtime work or rush seasons, in seven-day employment, in work requiring excessive muscular exertion or carried on under conditions of excessive heat—produces fatigue past the limits of perfect recovery and may bring about disordered bodily functions. This condition exposes the worker to greater liability to accidents and germ diseases, or may induce nervous and digestive disturbances. Industrial fatigue is a drag on the wheels of industry. In this sense fatigue has been defined as "the sum of the results of activity, which show themselves in a diminished capacity for work."² The modern employer and the community more generally will come to view it as sound business to safeguard the health and capacity

¹ A chart prepared by the New York Tuberculosis Association shows these facts graphically.

² *The Health of the Industrial Worker*, Collis and Greenwood, p. 80. Chapter Five of this book presents an excellent treatment of the subject of fatigue.

of the workman by a sensible observance of the facts and teachings of physiological science.

The health handicaps of the working population are reflected in the variety of defects and their number found among school children, both in country and city, which are left uncorrected; and in the defects discovered among the men, twenty-one to thirty-one years of age, drafted for the army in the world-war.

Early entry into industry often aggravates initial subnormal conditions, and may create new ones. Child labor becomes a source of economic loss to society. Employment of children too early, or under bad conditions endangers the general health of the adult worker, and as a consequence undermines his productive power.

In 1909, in his report on "National Vitality," Professor Irving Fisher estimated that 3,000,000 persons were seriously ill at all times in the United States and that 42 per cent of this illness was preventable, with a possible addition to the life span of fifteen years. It is probably a conservative estimate to say that at any moment 2-3 per cent of the working population are incapacitated for work by illness. It is safe to say that a much larger proportion of those gainfully employed are constantly working in a state of ill health which seriously lessens their output. A very small percentage of those who are absent from work on account of illness continues to receive wages during the period of disability. Therefore, the illness estimated above for the working population represents an enormous loss in wages.

The budget studies of individual and family expenditures, made by Chapin in 1907 for New York City and by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics in 1918, have shown significant increases in health expenditures as the size of the income increases. The number of serious illnesses, however, seems to be pretty evenly distributed through the various income groups. Chapin showed that low-income groups appealed more frequently to free medical facilities. The evidence would indicate that poverty is the reason for low expenditures for health, not the absence of illness in the lower income groups.

The costs of maintaining the present health organization, devoted mainly to alleviation and curing disability which has already become serious, is very large. Under a régime of allowing illness and disability to occur and then curing or alleviating them, doctors, nurses, etc., are maintained from accumulated surpluses in the hands of individuals or groups, or from the productive energies of others than their patients.

5. *The dividends of health—a national liability converted into an asset.*—Just as a nation cannot be strong in war with weak and defective men in the ranks, so the great economic asset of a nation is its strong men and women—effective during a long working life. In recent years the expenditures on industrial hygiene and preventive medicine have yielded large returns. The object in the industrial plant has been to increase productivity through the promotion of better health among the workers. Only fifteen or twenty years ago, in most cases, when an industrial accident occurred, the injured was sent to the city hospital and not to a first-aid station within the establishment. Here the responsibility of the employer ceased. Most concerns kept no records of absence because of illness, and little or no information was available as to the cost of illness. Men were given jobs after a personal interview, with little or no attempt to determine their qualifications for a particular job.

But now it is becoming clear in many cases that the company has an investment in each of its employees, which is impaired or lost in the event of disability. It has

been shown that training a new employee costs the employer a definite sum in dollars and cents. Mere absence of a skilled worker for a few days slows down production and causes financial loss. Physicians and nurses have become a part of the paid staff of many business establishments, whose chief functions are to prevent injury and disease rather than to cure. Medical departments, begun as experiments, are being continued as paying investments. The object of physical examinations of workers on entering the plant and periodically afterwards is not to disqualify defective workers, in the main, but to determine qualifications for specific work and to classify the workers fitted for the particular kinds of work.

The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company's records show a death rate among the insured wage-earners and their families declining more rapidly during the past decade than among the general population of the United States registration area. The company calculates that during this period eight and one-half years have been added to the life of these industrial policyholders. During 1922 they estimate a saving in death claims of almost \$12,000,000. Just how much of this decline in mortality during the period is due to the general improvement in the industrial and community conditions and what part is due to the health work of the company is impossible to say. This is assured, that the officials of this and other insurance companies regard expenditures for health as productive investments, and effective in postponing deaths and increasing profits.

The benefits to the employer may be summed up as follows: health organization reduces time loss due to sickness, and consequently decreases labor turnover and absenteeism; it reduces compensation costs for accidents and disabilities; it increases output by making a steadier labor force and by keeping employees longer in the service of a given employer; it increases general efficiency by experimenting with the human factor in industry to find out the best conditions for work, and by seeking to create a higher level of physical vigor and endurance.

The small employer finds it difficult to introduce this general health organization under competitive conditions. Besides, much that employers are now doing is regarded as paternal by the workers and they do not like it. Therefore, only a limited part of the possible health and safety work is being done in the industrial establishments, and only a limited part can be done there.

If it has paid the factory owner to organize preventive health work and to give physical examinations to his employees, expenditures for similar purposes in the entire community are yielding also large returns in decreasing disability and postponing deaths. In 1910, when New York City had a million less people than at present, the deaths from tuberculosis were about twice as large in number. The death rate from this disease has fallen 51 per cent in twelve years. Deaths of infants and deaths from contagious diseases have shown similar declines. Milk station doctors and nurses, school physicians and nurses, private health organizations, and public health officials are organizing preventive health work rather than waiting for serious illness and disability to overtake the members of the community.

The investment in public health work is still comparatively meager. We have not realized fully the public economy of greater expenditures for constructive activities. The total annual expenditure by all official governmental, Federal, state, and local agencies in public health work is probably not over one-sixth of the expenditure of the people of the United States for drugs and medicines alone. We spend over a billion

dollars annually on our public schools. How small a fraction of this enormous expense is devoted to physical education and health work in our schools!

Community organization of health promotion and protection is more and more essential in modern city life. Group action by insurance plans lowers individual costs and secures more adequate health protection. Socialized and preventive medicine requires group organization. The need is for better ways of spending incomes. This is partly a problem of education on such matters as food values, and partly a matter of preventing unnecessary expenditures. This is equivalent to increasing incomes of individuals and families and creating a surplus from which adequate health protection is possible without free medical service.

DISEASE AS A FACTOR IN POVERTY

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This paper will undertake to emphasize the fact that ill health and poverty are even more closely related than is generally recognized, and that current practice in dealing with the problems of poverty does not make adequate recognition of their close relation.

Tuberculosis alone accounts for over one half of relief expenditures.—I would draw upon the experience of the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor for evidence of the fact that disease and poverty are inextricably correlated. According to the monthly report of this association, for the month of March, \$23,500 was expended for allowances to families out of a total of \$30,000 expended for material relief during the same month. So-called "allowances" are given only to families that have been known to the association for a period of at least three months and for which a definite plan of action has been mapped out, involving the supplementing of the income of the family. Of this \$23,500 spent for monthly allowances, \$9,000 was expended for families in which tuberculosis was a definite factor. The remaining \$14,500 was expended for allowances to other families. Thus it will be seen that of the current expenditures for relief purposes between one-third and one-half of all of the expenditures were made for families in which tuberculosis was present as a factor.

This is confirmed by the fact that the total expenditures for material relief for the last fiscal year of the association were \$345,000, and the total amount expended for the relief of families in which tuberculosis was a factor was \$116,000, again over one-third of the whole. A study made of the dependent-widow group of the association, which requires an even larger expenditure in the allowance group, indicates that 41 per cent of these families are in need of relief because of the fact that the husband died from tuberculosis. This evidence is supported strikingly by a similar study made several years ago of all dependent widows' families cared for by the Board of Child Welfare in New York City. This showed that the fathers of 42 per cent of these families had died of tuberculosis. In other words, one health problem alone—tuberculosis of the bread-winner—is a major operating factor in considerably more than one-half of all of the families under the care of typical family-welfare organizations.

Other disease factors.—A slightly different picture, but one again emphasizing the importance of disease as a factor in poverty, is seen from an examination of the statis-

tical report of the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor for the six months' period ending March 31, 1923. The visitors and nurses of the association, in their reports, indicate what are discovered as the leading health and social problems in the families under their care. Inasmuch as poverty is seldom the result of a single factor alone in any given family, one may find several health problems as well as several social problems as accompanying factors in each family. As a matter of fact, in dealing with 3,875 families that were under care during this six months' period, there were 5,613 separate important health problems listed by visitors, and 3,643 different important social problems. Tuberculosis was listed, for example, 839 times in the 3,875 families, meaning that tuberculosis was present as a complicating factor in 539 of the families. Cardiac problems were listed in 163 of these families; venereal disease, in 268 families; definite mental or nervous disease or mental defectiveness, in 299 families. Blindness appeared as a problem in 84 families; paralysis or crippled condition, in 91 families; rickets, in 236 families; convalescence, in 116 families; acute physical disability, exclusive of the general disabilities already referred to, in 815 families; and so on through the whole list of health problems.

Similarly, under social problems, widows with dependent children appeared as a social problem in 444 problems; old age, in 206 families; unemployment, in 471 families; desertion, in 212 families; non-support, in 118 families; death of the wage-earner other than husband, in 75 families; and so on with a group of social problems.

Similarly, in listing the health services rendered during this six months' period, there were 6,524 definite health services rendered, as compared with 2,940 social services rendered. These health services included diagnostic clinic examinations; physical treatment at hospital, sanitarium, out-patient department, preventorium, or by private physician; or maternity care, nutritional care, dental care, convalescent care, and so forth.

It is not intended by citing these figures to balance the one group of health factors carefully against the other group of social factors, because it is readily realized that one health problem may be ten times as important as another health problem or may be more important or less important than one of the social problems involved in a given family, but a careful examination of the whole statistical report does give one clearly the picture that health problems are of fundamental importance in the work of any family-welfare association; indeed, they seem to the writer to be of much more significance than is recognized in current practice in dealing with poverty problems.

Responsibility of family-welfare agencies.—If these data mean anything, for example, they would mean that the further reduction of mortality and the accompanying reduction in morbidity from tuberculosis would be of the greatest significance for family-welfare work. When we realize that the tuberculosis death rate in New York City has been more than cut in half in the last two decades, and bearing in mind what I have said about the relation between tuberculosis and the necessity for relief, we appreciate that already family-welfare organizations in New York City, public and private, are, by the very fact of the decline in the tuberculosis death rate alone, made more able to deal with the existing poverty that is left than they were in 1903. I cite tuberculosis because it is probably still the major health problem involved in poverty. It is a disease of long duration, in which the bread-winner has a protracted period of chronic illness before his death. It takes a family with exceptionally stable, economic background to be able to withstand the economic effects of a two- or three-year period of continuous illness of its bread-winner without any income from this source. A very

large number of otherwise quite normal families of wage-earners come within the poverty group cared for by family-welfare organizations under this strain. If we can again cut the death rate from tuberculosis in New York City in one-half, it would be of the greatest possible significance to the work now being conducted by family-welfare agencies. It would inevitably free at least one-fourth of the expenditures of such organizations for other lines of activity in addition to adding greatly to the economic assets of the community a group of self-supporting, self-reliant families, which are now a heavy burden on the community. The funds thus freed could well be devoted to prevention work in order to further decrease the amount of sickness and poverty which has to be relieved.

It therefore becomes imperative for family-welfare organizations, in my judgment, to either participate actively in the program of the prevention of tuberculosis or to at least see that adequate steps are taken, in any given community, looking toward this end. By adequate steps I mean steps that are commensurate with the results of failing to prevent tuberculosis. If one had to choose, for example, at the present time between spending as much money as is now being spent for the relief and care of tuberculous families in a given city and spending some real percentage of this in the prevention of tuberculosis, it would, it seems to me, be a duty to see that some of the funds were diverted to the prevention of tuberculosis program. Fortunately, in most communities this is not a final and necessary alternative, because it is possible, I believe, in most communities to raise funds necessary to deal with both problems, but the prevention program is the one that is most likely to be the last to be adequately developed and, because there is so much at stake for family-welfare organizations, it becomes a prime responsibility resting on them to see that the program of prevention is early and adequately developed and that the general public are educated to the point where they see the significance of adequate support of such preventive activities.

But it is also imperative that family-welfare workers know how to deal with the problems of personal hygiene and of readjustment of family health habits to enable them to deal effectively with such families as must be cared for because their tuberculosis has not been cured.

I have referred at length to tuberculosis. One might say almost the same thing, although the factor is proportionately not quite so great, with regard to cardiac difficulties. And so I might in turn refer to venereal disease, mental and nervous diseases, paralysis, crippled condition, blindness, rickets, and so on.

Case-work literature wanting in health discussion.—There is another implication of the close relation existing between poverty and disease that I wish to emphasize. I have pointed out that health problems as well as social problems appear in practically all of the families which are known to family-welfare organizations and that this factor should be adequately recognized in the organization of the work of family-welfare associations or other organizations dealing directly with the problems of poverty in families. As I look over the history of family-welfare organizations, and as a part of this I refer to the literature of case work and family-welfare problems, I do not discover an adequate recognition of the place of ill health in the problem which they are interesting themselves in and writing about and discussing in conference, when they meet for purposes of discussion.

Is it possibly true that we have been so busily engaged in discussing the technique of investigation, terminology, diagnosis, and understanding of personality that we have

lost sight of the importance of discussing and grappling with the problem of health as a significant and underlying factor of the family problems which family-welfare organizations are dealing with? It would seem to the author that there is a fair presumption that this is the case.

Case-work training wanting in health training.—I think also that the evidence indicates that there is inadequate recognition of the health factor in the training of social workers for family case work. An examination of the courses of study in schools of social work would seem to support this. There is an effort to train hospital social workers, including in their training a considerable amount of work which possibly gives such workers an adequate health background, but in the required courses for case workers in family welfare organizations, unless I am mistaken with regard to the contents of the courses which are announced, there is very inadequate training as to the significance of disease and its prevention in dealing with individual family situations. Without trying to press this point unduly so far as it relates to schools of social work, I think that the generalization that family-welfare workers as such have a wholly inadequate training in the fundamentals of health as an underlying basis, for their work is incontestable. The lack of such training has, I believe, led to much wasted effort in dealing with family situations. It has been responsible in part for a failure to discover physical bases for dependency which are essential to satisfactory social treatment.

There are, however, evident signs of progress in recognition on the part of social work organizations that a careful medical diagnosis is an essential and almost necessary routine part of the treatment of families. The development of more adequate diagnostic clinics for the apparently well, as well as for the sick, are more and more their concern. Some organizations are either supporting such clinics themselves or are joining with other social-service organizations in maintaining them. I am told as an interesting illustration of what I have just said that a joint clinic service recently established in Philadelphia is already considered an essential part of the necessary machinery of case-work organizations.

Then, too, there has been the unfortunate tendency to so divide the field of practical health work from the field of practical social work that it leads to a sharp division in two fields which are not two in reality but only in practice. This division applies to method, personnel, training, and day-to-day practice in dealing with families. The person who visits families, whether for preventive and educational health reasons or for social-work reasons, either is or should be a family-welfare worker. The problem of understanding personality and of effecting changes in family habits in order to prevent a group of defective nutrition children from becoming chronic dependents and fit subjects for social workers is exactly the kind of problem that social workers have to wrestle with. It is a family-welfare problem and the worker, whether she be a general social worker, a nurse, or a dietitian, must be a family-welfare worker with adequate training, not only in health but also in the understanding of individual personality and the possibilities of dealing with it. If this problem falls into the hands of the social worker, no matter how fundamental may be her philosophy with regard to the family and its social relationships, no matter how much she may understand personality and human behavior, unless she also has some understanding of health problems and of nutrition as a factor in health or in poverty, she is not in a position to be an adequate family-welfare worker with this particular family. I query whether it is not unfortunate that in this day, when public health and preventive nursing are coming more and

more to mean the adjustment of personal and family situations in order to correct or prevent fundamental personal hygiene and family habits that inevitably lead to disease and poverty, there has grown up such a deep and fundamental cleavage between the group of social workers and the group of public health nurses. The latter group should have more social work, understanding-of-personality, and philosophy-of-social-relationships background, and the other should have more health-philosophy, health-method, and relation-of-disease-to-poverty training. The question isn't so much whether we shall use public-health nurses or social workers for family-welfare problems as it is whether we shall train family-welfare workers to deal with family-welfare problems as they arise in particular families. This would mean, in my judgment, a much closer bringing together of the training of the preventive and educational public-health nurse and the training of the social worker.

Conclusion.—But it is not the purpose of this paper to do any more than provoke thought. It cannot attempt to deal comprehensively with the whole question which the title of the paper suggests. If I have brought out any facts that tend to indicate that health is one of the major factors in the problem of poverty and that its recognition is not yet commensurate with its importance, and if this should be recognized to the extent that it would mean a modification of the attitude of family-welfare workers with regard to health problems—a modification of philosophy, technique, method, training, etc.—and if I have at the same time indicated that most of the problems of the family visitor, whether she be the educational preventive public-health nurse or the social worker of a family-welfare organization, are not fundamentally and radically different and require much the same approach and probably much similarity in training, then I shall have accomplished the purpose which I had in mind in presenting these thoughts to you.

MENTAL ATTITUDE AND INTELLIGENCE AS SOCIAL HEALTH FACTORS

DELINQUENCY AND THE EX-SOLDIER

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In 1922 it was estimated that approximately 20,000 ex-service men were in penal institutions throughout the United States. This seemed an unusually large number. It was very difficult to get reliable statistics from the whole country. We therefore investigated this situation in Wisconsin and found that in the latter part of 1922 there were over 300 ex-service men in the three major penal institutions of that state. We also found that approximately an equal number had already served time in these institutions during the three-year period following the demobilization of our army in 1919. In other words, 600 ex-service men had been incarcerated in the penal institutions of Wisconsin. These men were largely natives of the state. Wisconsin's quota in the army was approximately 120,000. Upon this basis one-half of 1 per cent of those who

served with the military forces in the world's war were sentenced to penal institutions during a three-year period following their discharge from military service. If this ratio is applied to the whole United States, and assuming a mobilization of over 4,000,000, the estimate of 20,000 ex-service men in the penal institutions throughout the country is corroborated by our findings in Wisconsin.

This is an abnormal situation. The instance of criminality is far above that ordinarily found in the civilian population for the age group concerned; that is, males ranging from nineteen to thirty-one. We therefore sought an explanation for this condition in Wisconsin, and the results of our survey made during the latter part of 1922 and January, 1923, form the basis for this paper.

In Wisconsin we have three large penal institutions—the state prison, the state reformatory, and the house of correction, which practically serves Milwaukee County as a reformatory.

The investigation was authorized by our governor and the work was done by Dr. W. S. Middleton, associate professor of clinical medicine, University of Wisconsin; Dr. Raymond L. Kenney; and Dr. Frank C. Richmond, members of the medical staff of the Wisconsin Psychiatric Institute; and myself. The work began in December, 1922, and was concluded in January, 1923. The three penal institutions were visited, and every ex-service man found was personally examined by us. The examination was very thorough and complete. After close questioning as to present complaints, past medical and service medical conditions, as well as family history, the man was stripped and examined from head to foot. All findings were recorded. The physical examination comprised the taking of height and weight, thorough general inspection for physical stigmata, general nutrition and musculature, detailed routine examination of the eyes, ears, mouth, and throat (including the teeth, tonsils, etc.), the thyroid gland, skin, lungs, heart, abdomen, extremities, genitalia, lymphatic and nervous systems. Blood pressure estimation was included and in certain cases, where indicated, special examinations were made, such as urinalysis, etc. In every case a Wassermann test was also made.

The mental examination consisted of a personal interview with the prisoner. This examination was conducted in a separate room. The prisoner was encouraged to be frank and freely relate his story. He was questioned closely concerning various periods in his life. The institutional records and history were used to corroborate the prisoner's story. A stenographic account was taken at the time of the interview. All prisoners giving evidence of meager education, all who failed to complete the seventh grade at school, all who showed any peculiarities of conduct, all sex offenders and odd personalities were further examined as to their intellectual level. For this purpose we used the standard Terman intelligence tests. These tests were performed in separate rooms, offering an excellent opportunity for a thorough and satisfactory examination.

In all we examined 290 ex-service men; of these 134 were in the state prison; 65 in the house of correction, and 91 at the state reformatory. After completing our survey, we reviewed the case records. Significant facts and observations pertinent to the purpose of the survey were grouped and analyzed.

Scope of survey.—In our examination our interest was especially directed toward the probable effect of prison environment upon the physical condition of the prisoner, his best weight previous to incarceration, and his body weight at the time of the examination. We were also especially interested in the relation of the physical disease found to military service and, likewise, its possible bearing upon the offense committed.

In our mental examinations we sought sufficient information to permit a conclusion as to the existence of any mental disease or mental enfeeblement, the character of personality, whether normal or abnormal, and if abnormal, the further classification as to the type of abnormality. For our purpose we regarded an intelligence equivalent to that of a 9- to 12-year-old child as of moron level. Intelligence rating below that of a 9-year-old child we designated as imbecile.

We inquired carefully into the early life of every prisoner, and traced his life history up to the time the offense was committed. We sought especially to bring out facts concerning home influences and their absence, schooling, childhood labor, companionships, early employment, trades or skilled work attempted or mastered, earning capacity before and after military service, marital state, dependent children, social interests, etc.

The military service of each man was carefully looked into. This included wounds, accidents, and illnesses in service or subsequent to service; also, the conduct of the prisoner while in military service, court-martials, misdemeanors, promotions, character, of discharge, etc. Careful inquiry was made as to circumstances of the soldier immediately after discharge, his employment, and his income.

A special effort was made to analyze the situation immediately preceding the offense for which the prisoner was incarcerated. The crime and circumstances leading up to the crime were discussed with the prisoner, his reaction toward the offense and its consequence were noted. Likewise, his attitude toward punishment, his feeling toward society, and his plans for the future were remarked.

We grouped the offenses into trivial and major, against person, property, and anti-social. Among trivial offenses were included petty thefts, breaking into box cars, passing worthless checks for small amounts, assault of person not particularly vicious or with serious intent, wife abandonment, adultery, breaking in and stealing foodstuffs, stealing from cash deposits, breaking into isolated summer cottages, operating automobiles without owner's consent, breaking probation rules, etc. Offenses against person are such as rape, serious assault with intent to kill, murders and attempts at murder, and similar vicious acts. Offenses against property are such as taking or wrongfully holding property, money, valuables, or merchandise. We classified as anti-social, offenses that disregarded social conventions, such as, the Mann Act, liquor cases, abandonment, adultery, breaking probation rules, etc., and the plea made by the prisoner at the time the charge was recorded. A special inquiry was made into the possible relationship of alcoholism to the offense. The history of alcoholic indulgence was obtained. Likewise of drug addiction and, incidentally, the relationship of either such habit to the previous military service.

Finally, an effort was made to determine any influences upon the crime committed that might be justly ascribed to military experience or training. In deciding upon this we took into consideration the character of military service experienced by the prisoner, the length of service, his age and impressionability while in service. We also considered the character of offense committed, circumstances surrounding the commission, and how such might be influenced or affected by military life as we ourselves had observed it.

Physical diseases.—The physical diseases and defects found among these men were, in some instances, definitely of military origin, while in an equally large number there were physical defects which were not traceable to military service.

Physical disability of service origin.—Of the 290 men examined by us, we found 73 cases, or 26 per cent, in which the physical disability was in our judgment traceable to military service. In a few cases the men were receiving compensation, but, with the exception of one the compensation was not adequate and not comparable to that usually paid beneficiaries. It seemed evident to us that their status of prisoner handicapped them in prosecuting their claims, or, what was especially surprising, their uniform lack of interest and knowledge concerning compensation. No one man sought to magnify his disability. Instead, we were impressed with the indifference and lack of knowledge concerning federal provisions for the disabled. Their carelessness in this regard was a striking contrast to our experience with claimants. They give the impression of not wishing to realize upon their military service, nor desiring any sympathy or financial help because of such disability.

Summary of mental examinations.—As already mentioned, an effort was made to carefully examine the mental condition of each prisoner. It is interesting to compare our results with surveys made upon civilian prisoners at these institutions during the last few years. Our results show a greater incidence of mental abnormality in the ex-service men as compared to the civilian prisoners.

The feeble-minded.—Among the 290 examined, we found 73 cases of feeble-minded, or approximately 25 per cent. Of these 17 registered intellectually below the level of a normal nine-year-old child. The remaining 56 cases had an intellectual level ranging from 9 to 11. Among these feeble-minded, both imbeciles and morons, we found all sorts of crimes, some of the most serious offenses having been committed by these prisoners.

Psychopathic personalities.—The mentally abnormal persons designated as psychopathic personalities were separated into several groups. For our purpose we decided upon four types which we designated in our table as: easily influenced, inadequate type; unsocial, maladjusted type; serious character defect; criminal type.

It is believed that therapeutic measures might bring about favorable results in some of the cases listed under the first two groups. These therapeutic efforts we believe should be started at the prison and should continue after discharge from the institution. Such efforts, however, would only be successful if the conditions are studied in each individual case and a proper supervision exercised after release from the prison. In the type designated as serious character defects and criminal type, we believe that reformation is exceedingly difficult, if not impossible.

Social data.—Some very interesting facts were disclosed among these prisoners. Their possible bearing upon crime must be considered. It is noteworthy that over 58 per cent of the prisoners examined gave a history of disrupted family relationship during childhood. In all, we found thirty-five cases in which there had been juvenile delinquencies sufficient to warrant incarceration at industrial schools, etc. This number represents 12 per cent of the total examined and is somewhat below the percentage usually found among prisoners generally. A definite record of previous conviction was obtained in fifty-five cases, or 19 per cent of the total examined. It must be held in mind that these fifty-five were found only among the cases at the state prison and the house of correction. At the reformatory there were none who had been previously convicted.

Criminal data.—It is very striking to note the relatively large number of prisoners at the reformatory who plead guilty. Eighty-seven of the ninety-one young men

examined confessed their guilt at the time of arrest. The pleas of guilty among the ex-service men at the state prison and the house of correction were also relatively large, averaging 75 per cent. Another observation of considerable interest is, with few exceptions, the feeble-minded all plead guilty.

Economic stress.—By economic stress we mean a situation preceding the criminal act in which the prisoner was in dire need, away from home and without friends or through loss of employment, or lack of opportunity for employment, was without funds. In order to come under this term, the offense committed had to be apparently a true outcome of the stress and, furthermore, it had to be a theft or similar offense in which the proceeds or objective was proportional to the need.

Alcoholism.—A total of seventy-five ex-service men, or 25 per cent, are criminals because of acts directly associated with alcoholism. The crimes in many instances were committed during periods of mental confusion. Among those listed as associated with alcoholism are included the offenses connected with "moonshine traffic." In a number of cases, especially those at the reformatory, alcoholic indulgence began during military service.

Drug addictions were surprisingly absent among these ex-service men. Only 2 among the 134 at Waupun and none at the reformatory and the house of correction.

Acknowledgment.—When this survey was started the district office of the United States Veterans' Bureau at Chicago offered to co-operate and assist in establishing claims for disability. Representatives of the United States Veterans' Bureau were present at the survey made both at the reformatory and Waupun. With their assistance, in all, forty-seven claims for disability were started or re-examinations for increased compensation requested.

Summary of findings.—The following facts were disclosed as the result of a mental and physical examination made on 290 ex-service men in the penal institutions of Wisconsin: 25 per cent had physical and mental disabilities of service origin; 55 per cent were mentally abnormal; 25 per cent were feeble-minded; 59 per cent were from homes that were disrupted during the prisoner's childhood; 19 per cent had served prison terms before present conviction; 12 per cent had been juvenile delinquents; 62 per cent were guilty of trivial offenses; 69 per cent were guilty of theft; 75 per cent had pleaded guilty to the charge; 32 per cent were offenses associated with economic stress; 25 per cent were offenses definitely influenced by alcoholism.

Recommendations.—That a thorough mental and physical examination be made on all ex-service men in penal institutions; that a thorough mental and physical examination be made, as a matter of routine, upon all persons incarcerated in penal institutions; that in rural states such mental and physical examinations be made through a medical service of the medical department of a state university if such exists.

SIGNIFICANCE OF INTELLIGENCE IN THE CONSERVATION OF HEALTH

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Intelligence probably is more largely responsible than any other quality or factor in evolution for man's dominant position in nature. Its importance for human progress continues undiminished. From its effective use, discovery, invention, industrial

organization, economic and educational advances result. The cultural status of tribes, races, and peoples, varies directly with intelligence. It therefore behooves all who are working for human welfare and betterment to try to understand, gauge, and evaluate intellectual traits in themselves and in those whom they aim to help.

Public health and hygiene are not excepted from the sway of intelligence. Physician, teacher, and social worker need definite and trustworthy knowledge of human personality, and especially of the traits and capacities of the individual. Arising from this consciousness of need is insistent demand upon psychologists for analysis of personality and for serviceable ways of measuring and safely evaluating important traits of mind. This reasonable and enlightened demand eventually will be met. Initial and crude forms of intelligence tests are gradually being replaced by more refined and reliable methods which yield specific information about the mental constitution of the person. Standards of judgment and bases of comparison are rapidly emerging from research, and, most important of all, it is coming to be recognized that balance, the proper proportions among traits, is incomparably desirable. Safer for the individual, so far as contentment and happiness are concerned, is mediocrity with symmetrical development of traits and balance than supernormal condition of one important trait or function accompanied by subnormal development of other activities. Intellectual genius coupled with unreliability, disloyalty, selfishness, or other moral defect or lack of balance has scant attractiveness.

There is much ado about intelligence testing, and many are the wise and foolish claims and criticisms. Nevertheless, mental measurement advances steadily. In 1875 practical mental measurement was unrecognized, perhaps also non-existent, and never in human history, so far as we have been able to discover, had man's experience and behavior been observed systematically as an aid to medical, hygienic, educational, or economic progress. In 1900 the scientific study of these aspects of human life—comprehended in the term psychology—was well begun, and appreciation of the practical significance of such information was manifest. We know the status of the science of mental measurement and the art of psychotechnology at this time. Progress has been rapid and on the whole eminently safe. We may not believe all that is claimed, for there are incompetent as well as unscrupulous persons in the camps of psychologists and psychiatrists. Conservatism and caution are in order. It is wise and well to prove all things, but it is also necessary that we have faith in the possibility of progress, good will, and determination to make scientific inquiry increasingly serviceable to mankind.

In the advancement of health we must, of course, attend to all types of problems. For example, poverty as a social ill may very well be compared with opulence. It is a sufficiency of wealth rather than too much or too little that is socially safe and desirable. Intelligence has much to do with the extent and the nature of our resources, whether it is a case of too much or too little for our own welfare or for the social good.

Similarly, in the case of crime as social or anti-social behavior, we find from an intimate study of the cases which present themselves in our day's work that the intellectual status of the individual is highly significant. Now, intelligence is no more a simple, single factor than is general health. Yet, when we say there is such a thing as general intelligence, we mean just about what any sensible person means when he remarks that his general health is good. We analyze health into a variety of specific conditions. We can analyze intelligence, we must, indeed, analyze it if we are to consider specific functions which vary according to the requirements of the

situation, occupational or otherwise. The question whether general intelligence can be measured is just as much to the point or just as little as the inquiry, "Can health be measured?" In so far as either is possible, we should go forward to the measure of more and more specific and definite functions or varieties of behavior, significant in the life of the individual and in our social relationships.

Vice, or unhygienic or immoral living has been abundantly shown by statistics to depend upon intelligence. There is convincing evidence that vice is highly correlated with low-grade intelligence. Perhaps I had better make this broader and say with mental disturbances, not merely with mental defects.

We are particularly concerned in this program with disease. What is the relation of intelligence to disease and defect or to those lacks of balance which become problems for the physician and health officer? The evidence is clear that for the preservation of health, the good physical condition that escapes disease as well as accidents turns upon good intellectual capacity far more than upon good education. I do not mean to minimize the importance of formal and natural education. We cannot escape being educated; whether we are ever subjected to school discipline matters relatively little by comparison with the existence of educability. If one has first-rate natural capacity, one acquires a fair education in the course of an indefinite number of years of living, although he may not be able to read or write! The educational influence of living, the educational influence of home and occupational environment, is the essential test of the value of intelligence.

For the conservation of health we must consider the significance of intelligence in two individuals. The person whose health is to be conserved or preserved or restored, and the conserver of health. I have spoken thus far of the intelligence of those of us whose health is to be conserved. I have indicated that in my opinion a high degree of intelligence is desirable, and good intelligence is essential, for the conservation of health in the individual. A high order of intelligence is desirable for quite different reasons in those of us who are responsible for constructive work in public health and hygiene. Here progress depends upon the intellectual capacity of the individual, and especially upon originality and initiative. Other aspects of personality may not with safety be ignored, for there are people of very mediocre intelligence who, by reason of good will, social-mindedness, extreme unselfishness, devotion, and faith in their work, accomplish wonders! So temperament and character must be considered as well as intellectual functions.

This brings me to the next principal point I wish to take up. The success of our work with one another, whether public health or social service, depends largely upon our analysis of personality. Of course at this stage of our knowledge the analysis must be crude; but at least we can distinguish between those fundamental items which go to make up what we call intelligence and those which constitute character. Assuming that we have a reasonably useful analysis of personality to work from, what can be done, what are the primary needs and requirements in connection with mental measurement, and especially in intelligence measurement? I have no apologies for the progress of mental measurement or the present status of "intelligence tests," so-called. I think, all things considered, a great deal has been accomplished in the last twenty years. The situation, scientifically viewed, is far from satisfactory, and quite as far from satisfactory if practically viewed. Yet I am entirely optimistic. We need the measurement of specific traits. This psychologists have been emphasizing from the

beginning. We should find out precisely what ought to be measured and then devise suitable methods of measurement. Now this is being done. Meanwhile, group mental tests are being used broadcast. Do not be deceived by appearances. What you hear most about is relatively crude examining or testing. But all the time intensive work is going forward for the improvement of method and standards.

Now for the second point which I wish to emphasize. No measurement of an individual is of practical value to us unless we have some basis of judgment as to the significance of the measurement. We must, in other words, have a basis of comparison. So we have come to talk much about norms or standards of judgment in our mental work. We know that there is no such thing as a typical human being. We are individuals. How many important types of individuals exist in the human race no one is prepared to say, but we know that there are a great many types—physical, mental, and from the standpoint of character—and a great many occupational types also. Consequently, it is not sufficient to set up a single standard of judgment with reference to a particular individual trait. We must have standards for the principal types of individual, standards for the sexes, standards certainly for different races or peoples. If we are going to avoid injustice to individuals and groups in the use of results of mental measurement, we must have increasingly reliable standards of judgment. To evaluate their relations we need also more ample knowledge of the traits which we attempt to measure.

As I said in my summary, balance—the proper proportions among traits—is infinitely preferable to overdevelopment of some one trait, even to genius. I suppose there might be some difference of opinion in this, but it is preferable that we be well-balanced, even if we sometimes have to be mediocre in intelligence, than to have a one-sided superiority. With these reflections on the significance of balance and the possibility by means of mental measurement of throwing light on the characteristics of the individual, on his desirable and necessary relation in the social sphere, and on his relations to the conservation of health, I must conclude.

UNCONSCIOUS MOTIVES DETERMINING SOCIAL ATTITUDES

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In order to introduce the subject upon which I am to speak I thought I would speak for a few minutes on something Dr. Williams mentioned, the matter of prejudice. He defined prejudice to you. We are as a rule inclined to think of prejudice as the other fellow's opinion when it does not agree with ours. Dr. Williams gave a somewhat accurate definition of it, but I would like to give you my idea of prejudice. I came to this idea some months ago when I was writing a little book on *Insanity and the Criminal Law*. When I was discussing the attitude of mind of the expert witness, I made up my mind that very probably not only was the expert witness a prejudiced individual when he took the stand, but any one of us must necessarily, concerning every problem of our life, if it has any vital interest for us, be prejudiced, because by prejudice I mean that particular attitude of mind with which we must come at any problem because of our previous life experience.

We have lived a certain number of years and had a certain number of experiences. We have accumulated a number of facts. We have thought and thought about them.

That is the way in which we come to any problem. The nature of our past experiences of necessity controls the way in which we approach that problem. That is prejudice, and we must realize that everybody we come in contact with, in connection with our special problems, is already prejudiced when we approach him. We have also to realize that we ourselves have our own special prejudices, so that it frequently happens when the stage is set for these various prejudices to come together the result is what I have been pleased to call a clashing of instincts, and because of these clashing instincts we get into the impasse Dr. Williams has been talking about.

Now, in respect to ourselves, more particularly in respect to the social worker, let us examine some of these positive and negative attitudes of the social worker, his prejudice and his lack of prejudice. The first quality, perhaps, that the social worker should have is the capability of understanding the problem of the particular case upon which he is working—the positive understanding, the faculty of being able to understand. All that is dependent somewhat upon a lack of prejudice. It requires the ability to approach the problem as far as possible without preconceived notions.

Certain of the attitudes born of prejudice work very disastrously. For example, if a social worker must be single-minded and of a single purpose, he must desire solely to solve the problems to benefit the person who presents the particular problem at issue. If he has another purpose in mind, the purpose will in some way get in the way and trip him up and interfere with his results. We may think we can keep undesirable ideas from other people's knowledge. We may think we may approach one of these problems with some ulterior motive and nobody will know. It may be true that nobody will know in the sense that they can formulate it definitely in words, but they can feel that a person has not the right motive. The social worker has not the right motive if he has not a single mind and a single purpose to solve the problem he has undertaken. The lack of that single-mindedness will surely undo him. It is not appreciated, although it is a more or less obvious fact, how important the mental attitude is to all parties concerned.

In any social endeavor, the social worker and all others with whom he comes in contact have their prejudices, their own particular ideas. And all these things enter into the solution of the problem. Sometimes these things are exceedingly hard to overcome, and are never overcome by losing one's patience about it, getting mad and calling other people names. We must study their situation, and so come to a thorough understanding of why it exists and why the world undertakes the solution of its problems in that particular way, and it will only be the result of that sort of understanding possibly that will bring any measure of effort that will have any prospect of success. In my world it sometimes happens that the attorney general or the comptroller general has made a decision that is absolutely the opposite of the decision that I wanted, and it seemed to destroy for the time being all my hopes in a certain direction. Now, there are a great many things that may be done about that adverse decision. I might get so I hate everybody in sight, or have a grouch and go off in a corner and sulk. I might do a great many things, none of which would help at all. Or I might take this adverse decision as a comment upon the original ineffectual way in which the question was presented. If I assume that an adverse decision was rendered because I did not properly present the case, I may take that adverse decision as a challenge to examine myself, see wherein the fault lies, and map out a new method of attack. And so when the social worker fails in particular problems, the important thing for him to do is not to blame

individuals who have not yielded to his efforts. It sometimes happens to the doctor whose patient won't get well. He is inclined to feel that the patient is a sort of unreasonable type of person and ungrateful for his efforts. That sort of thing won't do. The social worker should examine his own methods and see wherein he has failed. When he begins to do that I think at least he will begin to make a success of problems that heretofore have been failures.

Now, there are a great many cures that are put forth for individual illnesses and for social evils. In medicine we have all sorts of cures, hydrotherapy, suggestion, and all sorts of things, but at the bottom of all those cures and through them all is a common component which is the psychological component. We are a little inclined to call it suggestion, personality, or something of that sort. None of those names tell us much about it; they are simply names, descriptive terms. I never heard of anyone who used a suggestion in that way tell what it was. It is true with the social worker, his mental make-up in the treatment of a patient, and I suppose his personality at times, in supreme moments, but we should realize that the everyday work of the social worker, thousands and thousands of them throughout the country, cannot be done by the superman or superwoman. It has to be done by the ordinary man and woman, and therefore the social worker needs to be trained in thinking and feeling and in the accumulation of facts and data so that he can bring all of these facts and all of this training in thinking and feeling into his work. I have no special sympathy with the people who want to standardize everything. Thus we have, therefore, all of these mental elements entering into the situation, the prejudices we have to meet in others, the prejudices existing in ourselves, and, if possible, the eradication of some of them by special courses of training. I have called this process of eradicating the prejudices, increasing the field of conscious control, and I believe if you are consciously aware of this possibility and have learned not only to criticize others but yourselves, you can increase your power of conscious control very materially.

As to the next fifty years of this social endeavor, I am optimistic. I believe that something has been accomplished in the past fifty years; but that the most important thing that has been accomplished has been the recognition of the problem. I am never disappointed about a mistake made in carrying out a particular program so long as the fundamental problem has been recognized and the people are beginning to think about it. It seems to me that recognition of the problems you are trying to solve is the most important thing that has happened in the last half-century, the recognition of the necessity of studying the human animal, studying and understanding his mental reactions.

May I call your attention to one big task done in the last twenty years. I refer to general work of psycho-analysis, which has been a movement that has come into existence to answer all the questions raised. Whether it does or does not answer questions may be a matter of opinion, but I do think that inasmuch as it has come into existence for the purpose of answering those very questions of human motivation, it cannot be disregarded by any of you without a judicial examination of what it offers.

Now, why do I think this work is going to succeed? This work of salvaging the human being, of reclaiming the energy wasted in the defective and delinquent classes, bears I think a great similarity to the work of a large industrial machine. When the large packing houses first went into operation there was an enormous amount of material thrown away and wasted, blood from the slaughter houses ran down the sewers. As other packing houses came into existence, competition grew up, and the necessity

of saving the waste, saving every particle, became evident and the question of how to prevent this waste was solved. The blood does not run down the sewers today, but is made to serve a useful purpose.

I think now that society has become so complicated, and the danger from the delinquent classes and the anti-social classes, the wasted energy of the defective and delinquent classes, has become so great that society cannot any longer afford to neglect them, and therefore out of necessity these problems will be taken up more and more intensively as the years go on. Mankind, I have an idea, does not like to progress very much. Man hangs back a great deal like a crying child being dragged along the street by an irritated mother. He does not want to go ahead until his mother of necessity finally forces him to progress. Society of necessity will find out ways to recapture this enormous amount of wasted energy and put it to some kind of usefulness. That, I believe, is the work you are trying to do. Now, in your problems you have started the solution in recognizing the motives lying back of the conduct of human animals, which will certainly help you in this reclamation of defective and delinquent people. The enormous amount to reclaim in the industrial machine is due to the different types of individuals, their different positions in that machine, distrust, fear, or hate often of one another, and there is nothing to dispel that fear, that hate, except understanding. Understanding is therefore the job you are engaged in. That is the basis of all your work. Before the sunlight of that understanding these class prejudices and individual prejudices are bound, more or less, to give way. You have the opportunity to dispel these intervening obstacles and break down this impasse. I am a firm believer that ignorance, selfishness, hate, and all the rest of the anti-social emotions can never erect a barrier to progress that is so high or so firm that human ingenuity cannot sooner or later surmount it or go through it.

INDUSTRY

SOCIAL ASPECTS OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT

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Social workers and workers in the labor movement have, it seems to me, much in common. For one thing, they both face a somewhat hostile world. I do not mean that the world as a whole bears them any personal ill will, but at present the most powerful forces seem to have different standards of value and to be pressing toward different goals from those which are nearest their hearts. Here is one energetic group intent upon making war or preparing for it, another utilizing their immense powers to gain foreign concessions and govern foreign peoples, another striving to make as large profits as possible at home, still another contending for political preferment. In the *mêlée* of struggle for individual advantage the powerful often seem to be those whose main object is not the desires and welfare of men in general. Those of us who have social ends in view and are busy about them have to contend with the opposition or indifference of such forces.

We are alike also in sharing the hardships of the pioneer. Few come in such close contact with the defects of modern civilization, with its human waste and losses, with its manifold injustices. In the midst of this wilderness we cannot help dreaming of a more orderly, a more intelligently, directed and humane society. Yet it is our lot at present, not to build the perfected city, but to blaze trails, to clear away the stumps and lay primitive foundations. I am sometimes told that social workers feel keenly their limited opportunities, that they are tired of patching up social diseases which need fundamental cures, that they do not wish to be thought of merely as dispensers of the crumbs of charity which fall from the rich man's table. A feeling akin to this often comes also to the servant of labor organizations. When so many constructive possibilities are in sight, it is galling to have to fight over and over again the battle for elementary rights of organization and recognition, to have to insist again and again on the necessity for decent working hours, a living wage, and fair working conditions.

Some who are not in close touch with the labor movement fail to understand why we dwell so much on these matters, and seem to believe that we do so out of choice, or because our imaginations cannot compass anything further. I can assure them that this is not the case. Anyone who is familiar with industrial conditions in this country knows that a great many employers and even public officials are not yet, after a century of growth of the labor movement, convinced that voluntary and independent organizations of wage-earners are here to stay and must be recognized in the establishments where their daily life is lived and where they earn their bread. Such elementary standards as the eight-hour day are not yet practiced in vast stretches of the nation's industry. It is a continual struggle, in many branches of work, to keep wages anywhere near the level on which a man can support a family in health and decency. We are just recovering from an industrial depression during which many employers utilized the temporary disadvantage of the wage-earners, not merely to reduce their wages,

but also to break up their organizations and deprive them of rights and conditions gained by years of struggle. Constant attention to these elementary matters is not our choice, but a bitter necessity.

I am not one of those who believe, moreover, that there is any lack of dignity or social benefit in the struggle for better hours and wages. Some persons seem to regard controversies between unions and employers about these issues as similar to a conflict between business competitors for custom or between partners for a division of profits. It appears, in their eyes, as the sort of struggle in which the public is not concerned beyond seeing that it is conducted fairly and with a minimum of inconvenience to outsiders. Social workers will appreciate, I think, that more than this is involved. Insufficient wages, insufficient leisure, insufficient employment, fatigue, and unwholesome or improper working conditions give rise to a great part of our social troubles, and it is ten times as important to eliminate the causes as it is to attempt to alleviate the results. Furthermore, it is desirable that these causes shall be eliminated, not by the concern of someone above or apart, but through the independence, intelligence, and mutual effort of those affected. The unsatisfactory plight of the unorganized and dependent wage-earner consists not only of the material hardships to which he is subject but also of the lack of status and power in his relation to industry. An organization of his own, which can build up this status and power in the course of winning tangible advantages, confers a psychological benefit on him which is immeasurably greater than his material gains.

One of the most pressing needs of the present day is a general recognition that voluntary organizations of labor ought to exist, and that they should, in the public interest, function not merely as social clubs and mutual benefit societies, but as representatives of their members in the governance of those aspects of industry with which they are specially concerned.

The struggle for minima of status and compensation, however necessary it may be, is merely the basis for something larger. In saying this I hope you will not anticipate that I am going on to give you a neat architect's drawing, accompanied by plans and specifications, for a new and better social order. Society cannot be reformed by daydreams, nor can it be made over by platforms and programs. Nevertheless the labor organizations have a great contribution to make in the work-a-day world beyond the gaining of elementary justice for their members. Once their status is firmly established, they can go on to make constructive contributions of far-reaching importance. In some cases they are even now conducting experiments of much significance.

Take, for instance, the question of efficiency and economy of production. Much is said by enemies of the unions about their assumed "restrictions of output." Some of these so-called "restrictions" are working rules put into effect to prevent overspeeding and to protect the health and ultimate efficiency of the worker. Others are merely the reflection of loose and haphazard industrial management, which fails to share with wage-earners the benefit of increased productivity, or fails to prevent long periods of seasonal unemployment or business depression. These working rules are small indeed in their effect on production compared with the major wastes of industry, such as unemployment. But labor has a positive interest in efficiency which can be exercised wherever its position is secure. We do not need economists to tell us that the more useful goods there are produced, the larger is the product in which we may share as consumers. Once we can be sure that we can share fairly in the division of the product, and that

standards and methods of work will be set in such a way as to protect our interests, there is no force more eager for efficient production than labor. I speak here not of vague generalities, but of experiments actually going on in various industries, some of them sponsored and initiated by labor organizations.

For this sort of experiment the organization of the wage-earners is essential. New methods of production devised in privacy by management and imposed from above on unsuspecting wage-earners, do not take into account their point of view or enlist their co-operation. If such methods are not defeated by passive resistance, at least they fail to achieve the best results. If, on the other hand, the co-operation of a labor organization can be secured in the study of processes and the improvement of efficiency, the practical knowledge of the workers is tapped, their confidence and interest are engaged, and the union machinery is there to assist in achieving the best possible result. The chief reason why the co-operation of unions in these matters has not been more frequently secured in the past lies in the experience of unions with those hostile or grasping employers whose habit it is to guard jealously every power of management, and to seek the major share, if not all, of each improvement of productivity. But I hope we shall before long be able so to demonstrate by results the superior benefits of co-operation with labor, even to the employers, that this attitude will tend to disappear.

Another contribution being made by labor organizations in a definite way is the labor bank. For years we have had many insurance and benefit plans which offer much better opportunities for investment of the wage-earners' savings than can be obtained in other ways, but these are an old story. Recently more than a dozen banks have been established in this country, with resources of many millions of dollars, a controlling interest in which is owned by members of labor organizations. These banks are not operated for the profit of bankers or of the stockholders. Their chief aim is social, in that they hope to use the enormous credit power of the wage-earners and other depositors in the general interest. We have yet to explore all that can be done safely with the credit power in the present competitive system, and I can assure you that these banks are determined above all to safeguard their deposits. But at least we know some of the things which we can safely refrain from doing. We can, with safety, refrain from financing detective agencies and employers bent on warfare with labor. We can, with even greater safety, refrain from financing speculative business ventures whose chief gain, if successful, is that of the profiteer. In the meantime we can, by sharing profits with the depositors, make sure that the wage-earner gets something for the use of his money, and gets it in a much healthier way than by the special profit-sharing and stock subscription schemes put out as a bait for submissive wage-earners by individual companies.

Such efforts as I have mentioned cannot solve our largest economic and social problems, at least for a long time, but they do make contributions to knowledge and to social organization which would be useful in any larger solution. Labor also has its eyes on the more fundamental questions of economic waste, and is coming to use its efforts to further management of industry in the public interest rather than for private profit. We are conscious, for instance, of the disorder and the need for a basic change in the coal industry. I cannot speak for the miners, but I think it will be found that among the most valuable contributions to a solution of the coal problem will be the studies made and the recommendations submitted to the United States Coal Commis-

sion by officials of the United Mine Workers and the technicians whom they have engaged. I can speak directly for one of the unions whose members are employed on the railroads, and in this case I know that we are actively interested in questions more fundamental than wages and hours. We have our experts co-operating with the Interstate Commerce Commission in their investigation into economy and efficiency, we are studying the fundamental question of railroad valuation, we have declared ourselves in favor of the broad principle of government ownership and democratic management, and we are constantly co-operating with groups of farmers and other citizens who have a vital interest in the matter, to study the requirements of the transportation system and to bring about a real solution of railroad difficulties.

Such controversial activities may seem to some too purely economic or political to be called social aspects of the labor movement. But basic social questions cannot be separated from economics and government. As long as economics concerns itself with academic "laws," or adopts solely the point of view of the profit-maker, and as long as politics is merely a struggle between political machines for patronage, neither has much social meaning. It is one of the chief social contributions of organizations such as the trade unions that they can attract the attention of economists to practical problems having to do with social welfare, and that they can lift politics to a plane where it must take account of the effect of government on the daily lives of the great masses.

This has not been a comprehensive picture of the labor movement from the social point of view. In the larger sense the whole movement is a social force, and each of its many activities would have to be described in order to cover the subject. But I have tried to suggest that organizations of labor are not mere negative associations for mutual protection, that they are also constructive forces, necessary for the building of a better social order. They at once attract attention to maladjustments of society and furnish a machinery for better social organization. They tend to develop a fitness for larger responsibilities as they receive recognition and power. They build up group habits of co-operation and discipline which are essential to any democratic control of an industrial civilization. In so far as social workers are interested in a fundamental attack on their problems, I do not see why the unions should not go hand in hand with them. At any rate I am conscious of the great debt which labor owes to progressive social workers for their vision and sympathy in the past, and I hope that this debt will grow even larger as time goes on. For in the long run, we are all working for the same ends.

INFORMAL REMARKS*

Hon. Herbert Hoover, Secretary of Commerce, Washington

I have not come with any formal preparation. I have had it upon my mind, on some occasion amongst those with whom I have worked during these last five to seven years, in certain matters, to make a recounting of stewardship, more particularly in connection with the recent operations of relief in Russia. I say "those with whom I have worked" because when one realizes that the foundations of the American Relief Administration lie, as they do, in a multitude of committees, some three thousand throughout the nation, he is well aware that perhaps one half of the members at this conference are also members of the American Relief Administration. You have given

* Stenographic report.

the foundation upon which that service has been built, and to you is deserving some accounting more than the formal reports of a financial statement, the audited accounts that are circulated to the public.

In order that I may give you perhaps a better comprehension of the problems faced during the last two years in Russia, let us go back to the foundation of this work itself. The American Relief Administration, founded immediately after the armistice at the request of then President Wilson for the purpose of relief of the then imminent famine throughout eastern and central Europe, was the greatest relief organization the world has yet seen. It was organized because 200,000,000 people, exhausted in four years of war and engaged in revolution and in the founding of new governments and new states, were involved in a food shortage of a dimension never before known. During the course of the administration, in the year 1919, something more than 2,500,000 tons of American food were distributed throughout that great area from Finland, through the Baltic states, south into the Balkans; and something more than 50,000,000 people were directly sustained from that food supply. Not even these numbers recount the total volume of service given, because theoretically, in any given state, the food supply may be adequate for the entire population for one half of the harvest year, or it may be adequate for one half of the population throughout the harvest year, or the whole of the people may survive from three to six months out of the harvest year, so that in providing a food supply for half the population, one has really saved the whole, because the food would have been completely exhausted at some time before the harvest. And so the work of the American people during the winter of 1919 was practical relief in the greatest of all families.

No loss of life of any numerical dimension resulted from that famine because organization was started early enough to provide a food supply in advance of the necessity, and Europe was saved, not alone from the tremendous calamity of loss of life from starvation and disease, but, in that period when all human institutions were tottering at the foundations, the masses of the people in twenty-three governments were given such sustenance in spirit, such sustenance in economic strength, that they managed to survive, and upon the foundations of order peace was built. There could have been no peace in Europe had there not been this priceless service of the American people in the relief of economic destitution.

The organization of that relief extended in far greater ramifications than the mere provision of food supplies, because with some fourteen new governments erected from the ruins of four great empires, as yet unable to find their feet economically, with railroads disorganized, industry paralyzed, every farmer holding such food as he had, every village against its neighbors and every other city and state, we were on the threshold of chaos, and it became necessary to reorganize so as to take charge of transportation and of coal supplies, and to place Americans in strategic positions in the various governments. All these things were accomplished by a group of a thousand Americans, drawn from the ordinary run of American life; men were chosen from all callings, from all parts of the United States, who rose in an emergency to service of a character that is not called for often in the lifetime of a man; service in government and in the administration of economic functions strange to them all, but they performed a disinterested service, winning for America the esteem of 200,000,000 people and a confidence that there rested upon them the primary functions of government for over scores of millions of people.

In the midst of this problem, requiring tremendous finances and 3,000 ships, there ran a thread of American charity over and beyond these great economic services; for throughout that period the children were placed upon a special service, administered by a special division, separated entirely from the other services, and organized on the foundation of American child-health principles. Some seven millions of children, were sheltered in the 20,000 institutions created in every town and village throughout the whole mass of 200,000,000 people, in order that there might be some sort of adequate provision for all classes—widows, orphans, and the destitute. In the primary obligation of providing shelter, the Americans furnished supplies and direction and skill at the initial stages. After the passing of the great famine with the harvest of 1919, there arose a new problem when it was discovered that one of the results of the famine was deterioration of the animals. There was a great loss in cattle. The children of the white races depend upon the milk of cattle, and while adults can recuperate with a successful harvest, it is impossible for children to do so. These people turned to the Americans to secure for them foods with which to preserve the health of their children until recuperation of foods might be possible through the restoring of the cattle. Thus America continued to support from 5,000,000 to 7,000,000 people for two years more. Organization had been such that at the end of that time, with the recovery of their economic strength and of their food supplies it was possible for America to withdraw and to leave them functioning in the preservation of their own children.

From that background in 1921, the appeal came from Russia for relief in the great famine resulting from the failure of the harvest of that year. It became necessary to mobilize for Russia a group of men skilled in famine problems, in economic problems of transportation, and in the problems of quick and ready distribution, and it was found possible, within a period of five months after the appeal came, to place an organization in action in Russia, which fed upward of 12,000,000 people. That could not have been accomplished had it not been for the men skilled and experienced and for the great heart of the American people. The Russian famine, primarily due, it is true, to a climatic failure in the 1921 harvest, was enormously increased by the previous denuding of the country of all reserve supplies, due to war, blockade, and revolution, and, furthermore, transportation was disorganized and the normal institutions of government destroyed. As a result of the revolution there was no community spirit, nor men of leadership in the various communities upon which organization could be built. And yet this group of American men and women, in number less than 200, were able within five months to mobilize 5,000 recruits, to open 24,000 stations, to secure upward of 800,000 tons of food, to organize its distribution throughout Russia, and thus to arrest the ravages of famine and save the loss of 20,000,000 lives. As it was, the loss of life was perhaps 2,000,000. There again the problem of the children had to find its separate solution, and while it was found possible to support adults upon bread stuffs in times of great emergency, it was found also that children cannot survive without animal products. In times of dire famine and disorganization, when the moral restraints are lost, people cannot be entrusted even with the care of their own children, so in Russia it again became necessary to organize children's problems separately. Again shelters and institutions were set up, some 4,000,000 children gathered in separately from their parents and provided with necessary food supplies and clothing.

The Russian relief differed from that in central Europe, as the American Relief Administration itself undertook medical relief. Under this organized medical relief

some 14,000,000 people were inoculated and vaccinated and 4,000 hospitals set up with supplies, and the vast sweep of disease that threatened the rest of Europe was stemmed within the borders of Russia, to the safety of all neighboring nations. With the arrival of the harvest of last year the problem of bread stuffs was again solved for the Russian people. It is true that there were certain areas where the harvest was not sufficient, and about 8,000,000 people were involved, but the production of the rest of Russia was sufficient for the entire population, except that in some districts many children needed the animal foods, and here again the American Relief Administration, as in central Europe in 1919, maintained the support of children over the present winter, and is today continuing with approximately 3,000,000 children upon its hands. The forthcoming harvest promises well, the recuperation of agricultural pursuits is extraordinary, and there is hope that Russia, with its 1923 harvest, will be independent as to food supplies.

The problems of Russian relief have in many senses been much more difficult than the problems of central Europe, since it is a government based upon class conflict and is emerging from a revolution, the prime motive of which was hate. It is untrue that America and American ideals have not been welcome. As a matter of necessity we have been welcomed by the government of Russia. There has been more or less difficulty in the functioning of the administration, but in the main we have had the co-operation of the government. We have no complaint to offer. If I have any complaint to offer it is that some of our own fellow-citizens, one group in particular, who have thought that, inasmuch as the difficulties of Russia have been contributed to by her government, America had no obligation, and that this was a case where the beggar on the roadside should be passed by. We have had conflict with that group who have felt that America should take no part in the salvation of Russia, and we have had to combat the extreme radicals in America who preferred that Russia should die rather than that the hated Bourgeoisie should have been of service to them. Nevertheless, the problem has been met.

The difficulties of Russia are not over, however, for, with the government founded upon the economic belief that has resulted in the exclusion of initiative, there has come a demoralization of industry that has projected a degree of poverty in the cities that is beyond all description. And while the harvest for 1923 will probably provide ample food for her people, she still has the problems of poverty and of reconstruction before her. Despite all we may think or some of us may feel with regard to the ideals or the economic principles of the government of Russia, we have to bear in mind that the Russian people are one of the world's greatest people, a people of 120,000,000, who have for three generations been the friends of America, and whatever may be the state of their government at this moment, the day will come when Russia will emerge from her trials and troubles, and we cannot and we should not be subject to the charge that in her desperation and in the time when she was incapable of her own salvation, we, her friends, have passed her by.

Due to the reversal of economic policies in Russia, the agricultural industry is fast on the road to recuperation. The abandonment of communism in the land, the assignment of title in fee simple to the peasants, the freedom of markets for their products, and the restoration of the right of inheritance amongst them has resulted in renewed endeavor, on their part, that is bringing rapid results in their salvation, and, while measures of like benefit do not extend to industry and commerce as a whole, yet Russia, with its 90 per cent agricultural population, is today well on the road to recov-

ery. I am questioned often as to whether further relief in Russia will be continued after the forthcoming harvest. I have felt that the American Relief Administration could not be of great service longer. It requires other forms of organization to meet the problems of poverty and agricultural reconstruction. But I do not believe America should cease her efforts to assist the Russian people.

One more matter that may be of importance and interest to you who are fellow-workers in these efforts is that the American Relief Administration, having accumulated unique experience in handling the mass problems of children, has felt that that experience of six years should be turned to account in American life. The problems of child life in America, the problems of malnutrition, and of subnormality are familiar to you, and to these problems we have felt that this great mass of accumulated experience should be turned, to some purpose. I have therefore undertaken to bring the resources of the American Relief Administration, which consist more in experience, organization, and men than in money, into the good will and confidence of great numbers of people to the support of the American Child Health Organization. And in pursuit of that purpose we have brought about an amalgamation of the American Child Health Association and the American Child Health Organization of the American Relief Administration for a community purpose in the further expansion in the field of child health in the United States.

In these times of great criticism throughout the world, in fact, in times of a holocaust of criticism of the peoples of Europe by peoples in the United States we are told in nearly every breath that there is no gratitude, no esteem, for America in return for the vast sacrifice and service of our people, I do not mean the sacrifices of war, but those of relief, for America has expended upward of \$1,000,000,000 in the relief of poverty, famine, and calamity in Europe. One of the calamities of the world today is the platform of hate upon which a great deal of international life and some of the domestic policies are resting, and it is impossible for those who conceive of international relief in terms of hate to appreciate international relationships in terms of love and affection. We are told there is no gratitude felt toward the people of America for those, literally, scores of millions of lives saved—the mass of human life saved to Europe is probably ten times the losses by her wars—but I see no reason why she should judge the conduct of America on the basis of gratitude. To me ingratitude is a matter of minor importance, even did it exist. These lives were saved, the foundations of innumerable institutions preserved, and despair has been lifted from the hearts of millions of mothers and children. These children have been saved to normal life, to a future purpose, and to a future service. The sweet flowers of disinterested human service planted in thousands of communities, and cultivated there, continue to this day, and no one of the thousands of American men and women who have helped in the administration of these measures and are in a position to know the facts will tell you that there is no gratitude in the hearts of the peoples of Europe. The literally thousands, hundreds of thousands, and millions of children who, at the American canteens and asylums and shelters, have daily repeated the Lord's prayer with their eyes on the American flag have had that flag implanted in their hearts and memories as representing something more than might and war. The peace of the world can be established on no other foundation than that of good will between peoples. There is good will to America in the hearts of these hundreds of millions of people, a good will that will descend through generations of their people.

During the dark days of the Civil War, at a time most critical in our political history, the Russians evidenced a good will to the United States when they assembled their fleet off the port of New York. From that act, perhaps small, there grew a tradition of affection for Russia in the minds of the American people that survived all the shocks of political discussion over a period of sixty-five years. For America to have entered Russia, to have spread American love and service over her people, to have come to their rescue in times of their desperation, will have implanted a tradition in Russia even more deeply than the comparatively small instance that preserved the affection of America for Russia over all those years. I would rather have the American flag implanted in the hearts of these millions of people as a matter of protection to my country and to my own children than to have added to the American navy all of the battleships that could be floated upon the Atlantic ocean.

SOCIAL STANDARDS IN INDUSTRY

WAGE, HOURS, SANITATION, SAFETY

Rev. John A. Ryan, D.D., National Catholic Welfare Council, Washington

In a general way the object of social work may be stated as the relief and prevention of social distress and the improvement of social conditions. The outstanding subjects are food, clothing, shelter, health, education, moral character, social efficiency, and social institutions. The number and variety of problems with which the social worker deals are typically and abundantly illustrated in the program for the fiftieth anniversary meeting of the National Conference of Social Work. Although relief has always been recognized as the elementary purpose of social work, the stronger emphasis is laid upon prevention. If relief is the more primary and immediate consideration, prevention is the more fundamental and enduring. The task of preventing social distress consists in the removal or mitigation of evil causes. Of these causes some are mainly or wholly individual, arising out of the individual's own weakness or inadequacy, while others are wholly or mainly social, having their origin in group life or social institutions. Among the evil social factors a bad eminence is occupied by those which are dominantly industrial or economic.

No formal or considerable argument is needed to convince present-day social workers that the proposition stated in the last sentence is true and is a tremendously important truth. Nevertheless it will perhaps not be out of place to bring to the attention of this audience one or two striking illustrations of economic conditions producing problems for the social worker. Many of you recall the attempt made by Professor Warner in his book, *American Charities*, to analyze and tabulate the causes of poverty. From the records, which he presents, of 115,000 instances of distress in Germany, England, and the United States, it may be fairly inferred that in more than 50 per cent of the cases the sole or the predominant immediate cause of distress was insufficient income. From the study of 5,000 families, recorded by the New York Charity Organization Society, which Dr. Edward T. Devine made in his book, *Misery and its Causes*, the conclusion is likewise warranted that industrial factors had more to do with producing distress than all the other causes combined.

Facts such as these, abundant, universal, and obvious led to the creation in 1909 by the National Conference of Charities and Correction of the committee on occupational standards. In the words of the first chairman of that committee, Mr. Paul U. Kellogg, the conference recognized "the increasing importance of industrial factors in modern social life, not only as influential in themselves, but as accentuating other influences and sometimes wholly dominating or perverting them." In order to estimate in the most practical way the strength of these industrial factors and forces, the new committee undertook the task of ascertaining "certain minimum requirements of well-being." The committee proceeded on the theory that the poverty and distress traceable to industrial causes are the result, directly or indirectly, of subnormal standards of life and labor. In other words, the committee realized that so long as men and women lived and worked below a certain level of comfort, employment conditions, and income, they would continue to require the attention of the social worker, even though all other causes of dependency were removed. The problem, then, was to formulate normal standards, to describe systematically all those minimum requirements of industrial life and conditions which are necessary to abolish the specifically industrial cause of distress.

In 1911 the name of the committee was changed from "Occupational Standards" to "Standards of Living and Labor." This title was retained until 1914. By 1915 the Committee on Standards of Living and Labor had been dissolved, but we find at the annual conference that year a program presented by a committee on social legislation. In 1916 there was a committee on unemployment, and in 1917 one on social insurance. These three committees were composed in the main of the same persons and dealt with the same subjects as were represented in the composition and program of the committee on standards of living and labor. At the 1918 conference, an important place was held by the committee on industrial and economic problems. That committee has had a continuous existence up to the present, although, like the other divisions of the conference, it is for the year 1923 in a state of suspended animation. Next year it will resume its functions. The establishment of the Division on Industrial and Economic Problems in 1918, its continuation since that time, and the fact that there have been economic programs under various names presented at every annual meeting of the conference since 1910, constitute striking evidence of the importance of industrial factors in social distress and social work.

In the 1911 conference, the committee on standards of living and labor discussed various economic factors such as wages, insurance, education for industrial life, hours, woman labor and child labor, safety, and occupational diseases. These topics were presented separately as conspicuous elements in the field of industrial factors and in a scheme of industrial minimums. At the 1912 conference the committee was ready with a systematic and complete statement of social standards for industry. Under the heads of wages, hours, safety, and health, housing, term of working life, and compensation or insurance, the committee described in considerable detail the least amount of income, safety, and comfort compatible with social, family, and individual well-being in the life and labor of the industrial population. This was the famous "Platform of Minimums." None of the standards therein proclaimed as necessary for decent human existence has ever been successfully attacked, nor indeed seriously criticized.

This morning we shall attempt to review briefly the progress which has been made since 1912 toward the realization of these standards, and to describe the outlook for

continued progress. The four group meetings scheduled on today's program will deal with some of the wider and perhaps less obvious relations between industry and social work and welfare. At the general session this evening, we shall listen to addresses by three distinguished speakers on certain important subjects in the same general field.

According to Bernard Shaw, the trouble with the poor is their poverty. Paraphrasing this statement, we may say that the principal disability of the laboring classes is lack of income. With adequate wages, the workers would be in a position, either directly or indirectly to attain almost all the other standards described in our platform of minimums. Some of the goods involved in these standards the workers could buy out of their higher compensations. Most of the others they could sooner or later procure through the organizations which better pay would enable them to maintain.

What progress has been made since 1912 toward attaining the living-wage standard? At that time the estimates made by various authorities pointed to the conclusion that between one-half and three-fourths of our adult male workers were receiving less than the amount necessary to maintain a man and wife and three small children in elementary health and comfort. The remuneration of women wage-earners, relative to the cost of decent individual maintenance, was stated in about the same proportions. Have real wages increased since 1912? In other words, is the proportion of workers, male and female, in receipt of living wages greater today than it was when our platform of minimums was constructed? Owing to the lack of recent statistics, it is impossible to answer this question with any degree of assurance or exactitude. One of the most recent estimates is that contained in the paper which Mr. George Soule read at the meeting of the American Economic Association in Chicago last December. The figures which he quotes from New York and Wisconsin statistics "indicate an increase in real wages of about 17 per cent between 1914 and the present year." If this increase has been maintained throughout the country in all industries, a considerably larger proportion of our wage-earners are at or above the living-wage standard than in 1912. Of course, it is impossible to say whether the increase noted in New York and Wisconsin for factory workers has been general, either as regards industries or localities. Some light upon the question can be derived from a consideration of the amount estimated as necessary in 1912 for a family living wage and the subsequent increase in the cost of living. There was rather general agreement then that the smallest amount upon which a man and wife and three children could be maintained in health and efficiency was \$800 per year. The increase in the cost of living since 1913 has been 70 per cent. On the basis of these two figures, the cost of living for a family today would be at least \$1,350. It is possibly true that three-fourths of the male adult workers are today receiving at least the daily equivalent of that annual income.

Unquestioned progress has been made in the scientific determination of minimum standards of living. In 1912 the only important available studies of family budgets and the cost of living were those of Professor R. C. Chapin and Miss Louise V. More, both for New York City. Within the last six years, at least a dozen important studies have been made, covering various parts of the country, some of them extensive, others more detailed and intensive. Probably the most important are those produced by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, by Professor W. F. Ogburn, by the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research, and by the National Industrial Conference Board. The significance and superiority of the recent investigations in this field consist not merely in the fact that they present in scientific fashion and in great detail the

various items that enter into a minimum standard of living, but also in the substantial agreement which they exhibit in their estimates of the cost of decent living. Notwithstanding the criticisms in the recent minimum-wage decision by Justice Sutherland, it is now possible to estimate both the content and the cost of a decent standard of living, whether for a family or for an individual with sufficient confidence and accuracy to satisfy all reasonable persons. This is a very considerable gain.

Even more important is the progress made since 1912 in the acceptance of the living-wage principle. It was formally embodied in the code of rules adopted and enforced by the National War Labor Board while that tribunal was in existence. Although it has not been recognized and practiced by the Railroad Labor Board, it has received from that body the tribute of lip service. Even the majority of the supreme court concede "the ethical right to living wage," although, unfortunately, they deny that this right holds good against the employer, leaving it suspended in the thin and chilly air. Substantially all the Christian bodies of the country have within the last ten years proclaimed the principle, and expressed themselves as favorable to its embodiment in legal statutes. So generally has the acceptance of the principle become that it is scarcely ever rejected in theory.

All but one of the minimum-wage laws on the statute books of various states have been enacted since 1912. Twelve are still in force, but that of the District of Columbia has been nullified by the recent decision of the supreme court. No state has considered seriously the enactment of a minimum-wage law for adult males. The deterring reasons have been the fear that such a law would not pass the constitutional test and that the proposal would not receive adequate support in the legislature.

What of the future? So far as public opinion is concerned, there is no reason for discouragement. The living-wage principle has become so firmly established in the minds of religious authorities, social workers, the laboring classes, and even many economists and employers, that we may confidently expect a steady if not rapid approach to its universal realization in the world of industry. Apparently the method of legislation cannot be made available without a change in the constitution, or at least a change in the procedure by which laws are declared unconstitutional. The most scientific and effective constitutional change would be one conferring upon both Congress and the states the power to establish, for males as well as females, maximum hours of labor and minimum standards of wages, child-labor, sanitation, and safety. Unfortunately, there is very little hope for the adoption of this thoroughly reasonable piece of organic law. Only two constitutional proposals are now receiving serious consideration: an amendment authorizing Congress and the states to enact minimum-wage laws for women and minors, and the enactment, either by Congress or through a constitutional amendment, of the rule requiring the vote of at least seven justices to declare a law unconstitutional. The latter provision would be effective for all practical purposes, would be available for other desirable social legislation than that relating to wages, and possibly could be effectively enacted by Congress without a constitutional amendment. Hence it would be the more expeditious method. At any rate, it is well worth trying.

The present restrictions upon immigration have had a marked effect in reducing the supply of unskilled labor, and, consequently, in improving the wage conditions of those who form the great bulk of the underpaid workers. Should the existing immigration laws be retained for a considerable time, they may prove to be one of the most effective

tive means of increasing the proportion of workers receiving living wages. For this as well as for other good reasons, the present limitation of the volume of immigration should be continued indefinitely.

During the war, the number of wage earners enrolled in labor unions increased enormously, and undoubtedly exercised considerable influence in extending the scope of the living-wage standard and in retarding the subsequent decline from that standard. Nevertheless, there is no good reason to hope that organization will of itself be able to bring about universal living wages within, say, the next quarter of a century.

Finally, we may note an important element of hope in the growing recognition among all classes of the relation between a living wage and production. Advocates of the living-wage principle frequently declare that the only economic problem involved is one of distribution. Enough is produced, we are told, to provide all the workers with living wages if only the product were properly distributed. While this is substantially true, it is a truth which does not of itself carry us very far. It does not throw adequate light upon the question of methods which will bring about the required distribution easily or within a reasonably short time. On the other hand, considerations drawn from the production side of the problem indicate some very hopeful lines of advance. During the years 1917-19, we shipped to Europe some fifteen billion dollars' worth of goods in addition to the normal volume of exports, despite the absence from production of between 4,000,000 and 5,000,000 able-bodied male adults. Secretary Hoover's commission on waste in industry found that twelve of the leading industries of the country were only about 60 per cent efficient. These facts are only part of the evidence that our productive capacities are far in excess of the actual amount produced in any given year. The recognition of these facts is bound to lead to a narrowing of the gap between what we can produce and what we do produce. And there are signs that labor itself is coming to realize the importance of the productive element, and to consider sympathetically plans for the establishment and maintenance of production standards. Such is the nature of the reply we can make to those pessimists who say that our country and our industrial resources are too poor to provide living wages for all workers.

The trend has been decidedly toward a shorter working day. During the last decade there has been a steady march toward the eight-hour day, until now it is recognized as the standard and prevails pretty widely. The exact prevalence, however, is not known. From 1915-19 the number of workers brought within its scope was approximately three and a half millions.

The old theory which demanded the most for the least has given way to the new theory which recognizes two primary factors in determining the length of the working day—the human factor and the industrial factor. The human factor concerns the length of time a worker can stay at his task without suffering injurious fatigue, and without sacrificing the leisure which is necessary for the enjoyments, recreations, and duties of a wholesome life. The industrial factor concerns the length of working day which will maintain the worker in such health as will effect a maximum of efficiency.

Practically every state in the Union and the federal government have some sort of legislation limiting the hours of labor. The improvement in hours, however, is not due entirely to legislation. It is due to no less an extent to union activity and to private collective bargaining between employers and workingmen. For the great mass of unskilled and unorganized laborers, however, the length of the working day is still a serious problem. Even the basic eight-hour day does not obviate such abuses as exces-

sive hours due to overtime, Sunday labor, continuous shifts, and night work. What is needed is an actual eight-hour day with an adequate wage scale, which will do away with the necessity for overtime except in emergencies, and the reduction of night and Sunday work to a minimum.

The steel industry has been one of the most obstinate in resisting a shorter working day. In 1921, however, the largest company in this industry, the United States Steel Corporation, announced its approval of the reduced hours' policy and its determination to put the policy into effect. The successful working of the three-shift system has proved the practicability of shorter hours from a production standpoint.

The chief factors influencing the health of wage-earners are occupational hazards and diseases, irregular employment, unhealthy conditions of living and working, and the employment of women, particularly married women, under harmful conditions. The importance of the worker's health, not only to social but to economic welfare, is a fact which has been generally conceded for the last ten years. Conditions of labor are no longer the concern merely of the physician, the sanitarian, the labor leader, or the social worker. The employer and the economist have recognized the necessity and economic advantage of healthful working conditions for employees. This new conception of health as an economic necessity is the basis for legislation dealing with housing, workmen's compensation, safety regulations, and sanitary provisions. As with hours, however, legislation alone has not secured all the improvement. The nationwide "safety first" movement, intelligent and scientific investigations into occupational diseases and hazardous employments, the action of individual employers and concerns in establishing physical examination and supervision of workers, sanitary conveniences, safeguards, hospitals, and so on, all have their root in the rather recent and growing recognition of the human and economic factors which demand provisions for the worker's health.

The constantly increasing mass of evidence on the question of national health forces the deduction that the industrial worker is more subject to sickness and has smaller chance of living the normal span of years than has the worker in other pursuits and ways of life. This constant waste of life and health and consequent loss of industrial efficiency constitute a real menace. The figures given by the president of the American Society of Safety Engineers are appalling. In the United States about 70,000 people are killed accidentally every year. This is nearly 20,000 more than the total battle deaths and subsequent deaths from wounds suffered by our army in the war. Each year over 700,000 wage earners are incapacitated by injuries for an average of four weeks each. The economic waste from casualties is approximated at \$800,000,000 annually. And this does not consider the excessive privation and suffering entailed. About 90 per cent of this expense is claimed to be caused by preventable accidents. The figures of the National Safety Council for 1919 are: over 22,000 killed and over 500,000 injured as a result of accidents in American industries. While the exact extent of this human waste is not known, it is probable that the accident rate for the whole United States is 58,000 a month, or 2,000 a day. With the spread of compulsory workmen's compensation laws, an increasing volume of more exact information is becoming available. The gradual education of the public to these facts, and the translation of human into economic loss, have been actuating motives in the trend toward improved conditions.

By way of summary, we are justified in asserting that, despite set-backs and disappointments, greater progress has been made in the last eleven years toward minimum decent standards of wages, hours, health, and safety than in any previous decade. And the outlook for the future is brighter than it has been at any previous time.

CHILD LABOR

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It will not take long to review the progress made toward the realization of the standard with reference to child labor, adopted in 1912 by the Conference Committee on Standards of Living and Labor on which the chairman has asked me to report. The standard adopted at that time was a sixteen-year age minimum for the employment of children. Two states have managed to pass that hurdle—Ohio and Montana; and five have a fifteen-year minimum for most occupations—California, Maine, Michigan, South Dakota, and Texas.

But it is hardly adequate to end our review there. We are, by the very fact that this is a jubilee conference, invited to look back over the past fifty years in order that we may have some historical perspective on what we are to do next.

When the first conference met in 1873, the question of compulsory school attendance and, for that matter, of free public schools, was a subject of heated controversy. Only four states had at that time adopted modern school-attendance laws. Fifty years ago child labor was prohibited or regulated in a few states. Some beginning had been made on all these standards except that of physical fitness, now required with certain exceptions in twenty-two states. In 1873 six states had established a minimum age for factory work. In four of these—Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey, and Vermont—a ten-year age minimum had been adopted. Rhode Island had a twelve-year minimum for factories; Pennsylvania had a thirteen-year age minimum for textile mills, but employment in the mines was authorized at twelve years of age. The hours children might work were regulated in fourteen states as follows: California permitted no more than an eight-hour day for wards and apprentices—other children were not so protected; ten states or territories—Connecticut, Dakota Territory, Maine, Minnesota, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Vermont—had a ten-hour law; Massachusetts had a sixty-hour week for children; Rhode Island had an eleven-hour day for children under fifteen, and Georgia prohibited a longer day than sunrise to sunset for white persons under twenty-one years; Wisconsin's laws were so contradictory in terms that it is hard to say what they did prohibit. One state, Rhode Island, had prohibited night work. Delaware had passed the law, soon copied in many states, prohibiting the employment of children under fifteen years of age in acrobatic and similar performances. Seven states had some educational requirement which the children must meet before they could be legally employed in a few enumerated occupations.

At the first conference, which met in 1873, the subject of child labor, or compulsory education, found no place on the program. As far as I can discover by a study of the Proceedings of the conference, and Mr. Alexander Johnson in compiling his Index, it

was not discussed until 1896, when it was included in a program on the relation of the settlements to labor. At that time Mrs. Florence Kelley, speaking out of her experience as chief factory inspector of Illinois, as well as a resident of Hull House, urged sixteen years as a minimum age for employment.

What I am wondering is whether by any chance at the present time the conference is passing, without discussion, anything so significant in our present-day problem as compulsory school attendance and protection of children against premature employment, as was the fact during the years 1873 to 1896. From 1903 the subject appeared on most programs, so that for twenty years we may be said to have been working on the question of child labor.

Dr. Lindsay, in discussing the whole subject in an admirable paper in 1906, urged a federal bureau equipped to make continuous studies of child labor, so that the facts would be available to the American public. We have such a bureau today. Whether it functions as it ought, I am of course not the one to say, but I can say that it desires to be really useful. The Children's Bureau is eager that the investigations and reports it makes shall not only be truthful but timely and helpful in connection with the problems in which you are interested. We have tried the experiment of a federal law establishing national minimum standards for the protection of children. The experiment showed that the federal law had afforded protection to large numbers of individual children and had also been the means of increasing existing state laws and inducing state legislatures to raise state standards. This experiment came to an end with the decision of the United States Supreme Court that neither in its power to regulate interstate or foreign commerce, nor to lay and collect taxes, does Congress have the right to indirectly prohibit child labor.

At the last session of Congress there were a number of joint resolutions, proposing an amendment to the United States Constitution, which were intended to meet this situation. After much discussion, those interested in seeing that the children of the United States are given the largest possible protection favor an amendment which will make it possible for Congress to enact a national minimum standard and at the same time will preserve to the states full right to raise but not lower that national standard. I can conceive of any state being jealous of its powers to raise the standards of care for its children; but I cannot conceive of a state being jealous of restrictions on the power of employers to exploit its children. However, there are some who fear that the adoption of a federal minimum may impair the initiative and sense of local responsibility in the states. I would remind those people that a large part of the civilized world has adopted not only a national standard but an international standard with reference to the employment of children. The most important nations of Europe have joined in the child-labor conventions drafted at the International Labor Conference which met in Washington in 1919. They do not seem to feel that by agreeing to an international standard they have lost their independence. On the contrary, they rightly feel their independence is safeguarded with better opportunities for their own children and for their neighbors' children. Ought it not to be possible for Congress to say that in no section of this country will children be allowed to work below standards now established by international agreement among many nations, and which the moral sense of this country long ago demanded? Whether this is to become possible depends upon people like you who are converted to the necessity of protecting children from premature employment, upon the eagerness and enthusiasm you put into your discussion of the subject with those with whom you meet at home.

THE STATUS OF SOCIAL INSURANCE

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Prior to 1907 not a single permanent act of legislation had been passed providing for any form of social insurance in any state. Now, note the progress. Beginning in 1907 mothers' pensions have extended to forty-five states; workmen's compensation for industrial accidents has been adopted in forty-three states, and by Congress for federal employees, since the first permanent law was signed by Woodrow Wilson in New Jersey in 1911; health insurance, which had not been discussed at all prior to 1910, has assumed large proportions in present-day discussion, and while no law has been enacted, twelve legislative investigating commissions have made reports. Old-age pensions, which have been the subject of several legislative committee reports in recent years, were not enacted anywhere in this country prior to 1923, except in Alaska. During this present year three states—Montana, Nevada, and Pennsylvania—have begun the march of progress which shortly is likely to invade every state in the union. Unemployment insurance has not been enacted in this country.

The mere numbers of laws enacted means little, however, unless the tendencies of these laws are indicated. Forty-three compensation laws and forty-five mothers' pension laws might mean little or much. Many of the laws actually do mean little; some of them mean very much. The question today is this: Are these laws adequate for the purpose, or are they tending to become adequate? The answer is that they have been in the main inadequate, but they are improving fast, almost incredibly fast, judged by the ordinary experience in social progress.

Workmen's compensation laws began with long waiting periods; short periods of compensation payments; low compensation for death, and particularly low for complete disability; inadequate medical and hospital care, often none at all; no provision for physical or vocational rehabilitation; and with private profit-making insurance carriers.

Thanks to the incessant publicity given to the standards of compensation laws, established by the American Association for Labor Legislation, the waiting period has been steadily reduced, and is now more commonly fixed at from three to seven days; the payment period has been lengthened, gradually tending toward continuous payments during disability, however long; the payments for death and complete disability have been substantially increased in many states; provision is made in almost all states now for some medical care, and the more advanced states provide for a complete care during disability, including medical, surgical, hospital, and nursing care; insurance in state funds instead of profit-making carriers is slowly gaining the ascendancy; vocational rehabilitation has been enacted into several laws as a part of the compensation provision. The Federal Act for national aid for vocational rehabilitation has stimulated this movement and seems likely to make rehabilitation a big factor in all social insurance.

Mothers' pensions have likewise gone through several vicissitudes. In the beginning in some states payments were wholly inadequate, due to the failure to appropriate enough money. Several states made the law merely an adjunct of outdoor relief; others have placed the administration upon the same basis as the care of the destitute. The proper idea of a pension has been obscured. It is hardly necessary in this gathering to point out that in many places mothers' pensions are approaching a standard of

reasonable adequacy; mothers' pension work is being lifted out of the realm of pauperism. The proper place of mothers' pensions is being recognized as a form of social insurance, as a payment for service rendered by mothers to the community, and as a good insurance against an increase in future dependency.

Health insurance is at this time obscured by the smoke barrage and fumes of poison gas which the commercial insurance companies threw out against it when it seemed likely of passage in the state of New York in 1919. It may take some years to drive away the poisoned atmosphere. It is probable that health insurance may follow old-age pensions, as it did in England. No subject has ever had as much carefully prepared basic information upon which to proceed before enactment as has this one. When political conditions are ready, we may reasonably expect the enactment of an advanced form of social insurance against sickness.

What has been said concerning the adequacy of payments is likely to apply in the new legislation for old-age pensions. Of the new laws enacted Nevada has not made adequate provision, while in Pennsylvania the appropriation was cut from \$2,000,000 to \$125,000, with the expectation that the plan would be set up administratively before the appropriations were made available in later years. The danger is that the early appropriations will be insufficient to meet the requirements, but experience proves that that weakness of social insurance gradually corrects itself.

Social insurance against unemployment has not been enacted anywhere in this country, but it has reached the stage of practical planning. The bill introduced in Wisconsin, which seems likely of passage, is a carefully prepared plan, based upon American conditions. Out of the maze of bewildered discussion, running back through the last twenty years, we have at least reached the point where we see clearly that unemployment can be solved by the stabilization of industry as far as possible, plus the application of unemployment insurance.

What has this movement meant to social work, and what will it mean when the program is fully rounded out? It has meant already the promotion of several of the ideals of social work. It has kept thousands of children in their own homes under the care of their own mothers; it has given independent support as a matter of right to hundreds of thousands of workers injured in industry; it has prevented many thousands from being reduced to the necessity of making application for charitable aid; it has restored hundreds to self-support, and it has reduced the number of normal children in child-caring institutions. When the program is entirely rounded out it will practically stop up the main channels by which people pass from economic independence into precarious living, destitution, and pauperism. Social insurance will, to a considerable degree, stabilize conditions, and stop the recruiting of the ranks of the destitute. If we conceive of a complete scheme of social insurance in operation in any state, we might reasonably expect that new cases in the files of social organization would decrease fully 75 per cent.

PROGRESS OF LABOR LEGISLATION FOR WOMEN

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When I looked at the subject assigned me, progress of Labor Legislation for Women, my first impulse was to say "It has been progress backward!" There is bitter truth in those words, but it is not the whole truth.

Thirty years ago this month, in Illinois, in 1893, the first eight-hour law for women in this country was adopted by the exertions of the trades unions and settlements, led by Hull House. It was enforced, as thoroughly as a law could be enforced, in the third greatest manufacturing state of this union by twelve inspectors charged with innumerable duties, including the inspection of every tenement house in the state in which, perchance, a garment might be produced for sale. In May, 1895 the Supreme Court of Illinois held that under the Fourteenth Amendment women, being citizens, could not be deprived of the right to work unlimited hours. The court was a rural one. One lonely judge among nine represented the city of Chicago, then, as now, the second great manufacturing city in the Western Hemisphere. The court, I will be briefer than it was, in nine thousand words defined its position, explaining that women were citizens although there were four minor derogations upon their citizenship. It said: "Women cannot be allowed to work in mines underground as men can; they cannot be called to the militia as men can; if they own farms, they cannot work out their taxes upon the roads as men can; and they can vote only once in four years for three trustees of the University of Illinois. In spite however of these four derogations upon their citizenship, they cannot be deprived of their right to contract to work as they and their employers may agree.

That judicial opinion was the law of Illinois for fifteen years. So paralyzing was its effect that, in the Mississippi Valley and far to the east and west, no state attempted to deal with hours, or wages, until Oregon, in 1907, defying this evil precedent, adopted a ten-hour law for women. According to the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States upholding the Oregon ten-hour law in 1908, the Illinois decision in 1895 had been wrong! The principle at issue in both cases was identical. In his defense of that Oregon law, before the Supreme Court of the United States, Justice Brandeis, then a practicing lawyer in Boston, created a new hope for wage-earning women. He acted upon his belief that ignorance of the social aspects of industry alone had misled the Supreme Court of Illinois. He was convinced that, if the social facts of industry could be presented to the courts of last resort, it might become possible for the United States to take its place among the civilized nations. (There is nothing to laugh at in that! England had been enforcing such laws since 1844. We should rather hang our heads in shame while the memory remains of that Illinois decision of 1895 and the years that followed.) Mr. Brandeis' hope was justified. From 1907-16 he gave his price-less services in defense of legislation for the welfare of wage-earning women and girls before courts of last resort.

The Consumers' League which, about four years after the appearance of Dr. Ryan's book on *The Living Wage*, introduced the legislative movement for minimum wage commissions, furnished comprehensive briefs in support of the legal arguments which followed. Industrial welfare statutes for women were upheld by the courts, even a California eight-hour law applying to those pitiful victims of overwork, pupil nurses in training in hospitals, public and private. There were upheld in nine years the ten-hour law in Oregon and many other states, the nine-hour day, the working week of fifty-four hours, and one day's rest in seven. To assure a period of rest at night for wage-earning women, the Court of Appeals of New York reversed in 1914 its adverse decision of 1907. In 1917 the Supreme Court of the United States upheld the Oregon ten-hour law for men, and allowed the decision of the Oregon court to stand in support of a minimum-wage law.

The anti-climax in the District of Columbia minimum-wage case shows conclusively that that interval without progress, that stagnant period from 1895-1908, may now come again unless the voters determine that it shall never be repeated. The decision in itself is progress backward. Its effect was immediate confusion in the state legislatures in session on April 11, and since that date. It obliterated a workable and necessary law for freeing wage-earning women in the District of Columbia from the "lash of starvation." This is the expression used by English economists to describe the position of the English wage-earning class before the establishment, in 1910, of trade boards (so minimum-wage boards for men and women are called in England), under which 3,000,000 English wage-earners are, according to Sidney and Beatrice Webb, freed from that lash. I do not attempt to condense or to quote or to summarize that decision. It fills eighteen pages of print. Briefly, trenchantly, Chief Justice Taft and Justice Holmes have stated their dissent. Never in the long history of judicial interpretation of the Constitution was greater need of dissent, nor was ever dissent more brilliant than this recorded by pen in mortal hand. I commend it to your careful reading.

Under the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments of the federal Constitution as now interpreted by the court, it is idle to seek to assure by orderly processes of legislation, to wage-earning men, women, or children, life, liberty or the pursuit of happiness. This decision fills those words with the bitterest and most cruel mockery. Following it, wages of the most ill-paid women in the District of Columbia have been cut. Under the pressure of competition in American industry at this time, it establishes in the practical experience of the unorganized, the unskilled, the illiterate, the alien, and the industrially sub-normal women wage-earners, the constitutional right to starve. This is a new "Dred Scott" decision.

What is to be done? Are the women of the United States to sit again in the company of the women of Patagonia and the Islands of the Sea as human beings without claim to legal protection of life, and health, and continued capacity for work? Does anyone believe that they will do that? Have we forgotten that the most important labor law ever passed never mentioned labor? That is the constitutional amendment which gives to working women, and to all other women, the right to vote. It is by far the most important labor law concerning women that ever has been or ever can be passed. It is the law which gives to half of the people of this nation the power to register their will and their conscience.

Two things must be done, and conferences about them have already begun. One called by the Consumers' League has been held in New York, to which people came from the Pacific coast and from states whose minimum-wage laws are, perhaps, endangered, to consider how their laws may be safeguarded, and how the right to legislate may be saved for states which have not yet experimented with industrial-welfare measures. Here in Washington a conference called by the Women's Trade Union League to consider next steps agreed upon effort, greater than has ever been made, to organize wage-earning women in unions, that they may do for themselves all that trade-union organization can to improve wages and hours. But more must be done than that.

This conference is fifty years old. The organization I have the honor to represent entered its twenty-fifth year on the first day of this month. We cannot look forward to fighting over again the battles fought in 1893, getting beneficent state laws only to have them swept away. We new voters must bring a longer view and more hopeful

hearts into the voting constituency than have been there in the past. We must bring more imagination, more initiative, and corrective action with less delay than fifteen years. In earlier days we endured outrageous delay because we had not suffrage and in part, also, because of the virtually universal belief that the Constitution of the United States could be amended only after a war. It had been drafted and had received ten amendments following the Revolution. After the Civil War came two, so perversely interpreted ever since. The Fourteenth Amendment intended to preserve life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness for colored people has not been allowed to do that. Since its adoption Negroes have been burned, hanged, robbed, and disfranchised, while the amendment has been used to block industrial legislation for women, girls, and children, white and colored alike.

Now, therefore, at the close of this first quarter of the twentieth century, our eighteenth century Constitution, the oldest in force in the world, adopted when we were 3,000,000 rural people, must be expanded to meet the needs of 103,000,000 people struggling with the difficulties of our urban civilization with its new industrial demands upon women and children. We have to modernize the Constitution to meet the needs of our own century, and to modernize the court that interprets the Constitution. Until this is done discussion of industrial legislation is purely academic.

The lesson of the years from 1895—April 11, 1923, is clear. The progress of labor legislation in the United States depends, not upon public opinion, not upon Congress and the states, not upon the needs of the wage-earners or the development of industry. The progress of labor legislation depends upon the personnel of the Supreme Court of the United States and the social and economic opinions of the judges. The court incarnates a world-old injustice. It has dealt with the whole people, but it has represented only half of the people. We have seen two child-labor laws destroyed. No woman had any share in that destruction, or opportunity to stay it. We have seen the minimum-wage laws of thirteen states endangered by the recent decision. No woman participated in that responsibility. Sooner or later women must be added to the court. The monopoly of the interpretation and administration of the law by men alone can never again be accepted without criticism and protest. It is a survival of the age before women were full citizens. In view of its powers, unique in the world, the personnel of the Supreme Court of the United States is of the uttermost permanent importance to this nation. Yet in the choice of judges, political affiliations, religious associations, and geographical position all have great weight. It is a singular circumstance that judicial experience is not requisite; even presiding justices have been chosen without reference to it. Urgent, therefore, as is the modernizing of the Constitution, the personnel of the court is the first essential.

The justices are too few. They are compelled either to give inadequate study to the new, complex, vital questions constantly referred to them, or to defer their decisions and thereby inflict unmeasured hardship. From 1915-17, inclusive, when the Oregon ten-hour and minimum-wage laws were pending, the court pondered twenty-eight months before in the end both were allowed to stand. Nine men cannot deal with the mass of cases that are constantly piled up before it. So we see one hour given to each side for oral argument, and when validity of laws of many states is involved, three hours all told, perhaps, allotted for the oral discussion of a measure of the utmost gravity for the well-being of the mass of wage-earning women in the United States. The court must be enlarged. Henceforth decisions cannot depend upon the vote of

one justice. This nation cannot endure having the life, health, and welfare of millions of workers determined by the odd justice, the fifth justice. The District of Columbia law was constitutional in 1921, when Justices Pitney and Day were on the Bench. It may be constitutional again by 1927. The fate of the workers of this country cannot depend upon such incidents.

If, therefore, we are to make progress forward, not backward, we cannot merely repeat the long experiment which Justice Brandeis successfully led throughout nine years only to have it checked last month. We have a larger task than has ever confronted us. We have to modernize the Constitution and to modernize the Supreme Court if, as a people, we are to go continuously forward.

SOCIAL CASE WORK IN INDUSTRY

PERSONNEL WORK IN FACTORIES

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Personnel work in factories is the outcome in part of the movement for improving the industrial welfare of the workers, and in part of the movement for better and more efficient management in industry.

Welfare work was first undertaken by employers some forty years ago when the public was beginning to point to the responsibility of industry for the well-being and safety of the men and women employed. The motives on the part of individual employers for introducing welfare work were varied. Some realized that they had a genuine responsibility for providing proper conditions for their employees; others were either philanthropic or paternalistic; others again, no doubt, realized that it might be good business.

There was also a suspicion, on the part of labor unions especially, that the motive of employers might be to counteract efforts at union organization. They feared that employees might become so well pleased with lunchrooms, clubs, and classes, and generally improved physical conditions in the factory, that they might lose sight of the need for more fundamental improvements in wages, hours of work, and other lines along which labor organizations were working for industrial betterment. But whatever the motives, and they were probably mixed in most cases, the installation of the welfare worker was a great step forward in industry and industrial relations. The keynote of the work was the recognition of the individual in industry. It marked the beginning of interest in the human factor, not as a mass of labor power, but as a group of individual human beings, each with the range of human likes and dislikes, weaknesses and possibilities; men and women who could be interested, developed, and adjusted, and each one of whom had home and civic relationships which affected his industrial life.

Welfare work has been defined thus: "Anything for the comfort and improvement, intellectual or social, of the employees over and above wages paid." The individual employer would install a welfare-worker, usually a woman, whose duties chiefly concerned what is now generally known in personnel work as "service," such as home visiting, nursing service, first aid, organization of lunchroom, restroom, classes and

clubs for recreation, benefit societies, and similar work relating to the interests and welfare of the employee outside of his actual job. She had practically nothing to do with the man's actual employment; and the control of selection, training, producing ability, and wages still continued in the hands of the superintendent or the foreman.

But the original welfare-worker with her limited field is passing. During recent years there has been a tendency for some of her work to become a part of the larger field of social service undertaken by the community. Extension of neighborhood classes and clubs, recreational facilities, public health work and clinics, visiting-nursing services—all these have been encroaching on her field, so that the welfare-worker, instead of doing this work herself, can do it best by connecting the employee in the plant with the proper outside social agency where it is established. This tendency is in the right direction. Health, recreation, and education are community problems, and the opportunity for receiving such service should not depend upon a person's employment in a particular plant. Within the factory too, the need of the welfare-worker to stimulate action for better physical conditions lessens as buildings are better constructed and as engineering experts are employed to look after ventilation, sanitation, lighting, safety, and other conditions affecting the worker. Some of the features formerly regarded as "welfare" have become accepted as part of the regular routine of good factory operation. Many a welfare "frill" of yesterday has become a plant necessity today. But we must not forget that the welfare-workers in many factories have helped to prove and sell the idea for better conditions and equipment.

But while the field of usefulness of the welfare-worker has been lessening in these directions, her work at the same time has been showing up a great need on the part of management for specialized attention in another, namely the relation of the worker to his job. Welfare work seems inevitably to lead back to the job. The result is that during the past fifteen years there has come into industry personnel workers, both men and women, who have retained some of the functions of welfare work, but who also are concerned with the employment and working ability of the employees. There is sometimes a tendency on the part of social workers to look askance at personnel workers who claim that they are principally interested in the worker as a producer. Yet it is the vital point at which the individual in industry must be studied, understood, and dealt with. After all the job is the hub of his industrial life, his means of livelihood, and it ought to be his joy and his incentive for thought, action, and interest. It is his chief basis of relationship and contact with his fellow-workers. Given a suitable and satisfying job, some at least of our social and economic problems would diminish.

It is because the individuality of the worker so closely affects the job that personnel work has also become an important part of the movement for better and more scientific management in industry. Efficient management not only assumes the responsibility for production but also for the conditions and ways of production—the performance of the work, the training of the worker, and the all-round adjustment of the job, the worker, and the environment. In fact, while the function of management is generally defined as covering the four M's (men, materials, machinery, and method), fundamentally it is man management. It is at this point of common interest in the welfare and industrial efficiency of the individual worker in industry that welfare work and scientific management combine to form the basis for personnel work.

At the International Industrial Welfare Conference in 1922, the following definition of personnel work was drawn up:

The true function of Industry is to serve the community. In fulfilling this function, industry should render the best possible service with the least possible effort and cost. At the same time it should conserve and develop in industrial life the spiritual, mental, and physical well-being of all who share in rendering this service. In any economic system the functions of the management of an industrial organization should include that of properly co-ordinating the human relations and of making the best possible adjustments between the individual and the work. This function is called 'Personnel Work.'

Personnel work in factories is known under many different names, and lists of the duties that fall to the lot of personnel workers are almost as varied as the number of plants employing them. In some cases the entire supervision and control of the personnel of a plant is in the hands of the personnel director, employment manager, director of industrial relations, superintendent of service and employment, or whatever the title may be. In other cases, the duties of the personnel worker do not differ much from the welfare-worker's. Or his duties are limited merely to the interviewing of workers, who are then turned over to the foreman for hiring. Possibly he may keep records and interview workers before they leave, but he may have very little to say about the conditions of employment. The actual experiences of many plants, however, show that his functions and responsibilities broaden out as he gets more familiar with the processes of work, employees, and the policies of the organization and as the management and workers gain confidence in his ability and see the value of the work.

The appointment of a personnel worker usually means, or ought to mean, a centralized employment department for all interviewing of new applicants, recruiting, hiring, and discharging of workers. Supervision over the separations and discharge of workers is one of the most important duties of any employment department; and yet it is the most difficult function for it to assume, as foremen feel that they lose disciplinary power when they lose the right of discharge. The result is that even in otherwise well-organized employment departments, foremen still frequently retain the right of discharge without previous approval or consultation with the personnel manager. Workers have made a great gain where such review is in the hands of the personnel manager, as it gives an opportunity of explanation, getting at the facts, and making adjustments. Workers no longer depend for their jobs upon the whims of a foreman with full power to hire and fire.

Labor turnover is a serious disease of industry in the United States, and while it is due to many causes and conditions, the sole right of foremen to hire and fire is one of the big contributing causes. In fact the influence that a personnel department has in reducing labor turnover by taking into its hands the right of discharge is one of the best selling points for personnel work. Its principle is not to hire and fire but to hire and hold. When it is figured that the cost of labor turnover has been estimated from \$5 to \$100 per man, one gets some idea of the cost to a factory of a yearly labor turnover of 100 per cent, and this is not abnormal. This takes no account of the cost to the worker in unemployment, loss of wages, and dissatisfaction.

Another advantage of personnel work to employees is that there is someone in the management who is definitely responsible for considering and discussing problems of production from the labor end. The introduction of a new machine, changes in the methods of work, change of supervisors, physical alterations in a department—each affects the workers and, in turn, is affected by the attitude of the workers. Yet if it is nobody's special business to take the time to consider the problem from this angle, it is not apt to receive a margin of attention.

In the better-organized personnel departments, we find increasing attention being given to the proper selection of workers. Through detailed job-analyses to find out

the requirements of each job, through careful interviewing, application blanks, trade tests, and record-keeping, and continued experience in selection and follow-up, personnel departments are attempting to reduce to a minimum the number of misfits.

After selection, the personnel manager helps to introduce the new worker to the foreman and the plant. The experience of every employer is that the largest turnover occurs among those who have been employed for less than a month. For this reason stress is being laid upon the adjustment of the new worker, introducing him to other workers, and giving him some idea of the customs and policies of the plant. Most of us have had the experience of the depressing strangeness and the interminable length of the first day in a job.

Closely related to this work is the definite planning for training of new workers. Instead of expecting the newcomer to pick up the trade by watching someone who probably thinks him a nuisance, there is substituted systematic training under instructors, who not only understand the process, but who have had some training in teaching methods. Such plans and methods are seldom worked out without some form of centralized department.

The foreman, busy with production, has neither time nor opportunity to do such planning, which ought to be based not alone on his own individual experiences but upon the training experiences of other departments and other plants. An example of the careful consideration and study necessary is shown in the apprenticeship plan for weavers, which has been worked out by the trade council in the silk-ribbon industry in New York City. Before it was finally drawn up, apprenticeship plans in other centers and other industries were investigated, the employers and workers analyzed their own experiences and methods, and others familiar with the trade were consulted. The result is a constructive plan far better than any plan that could have been devised by an individual foreman through his own limited experiences.

In the training of new workers there must also be plans for their promotion as their ability improves. After time and money have been spent in training, a good worker may be lost because, with no system of promotion, the worker has been overlooked.

The problem of working out standards of production is increasing in importance as a function of personnel work. The demand for exact information as to what constitutes a fair day's work as well as a fair day's pay requires the establishment of standards. In some industries where collective bargaining has been instituted, piece rates and wages can be adjusted only upon such a basis.

Many of these questions of production and compensation are of mutual concern to the management and the workers, and we realize more and more that they can be worked out better through co-operation between the two. Here again the hand of the personnel manager can be felt in helping to develop the spirit and means for such co-operation. Whether it be through some form of employee representation, shop committees, or councils, or through trade-union organization, such co-operation can only be carried out effectively if someone is assigned to act as the medium, with time and understanding of the problems involved. For instance, the drawing up of a collective bargaining agreement between the management and workers in a silk mill required about two months' work, with discussions, investigations of similar plans elsewhere, and the actual drawing up of the agreement.

The need of such attention is shown by the value of the labor manager in the men's clothing industry where collective bargaining machinery has been set up. With some

nine hundred plants in the United States at the present time which have some form of employee representation, not including the many plants dealing with labor organizations, it is apparent that there is a large field ahead for personnel work. On account of the position of the personnel manager between the management and the workers, it has even been prophesied that he may be employed jointly by both sides to work out many of these problems of joint interest and concern.

Even where no such co-operation has been established between the management and the workers, the personnel manager usually has some share in working out the labor policies of the management. With his knowledge of the conditions in the plant, his contact with the workers, and his opportunity for study of the records and experiences of the plant, the personnel worker can bring a valuable point of view to the management.

Personnel management in itself is helping to bring about better industrial relations, not alone through its work of adjusting differences, and perhaps removing causes of friction, but in bringing management itself closer to the employee. As plants have grown rapidly, the foremen have become the actual employers of labor, determining their own labor policies and methods. As soon as an executive is responsible for personnel problems, it inevitably opens the way for better understanding and more far-sighted policies. It has helped to make employers better acquainted with how their businesses are actually being conducted from the labor end. With his interests solely in the human factor, the personnel manager has the time, interest, and training to look at industrial production from the standpoint of the worker involved. We hear about workers' psychology. It implies the need of looking at a situation from the worker's point of view. The chief value in considering it is that it ought to give an opportunity to make adjustments of conditions before they become grievances and to anticipate what will be the effect upon the worker of changes in methods or environment.

In different plants, varying emphasis has been laid upon different functions of personnel work. But the underlying purpose is the same in all—the attention to the individual in industry, as a human being whose welfare, development, and happiness are concerned, and as a member of industry who has to render the best possible service to the community at the minimum cost of effort. At every point the personnel manager does not deal alone with individuals but also with groups. His experiences with individuals must furnish the basis for policies for the group.

The number of employers is increasing who sincerely believe in the value of personnel work both as an efficient business proposition and as a means of working out better relations between themselves and their employees. One cannot help wondering that employers have not earlier realized the need for special attention on the part of management to their labor problems. The payroll forms a considerable part of their yearly expenses, and yet experts for handling of machinery and purchasing of materials have been firmly established before the personnel expert is even thought of, even as a matter of good business organization.

While the selling point of personnel work to the average employer will doubtless be its financial value, personnel work has far more valuable by-products for the workers. Perhaps no factor brings this point out so well as the need for adequate training for work. A study made in England of the individual differences in output between weavers showed that the weavers working the hardest and expending the most energy did not produce the most, due chiefly to the fact that they had not been properly

taught. Again in such questions as physical conditions, a study in lighting showed that production was 10 per cent more when normal daylight was used instead of artificial lighting, not to mention the strain to the worker.

In no factory can the personnel worker do his work alone. We are getting away from the highly centralized departments organized during the war, and the personnel manager or director is an executive rather than the head of a separate department. Foremen are being drawn in as the means of carrying out work and are getting a wider understanding of personnel administration. The increasing attention to foreman training shows this. Personnel work is most satisfactory where the manager has been able to make the entire organization understand its spirit, aims, and technique so thoroughly that every department head and every worker shares in carrying it out with a central head and heart to give direction and inspiration.

Personnel work has been hampered in its growth by non-essentials and fireworks added by employers in moments of ignorant enthusiasm. But many have learned to pick the wheat from the chaff, just as workers themselves are beginning to see that personnel work has outlived the old label of "helfare" work, and that it is built upon a sound economic philosophy. In any economic system, however Utopian, there will still be a place for much personnel work. As in other forms of social work, there was a lot of sentimentality until a technique was worked out. After all, the sentimentality may be the temporary food for the spirit, until a solid backbone of technique can be provided, or, as the saying is, "turning the wishbone into a backbone."

Mary Richmond in her book on *What is Social Case Work?* points out that, "the case worker has his specialized skill, but back of that must lie a philosophy." Perhaps personnel workers face this danger, that we may lose sight of the philosophy. With three masters to serve—the public, the individual employer, and the workers—it is all the more essential that personnel workers do not get lost in the maze of intricate and interesting technique, but can go out on a mountain top occasionally to see whither the road is leading

PERSONNEL WORK IN RETAIL STORES

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The problems of personnel work in a retail store are but little different from those in a factory. The same fundamental principles underlie both; there are the same human needs and desires to be met.

Careful selection, training, and the building of interest and enthusiasm for the work are, if possible, even more important in a store than in a factory. In the factory the great majority of workers are never in contact with the public. Bad personality never touches the customer. A man may be the worst possible grouch and be an excellent tool-maker or lathe hand. In fact, I have heard some employment men say that they never knew a good pattern-maker who was not a grouch. In a factory, a man may spoil some work, but if there is a good inspection department, there is only the loss of the time and material. In a retail store, however, from 60 to 70 per cent of the entire store family is constantly in contact with the customer, and the most frequent contact is through lower-salaried, less-experienced people. The qualities of personality and

attitude toward the work and the firm are of vital importance. The poor sales person not only spoils merchandise or loses the one sale, but also often drives away the customer and kills future sales. In other words, good personnel work is of even greater importance in a retail store than it is in a factory, because those qualities most necessary to success in a store are the ones most susceptible to development under the methods of modern personnel work, and most easily destroyed by a poor handling of the human problems.

About a year before our entrance into the world-war, I had the opportunity to visit a number of employment departments and people interested in personnel problems. One of those I visited was a woman quite prominent in social work. Our discussion most naturally turned to the question of what is the basis on which we can hope to reach a solution of our industrial relations problems. Her statement was as follows: The interests of employer and employee are fundamentally opposite. One is interested in getting his labor as cheaply as possible, the other in selling his services for as high a price as possible, these interests being forever opposed. Any industrial peace will be the result of a compromise and will come when employers on the one hand and employees on the other are so strongly organized that each is afraid to encroach upon the rights of the other. In other words, industrial peace will be a sort of "balance of power," an armed neutrality. On the other hand, I found employers working toward a solution by so-called "welfare work." Out of the generosity of their hearts they were graciously and condescendingly giving to their employees certain wonderful things, such as better washrooms, entertainments, baseball diamonds, summer camps, and free medical attention; but in case the employee should dare be so ungrateful as to question the salary he was receiving, this benevolent employer would froth at the mouth and pour forth a heated dissertation on the ingratitude of the present generation, and how at the time when he was a young man, etc.

These are the two opposite extremes of an effort to solve one of our most serious problems. We all know that neither can furnish a solution; but somewhere in between there must lie a road which leads to real peace and happiness. This road is what modern scientific personnel men and women are trying to find. While quarreling with neither, they reject both the armed neutrality theory on the one side and the paternalistic welfare theory on the other side, and start out with this hypothesis: In a properly planned and managed organization, the interests of employer and employee are identical.

Starting with this hypothesis, the modern personnel director assumes that nothing has any place in the personnel administration of any store or factory unless it meets the following conditions: First, it must sufficiently increase the value of the worker to the management by increasing the quantity or the quality of his work to make the expenditure profitable, and must also increase to the worker either the financial return or the "happiness-giving content" of the job, or both; second, it must be considerate of the deep-seated desire of each individual to maintain self-respect, and take into account the growing desire of the worker to have some share in the determination of the conditions under which he must work. With these two conditions in mind, every phase of the personnel administration of the store should be very critically scanned, and those things which cannot meet the conditions should be changed or eliminated.

Employment.—Much has been done in recent years to improve the methods of selection and placement. The old hit-or-miss methods of taking whatever applicants

may be in the waiting room to fill the day's vacancies and then "shooing" the rest out by an employment clerk coming out and saying "No more vacancies today" is most wasteful of human power and bad for the management, for the worker, and for society as a whole. Through the use of physical and mental tests, a thorough but considerate and courteous study of each applicant, and the maintenance of a carefully indexed waiting list, the modern employment department aims to so select and place the new people that their aptitudes will find the fullest expression and their failings will be the least possible handicap. The real employment manager is much more than a mere watch dog at the doorway to keep the unfit from entering. He is more of a vocational counselor to help those who do come in to find the place best suited to them, and to help those he cannot place, by advice, find suitable work, or sometimes to advise them what they should do to fit themselves for better positions. Let me give just one example from recent experience. We were interviewing a number of men for a position of some responsibility and one which called for tact in dealing with the public, above almost every other qualification. One man seemed to be above the average in education and appearance, but something about him made me think that he lacked the patience and tact so necessary. So after a very few questions I said in a slightly hesitating way (which left ample opportunity for him to have argued his case). "I don't know, but I am afraid you haven't had quite the experience desired." Immediately he flared up: "Why didn't you say what you wanted in your advertisement? Here I have been going around from office to office and always the same reply. You fellows have jobs of your own and don't care a thing about a fellow who is out of work." Somehow in spite of his tirade I felt that the man was the right sort, and I asked him into the office. I tried to tell him in the most friendly way I could just why I thought he was not finding work; that other interviewers were seeing that same impatience and lack of tact that I had seen, and I felt sure that if he would try to overcome this, he had the ability to get and hold a position of responsibility.

There is frequent opportunity to give such advice or advice as to training that would be helpful. You can readily see, also, that the employment interviewer is in an unusually advantageous position to give such advice. The applicant seeking a position is more ready to believe the advice "practical" when it comes from the man who has the power to decide whether or not he shall be employed than if it came from a preacher, teacher, social worker, or even his own parents. The time of employment is also an excellent time to give constructive advice to those who are employed. Often advice like the following will start a young man or young woman into habits of studying: "We are going to employ you and give you a chance to try out on this job, but if you expect to make good, you must do some studying. I will ask the librarian to lend you the books, and this fall you can enter — night school and take the course in —. If you will do this, I believe you can make good and your pay will climb right along. Will you promise me that you will do it?" Of course, as you all know, a very large part of the advice, particularly when given to those not employed, is wasted; but the occasional one who does take the advice and climbs on up into a good responsible position more than repays the giver for all his work. Advice given to those employed should be noted on the record and followed up by the person giving it and by the training department. This friendly follow-up of new employees by the man who employed them, until they have become a real part of the organization is considered an important part of the work of the employment department in all stores with well-

organized personnel work. This gives the right sort of an employment man a very wonderful opportunity for real case work, for real development of personality.

The careful employment man makes his selection with a thought not merely as to whether or not the person will be able to do the work required, but whether he has the capacity to grow in the department. For instance, in selecting a messenger boy for the advertising department, we like to think that we are selecting a future artist or copy-writer, or possibly even a publicity director. Something occurred a few months ago which pleased our whole employment office more than anything that has occurred in a long time. A boy who is doing minor clerical work (just a few months ago he was the messenger) in the advertising office brought over the proof of a cut that was to appear in the men's furnishing advertisement in a few days. He had made the drawing. He had made several attempts and finally the artist had accepted his drawing. Just a week or two later the messenger boy who brings the proofs around had a little advertisement of a rose-bush sale marked and initialed on our proof; he had written the copy. He was as proud of this as an older man would be of his first full page in the *Saturday Evening Post*, and he had a right to be. When the publicity director feels it necessary to expand the department and he needs the services of another copy-writer or artist, do you think he will ask us to go out and find one for him? No indeed, he will just tell us to hire another messenger boy for him.

Training.—If this sort of thing is to be effective, however, there must be something more than the friendly interest and follow-up of the employment man; this must be supplemented by organized training. Most stores have regular training or educational departments. It requires five or six lessons to teach the new salesperson how to make out the necessary sales checks and forms used in all of the many different kinds of transactions. Many stores offer courses in salesmanship, textiles, color and design, business English, shorthand, and typewriting. Motion pictures are shown illustrating helpful points in courtesy and salesmanship, and explaining the manufacturing processes used in the making of the various articles sold in the store. Meetings to encourage better service and salesmanship are conducted on the selling floors just before the store opens. Except for the meetings just before the store opens, all of these classes and meetings are most commonly held during store hours. Some stores, notably Filene's and Jordan & Marsh of Boston, have gone one step farther. To make more effective their policy of filling the better positions by promotion, training courses are given to those eligible for promotion before the vacancy occurs, so that they may be ready when the opportunity comes. There is, of course, the danger in this that if the vacancy does not come reasonably soon after the training is completed, the person is likely to become discouraged. However, the plan seems to be working well at both of these stores. College men and women are taken into many stores and given a regular "route" through the different departments and a course of training so that at the end of a definite period they are eligible for promotion to the positions for which their aptitudes fit them.

The person who is not making good.—One of the most interesting and important tasks, and one which often uses the resources of every department of the entire personnel division, is the saving, for the house and for themselves, of the people who are not making good. The older short-sighted method was to let them go and to hire more. The modern way is to study the real cause of failure and try to remedy the cause. A salesman was not making good, seemed to lack enthusiasm, and his sales were low.

Careful questioning brought out the fact that his eyes had troubled him for years. With properly fitted glasses he was a new man. An assistant buyer couldn't seem to learn to do the necessary figuring of mark-up, mark-down, etc. Investigation showed that she had not had much opportunity to go to school. Some private coaching in elementary percentage and fractions and a transfer to a department more suited to her tastes made of her a thoroughly capable assistant buyer. Occasionally a transfer alone is all that is needed.

All of these phases of personnel administration unquestionably meet the first conditions set down as necessary in that both the store owner and the worker profit by them.

For the most successful work the second condition should also be met either through some form of "industrial democracy" or through individually consulting and considering the worker's desires.

Personal-service work.—The modern tendency in personal administration is away from a great deal of purely "welfare" or personal-service work. Particularly in the cities, where of course all the larger stores are located, most of the store members have their own social ties formed through their churches or clubs or through neighborhood activities. Personal service of the social or entertainment nature has very largely and rightly been taken over by the church and the community. There is, however, need for some purely personal-service work in every store. The problem of just what should be included may be solved by applying the conditions to each thing. Lunch-rooms, the services of a trained nurse and often a doctor, quiet and pleasant restrooms, insurance in case of illness, and many other similar things do undoubtedly increase both the employee's value to the house and his happiness in his job. Any welfare work which does not do this should be abandoned. As much as possible of the personal-service work should be administered by the employees through their own associations or committees. This meets the second condition which has so often been violated by paternalistic welfare work. Also it furnishes a good starting ground for the more complete industrial democracy.

Wage payment plans.—Since this group is interested more particularly in the part of personnel administration which can be classed as social case work, a detailed discussion of the wage-payment plans in use in the different stores would be out of place, but I do wish to make the statement that in this as in all other phases of personnel administration, the two conditions can and should apply. There is no question but that the worker desires to get just as high a wage as he can; and the store owner desires as low a labor cost as is possible. But a higher wage may not increase, and in many cases actually decreases, the "ratio of pay-roll to total sales" which is the figure which interests the store owner. Confidential figures from stores all over the country show that the stores paying the lowest wages to their sales people have very close to the highest selling cost per cent; and those paying the highest wage have a selling cost per cent lower than the average. In many stores plans of wage payment are in successful operation which do satisfy both conditions fully.

And so, by carefully applying these conditions to everything that enters into the personnel administration, we hope to weld all of the people in each store into one big, happy store family, so that we may serve you faithfully and well, and our happiness and pride in our work may make your shopping more profitable and pleasant.

SOCIAL RESEARCH IN INDUSTRY

PERSONNEL RESEARCH

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Personnel is a term which covers a variety of activities that are widely divergent in technique and objectives, but as we come close to the ideals of those who represent personnel work in its various phases, it becomes clear that this art of personnel management or personnel administration does signify an idea which is common to all these different activities. This idea will play an important rôle in the future development of the industrial order. The common idea which runs through all personnel activities concerns the relation between the requirements of almost every person to earn his living and those other requirements and opportunities that he needs in order to live a satisfactory life as a civilized person, a citizen, and, what is still more important, as a contented member of society. It is in the relations between these two realms, that of earning a living and that of living an individually contented life, that the art of personnel is concerned.

We all know that the industrial order has had, as its basic criterion of excellency and progress, a strictly objective, materialistic, and quantitative set of values. To produce wealth with the least expenditure of human energy, with speed and dispatch, in colossal quantities, was that which produced admiration. To be a part of the realization of such goals became the function of the individual, and to specialize and divide labor into minute parts for individual assignment became the universal necessity. But just in so far as the individual person, as a person, submerges himself into the rôle of realizing the collective economic values, to the extent that he devotes the major part of his time and energies to a small fraction of collective and efficient production, just to that extent does he tend to experience a separation between his functions as a wage-earner and his functions as a normal living person. He comes to regard his work as a necessary evil, a price that he must pay to gain for himself those benefits that to him constitute his life. This separation in the mind of the individual person between that which he produces for society and that which he himself enjoys to be leads necessarily to conflict.

The art of personnel starts with an inquiry concerning the conditions which are necessary for production in modern society, and it attempts to adjust these industrial conditions, as far as possible, to the needs and opportunities of normal people, considered not as employees but as people. It has been found that many of the circumstances of employment that are injuries to the physical, mental, social, and moral life of persons can be avoided without detriment to production. Examples are the numerous devices and arrangements that contribute to physical safety in work. Here the dangers that normal people avoid when they have their freedom are not unnecessarily forced upon them in their hours of work. To that extent, then, a step has been taken in the direction of harmonizing the requirements of earning a living and the requirements or conditions that free, normal people seek. Such efforts belong in the general category of personnel.

Personnel research covers conveniently all those inquiries which are being conducted to effect a consistent relation between the two realms, working and living.

Employment methods are being developed whereby applicants for positions may be assisted to find their best opportunities with the least possible cost of effort and failure. That economic benefits accrue from the discovery of effective employment methods is a fortunate coincidence. Methods of training employees to fit themselves for increased share in the responsibility of production are a part of personnel, particularly in so far as the industrially efficient training affects the lives and careers of people. Personnel does not concern itself with those problems which relate exclusively to production, nor does it concern itself with those circumstances in people's lives which have no effect on production. It is interested in the hundreds of problems in which production and living are both mutually affected. The numerous attempts to train foremen come within the field of personnel.

Wage adjustment is of course a central personnel problem in that it concerns intimately the relation between what a person produces for society and what he lives by. But it is a safe guess that many of the issues which take the form of wage disputes originate in normal human impulses, which can only by perversion take a monetary form. Thus, it is normal to seek those opportunities which afford the enjoyment of power, superiority, mastery, freedom, control, and opportunities which give social approval from people of our kind. To the extent that the conditions of work give these opportunities, it becomes correspondingly less urgent for each individual to turn his attention away from work to gain these satisfactions. It is the business of personnel to ascertain the conditions under which these opportunities for self-expression, self-assertion, self-respect, self-advancement, and social approval may be provided in ways that are consistent with productive work. It is with these criteria in mind that students of personnel are studying the merits of different types of organization of commercial and industrial establishments.

Personnel research can be defined as the impartial study of the conditions under which productive work may be made a truly integral part of living.

RESEARCH IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT

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In a New York evening newspaper, which is generally believed to be liberal and to have the best financial and economic pages in the city, I happened to read last Saturday a special dispatch from Boston about business conditions. It begins: "Cautionary signals are being hung out by New England industrialists. Our textile and shoe machinery has been running at high speed, and the prosperity of labor is evidenced in many ways, notably by the number of brand new automobiles seen in city streets and country roads." Since, at last year's conference of social work, some of the delegates were interested in a strike of New England textile-workers against a wage reduction which would have placed them below the poverty level, this connection of textile-workers with new automobiles was intriguing. The dispatch goes on to speak of "spectacular" wage increases to say that farmers are reducing their acreage because of inability to pay present wages, and to assert that "millions of people are worse off (than before the wage increases) because their cost of living has risen faster than their purchasing power." I need not go on to follow the intricate reasoning of the author, which lands

him securely at the conclusion that everything would be rosy were it not for the fact that wages have risen, since higher wages are the cause of high prices and may bring an end to prosperity. I am using this dispatch for a text, not because it is a particularly horrible example, but because it is quite fairly representative of current popular writing on business economics.

Now, the remarkable thing about this sort of performance is that it does not give the slightest indication that economics is, or should be, a science, and that intelligent economic discussion is impossible unless it rests on a basis of data. I suspect that the author did not check up the ownership of the large number of automobiles he saw. I know that he did not look into the wage data. According to the Massachusetts Department of Labor and Industries, the average weekly earnings of factory workers were, in a week in March, 1923, \$23.58, and this was only about 7 per cent higher than in last September. According to the National Industrial Conference Board, skilled male cotton-mill-workers in the North, if they could have worked fifty-two weeks a year, would have earned an average of \$1,085.44 yearly before the recent increase. That increase, which was 12½ per cent, brought the figure up to about \$1,220. After spending, say \$400 for the new car, it would have left \$800 on which to support the family. Our author was also a bit careless about the cost of living. The last published index figure for Massachusetts, that of March, was slightly below the February figure, and showed an increase of less than 2 per cent from the low point reached a year ago. It is quite conceivable that higher wholesale prices may eventually be translated into higher retail prices. Can it then be claimed that the prices the mills are now charging for their product are due to higher labor costs? Wholesale prices of cotton goods began to rise in July, 1921, and have been going up pretty steadily ever since. The wage increase did not come until the spring of 1923. Cotton print-cloth sold, in February, at about 90 per cent above the low price of the depression. This was before wages were raised at all, and when wages did go up the increase was only 12½ per cent. Cotton sheeting had risen about 80 per cent at that time. It looks very much as if other things than wages were responsible for higher prices. Perhaps increased profits had something to do with it.

I am not offering this as a sample of labor research. The only research involved is the collation and consultation of a few easily accessible records. It will, however, furnish a starting point for the discussion of how labor research arises and for what it is good. Many years of academic economic research and the recent astonishing development of business research for employers have not sufficed to create a public consciousness of economic facts which would make such articles as that of the Boston correspondent impossible of general acceptance. Trade unions meet just such arguments as these, and the emotional resistance which such arguments arouse, every time they negotiate with employers about wages or hours or conditions of work, and every time they arbitrate such questions or appeal to the public for support in an open controversy. They meet also more profound opposition than that based on mere ignorance of published data. They have to fight, although they frequently do not recognize their opponents, whole systems of economic theory which have become a part of the basic assumptions of many persons in power. Why did the Supreme Court invalidate the minimum-wage law for women? A careful reading of Justice Sutherland's opinion discloses that entirely aside from the legal reasoning involved he was chiefly influenced by the old laissez-faire economics, with its assumptions of inexorable economic law and its automatic operation for the ultimate good of all. The wage law was invalid, he said in

effect, because it based the compensation not on the worth of the service rendered but on the assumed needs of the employee. It apparently never occurred to him to question whether in the ordinary course of events, without regulation, wages are based on the "worth of the service" rendered. What is the "worth" of the service and how is it to be measured? The man who assumes the laissez-faire doctrine identifies the worth of service with what the person rendering service actually receives. Or rather, with what he would receive if there were perfectly free competition. But modern economists know that in the real world this is a meaningless abstraction, and that actual compensation has little or no relation either with justice or with inexorable law.

So it happens that the labor movement has need of practical research in its immediate struggles, and it has even more need of research in connection with the larger social aims with which the immediate struggles are inextricably inter-woven. It cannot depend on the economics handed to it from older generations or from the employers. More than any other element in the community, it must know the facts, it must know how to interpret those facts in the light of new situations and of its own aims, and it must know how to procure acceptance of these interpretations.

Research for labor is not, of course, confined to economic facts and theory. It must embrace engineering, accounting, and other sciences and arts. During the past few days I have been attending hearings of the Interstate Commerce Commission on economy and efficiency of railroad operation since July 1, 1922. The first road to be examined was one which had refused to settle the shop strike, and the problem of the commission was chiefly to assess the policy of management in the shops from an engineering point of view. It was shown that the railroad had been grossly extravagant and inefficient while fighting the unions. The question of company union versus trade union was brought down out of the clouds of sentiment and unsubstantial controversy, in which it is usually discussed, to a basis of operating statistics, locomotive condition, labor turnover, unit cost, the effect of specific shop rules, and so on. In these hearings, before they are over, the entire relation of trade-union organization and collective bargaining with efficient production will be examined. And it is noteworthy that in this detailed discussion it is the unions who are taking the lead in the demand for a complete array of facts and their interpretation in the light of modern engineering knowledge. The question of railroad valuation is a fundamental one to all persons concerned in larger railroad policies, and that means nearly everyone. It is chiefly an accounting question. The railroad unions are not only aware of it, but they are doing everything in their power to advance its discussion, and are participating in the hiring of accounting experts to explore it.

Numerous other instances might be mentioned to show the wide field of labor research, even in its existing primitive stage of development. It arises in negotiations, in arbitration proceedings, in general publicity, in public hearings, in preparation for legislative action. Most of us will agree that in our civilization industrial problems are basic. To few of these problems can labor long remain indifferent. Since labor is the chief sufferer from existing maladjustments, it is likely to be more active than others in seeking solutions. And labor is rapidly coming to adopt the attitude that problems cannot be solved without the aid of science, that first of all it is necessary to know the facts and to understand them.

What I have said may have created the impression that labor's use of facts may be of little benefit scientifically, since it is directed to convincing others of what labor already believes. If labor research resulted merely in propaganda in this narrow sense,

it would be useful in so far as labor's assumptions are well founded, but it would not offer much possibility of adding to the general stock of knowledge. But, in my opinion, it would be difficult for labor so to limit the field of its research, even if it wished to do so. No one, no matter what his presuppositions, can come into intimate contact with accurate data, and can exercise scientific methods of interpretation, without educating himself. He will be less likely to follow policies, which in the long run will injure him, than if he did not attempt to investigate the basis for his beliefs. Of course it is taken for granted that organizations of labor have the primary purpose of raising the status of their members. If the point ever comes at which further improvement of that status can be gained only at the cost of an inferior position on the part of non-wage-earners, it will be the privilege of other economic classes to protect themselves by an appeal to science. Even in such a situation, however, the chances of justice and the permanent welfare of all will be greatly improved by the introduction of scientific method into the controversy.

I am of the opinion that while anyone may be candid in his view of established facts, few or none can be impartial in their basic desires which determine the use of these facts and the building of policies on them. Facts must be interpreted in the light of what we wish to do. There is, therefore, little hope for the better adjustment of human affairs if we must delegate the development of the human sciences solely to those rare persons who are utterly cold and impartial, or to those more numerous persons who conceal a bias under the assumption of impartiality. There is more hope for the discovery of truth in the hammering out of facts and policies among those who frankly admit their bias if these persons give a general adherence to mutually accepted scientific standards. Anyone who has, for instance, sat as arbitrator in a labor case presented by competent experts on both sides, will admit that his education in the subject is more thorough at the end of the hearings than if he had withdrawn to a tower room and attempted to arrive at the whole truth by himself as an impartial scientist.

Labor research, in the sense of practical technical service to labor organizations, is comparatively new. It is frankly experimental. It does not set out to solve at one blow the largest and most complex problems. It does not pretend to erect a grandiose theory of social organization. But by relating itself to practical needs of the unions as they arise, it does hope to build, slowly it may be, the texture of facts and of understanding which would be necessary to any larger reform. It hopes to lead into the more fundamental questions here and there as the occasion arises, and to be of real service in answering those questions by its functional and working connection with the largest body of persons who are vitally affected by social institutions.

INDUSTRIAL TECHNIQUE AND SOCIAL ETHICS

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When man changed from a tool-using to a machine-using organism, industrial technique began. The implications of this change cannot be overstated or overemphasized. A tool is a very simple extension of the human organism. Its use necessitates no unusual organic adaptations. A spade or a hoe is simply the human hand or foot extended. A machine, on the other hand, is something more than an extension of the human body. It is designed to perform a specific task in relation to certain materials.

The human organism must adapt itself to the machine. This involves neural as well as muscular adaptations. The consequences are at first physiological, but they translate themselves ultimately in sociological and psychological terms. Industrial technique is in its very beginnings a departure from customs, habits, and mores.

Social control, which is here taken to mean a conscious attempt on the part of society to create social situations in which the greatest net total of good human experience may exist, moves at a slow rate of speed. Its primary aim is to control human nature, and one reason for its slow rate of progress is the theological tendency to control human nature by mystical and extraneous forms of authority.

Theological ethics have stood in the way of a real study of human nature, and hence in the way of fundamental ethics. The nature of industrial technique and the nature of ethics account for the hiatus which exists between the two. But this essential distinction, which is largely one of time, is not sufficient to account for the present disorganized state of society.

All "dark ages" are characterized by a sense of futility, a lack of faith in human capacity. Ours is a modern "dark age" because we are caught within the clutches of controls which we do not understand and which, consequently, plant in our hearts the seeds of futility and despair. The modern world is not merely disorganized; it is baffled and balked.

Industrial technique and the shift of authority.—Contrary to the oft-repeated and absurd dictum that human nature cannot be changed, the industrial technique has changed human nature. The machine has impinged itself upon certain elements in humanity with such force that it has altered whole idea-systems and created new behavior-patterns. Industrial technique has been responsible for changes in human nature comparable to the changes frequently noted by historians after great wars and infiltrations of the conquerors into the conquered people's culture.

Man not only does different things, but he produces rationalizations of the acts he performs which are unique. For example, a person in control of individual technique, an employer of labor, may now affirm ardent convictions of political democracy, and at the same time exercise industrial control in the most autocratic manner. This phenomenon would not be unique were it not for the fact that this same man has no capacity for realizing the fundamental discrepancy, the essential dishonesty, if you please, of his position. He does not understand that he has taken an unethical attitude toward life. It will be seen that we are now dealing with that perplexing quantity or quality called "power." The industrial technique has brought into being new forms of power which are not only changing the face of the earth but are also changing the face of man. Thus far the only answer which the worker has made to the new and sinister power of industrial control is to confront this power with another form of power; namely, organized labor and the strike. To confront one power group with another power group in frankness is a process of some value. The mere confronting will, however, produce no creative results; the two forms of power must interact in relation to mutual concerns. Mere reaction is not enough; there must be interaction. This cannot happen, of course, so long as the opposing power-groups utilize the methods and the modes of force and coercion, which is only saying that nothing fruitful can come out of the confronting of power until the process is seen in the light of what it patently is; namely, an ethical relation. The new authoritarianism of the machine must either be intellectualized, spiritualized, or it must ultimately be removed by revolution as other forms of dissociated authority have always been removed.

it would be useful in so far as labor's assumptions are well founded, but it would not offer much possibility of adding to the general stock of knowledge. But, in my opinion, it would be difficult for labor so to limit the field of its research, even if it wished to do so. No one, no matter what his presuppositions, can come into intimate contact with accurate data, and can exercise scientific methods of interpretation, without educating himself. He will be less likely to follow policies, which in the long run will injure him, than if he did not attempt to investigate the basis for his beliefs. Of course it is taken for granted that organizations of labor have the primary purpose of raising the status of their members. If the point ever comes at which further improvement of that status can be gained only at the cost of an inferior position on the part of non-wage-earners, it will be the privilege of other economic classes to protect themselves by an appeal to science. Even in such a situation, however, the chances of justice and the permanent welfare of all will be greatly improved by the introduction of scientific method into the controversy.

I am of the opinion that while anyone may be candid in his view of established facts, few or none can be impartial in their basic desires which determine the use of these facts and the building of policies on them. Facts must be interpreted in the light of what we wish to do. There is, therefore, little hope for the better adjustment of human affairs if we must delegate the development of the human sciences solely to those rare persons who are utterly cold and impartial, or to those more numerous persons who conceal a bias under the assumption of impartiality. There is more hope for the discovery of truth in the hammering out of facts and policies among those who frankly admit their bias if these persons give a general adherence to mutually accepted scientific standards. Anyone who has, for instance, sat as arbitrator in a labor case presented by competent experts on both sides, will admit that his education in the subject is more thorough at the end of the hearings than if he had withdrawn to a tower room and attempted to arrive at the whole truth by himself as an impartial scientist.

Labor research, in the sense of practical technical service to labor organizations, is comparatively new. It is frankly experimental. It does not set out to solve at one blow the largest and most complex problems. It does not pretend to erect a grandiose theory of social organization. But by relating itself to practical needs of the unions as they arise, it does hope to build, slowly it may be, the texture of facts and of understanding which would be necessary to any larger reform. It hopes to lead into the more fundamental questions here and there as the occasion arises, and to be of real service in answering those questions by its functional and working connection with the largest body of persons who are vitally affected by social institutions.

INDUSTRIAL TECHNIQUE AND SOCIAL ETHICS

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When man changed from a tool-using to a machine-using organism, industrial technique began. The implications of this change cannot be overstated or overemphasized. A tool is a very simple extension of the human organism. Its use necessitates no unusual organic adaptations. A spade or a hoe is simply the human hand or foot extended. A machine, on the other hand, is something more than an extension of the human body. It is designed to perform a specific task in relation to certain materials.

The human organism must adapt itself to the machine. This involves neural as well as muscular adaptations. The consequences are at first physiological, but they translate themselves ultimately in sociological and psychological terms. Industrial technique is in its very beginnings a departure from customs, habits, and mores.

Social control, which is here taken to mean a conscious attempt on the part of society to create social situations in which the greatest net total of good human experience may exist, moves at a slow rate of speed. Its primary aim is to control human nature, and one reason for its slow rate of progress is the theological tendency to control human nature by mystical and extraneous forms of authority.

Theological ethics have stood in the way of a real study of human nature, and hence in the way of fundamental ethics. The nature of industrial technique and the nature of ethics account for the hiatus which exists between the two. But this essential distinction, which is largely one of time, is not sufficient to account for the present disorganized state of society.

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Industrial technique and the shift of authority.—Contrary to the oft-repeated and absurd dictum that human nature cannot be changed, the industrial technique has changed human nature. The machine has impinged itself upon certain elements in humanity with such force that it has altered whole idea-systems and created new behavior-patterns. Industrial technique has been responsible for changes in human nature comparable to the changes frequently noted by historians after great wars and infiltrations of the conquerors into the conquered people's culture.

Man not only does different things, but he produces rationalizations of the acts he performs which are unique. For example, a person in control of individual technique, an employer of labor, may now affirm ardent convictions of political democracy, and at the same time exercise industrial control in the most autocratic manner. This phenomenon would not be unique were it not for the fact that this same man has no capacity for realizing the fundamental discrepancy, the essential dishonesty, if you please, of his position. He does not understand that he has taken an unethical attitude toward life. It will be seen that we are now dealing with that perplexing quantity or quality called "power." The industrial technique has brought into being new forms of power which are not only changing the face of the earth but are also changing the face of man. Thus far the only answer which the worker has made to the new and sinister power of industrial control is to confront this power with another form of power; namely, organized labor and the strike. To confront one power group with another power group in frankness is a process of some value. The mere confronting will, however, produce no creative results; the two forms of power must interact in relation to mutual concerns. Mere reaction is not enough; there must be interaction. This cannot happen, of course, so long as the opposing power-groups utilize the methods and the modes of force and coercion, which is only saying that nothing fruitful can come out of the confronting of power until the process is seen in the light of what it patently is; namely, an ethical relation. The new authoritarianism of the machine must either be intellectualized, spiritualized, or it must ultimately be removed by revolution as other forms of dissociated authority have always been removed.

Industrial technique and human values.—Industrial technique has produced a civilization of dual values. The values which the machine has thus far created are material; and the values which the power-group in control of machines accentuates are pecuniary. Industrial technique is a relation between the machine and raw materials. When this relation is understood, one need no longer be astonished to learn that industrial technique did not create safety appliances which represent a relation between machines and workers, but was forced to utilize these by the community. Thus there has arisen a dual standard of values. The industrial technique is interested in perpetuating material values, while the community is interested in perpetuating human values. The battle goes forward in two spheres. On the one hand are the trade unions representing a fighting symbol to the worker, and urging him forward to press his claims, to state his values, and to make inroads upon the employer's power by means of his own power, and through the methods of force. On the other hand stands the community represented by the symbol of representative government and justice, the legislatures and the courts upon whom falls more and more the burden of umpiring the combat.

Once more we face a moral issue. Which values are best? How is the determination of values to proceed? And how long can we live in the environment of a dual set of values—a dual morality—in which the only recourse is to formal law? This is, of course, the pertinent consideration, since it is evident that the machinery of law can only persist so long as revolution is postponed; it has no capacity to withstand or to restrain a disintegrating civilization. The law can only assist in maintaining a peaceful *status quo* so long as the law and the *status quo* are more or less synchronous; when the situation itself changes abruptly or entirely and the law is involved to perpetuate a set of values which no longer exists, revolution is inevitable. History has at least taught this one lesson, namely, that there are no divine rights whether vested in kings, courts, or legislatures. The only rights which may ultimately win the laurel of divinity are those which emerge from the relations between human beings.

The ethical situation stated.—This discussion is based upon the assumption that the norms of behavior, and ethics, emerge from activities, and that the significant norms of behavior arise out of necessary activities. Behavior is positively ethical when it conforms to those modes which are commonly accepted by the community. These acts which are peculiar to you because you are a member of a particular group may be roughly classified as social forms of ethics. There can be no doubt, that it is in the realm of social ethics that modern civilization is grossly deficient. The economic interests are so universal, so intimately connected with physiological necessity, and in a sense so underlying and fundamental, that it seems imperative that we devote our energies to this conflict. In fact, it seems quite probable that unless we can produce sufficient intelligence to create a social ethic in this sphere, there can ensue only a heightening of the other conflicts and, in the end, complete disintegration. There is still time to bring about a fusion between ethics and industry, but the time may come, and sooner than those deluded by temporary lulls of prosperity and fitful revivals of capitalism are aware, when the new social ethic can be erected only upon the sacrificial alter of human lives or not at all.

This paper can do no better at this point than point out in abbreviated form the various ethical relationships inherent in modern industry.

First of all we must come to a sharp realization that moral responsibility includes the whole of life. If the relations of human beings have any significance at all, they

are relations which produce ethical results. The person who adheres strictly to the accepted codes of personal morals and has no evolving set of ethical norms for his group relations is obviously a dishonest and immoral person. If ethics are to function in the family but not in the chamber of commerce, in the church but not in the board of directors, in the rotary club but not in the factory, then we may as well have no ethics, for the places where we talk about ethics are relatively unimportant, while the places where we act significantly shape our lives and other lives and determine whether we are building a miserable or a joyful world.

Second, social ethics imply joint responsibilities. Two persons can live ethically in relation to each other only when they are conscious of their mutual interests and responsibilities. Two groups can only act justly with each other when the mutual responsibilities and interests are recognized. In industry as it is now organized there exist five distinct groups; the stockholders, the directors, the management, the workers, and the community. Each group now lives in an ethical atmosphere which is independent of and frequently divergent to the ethical atmosphere of every other group. To be strictly inclusive in the use of a sociological approach to this problem, one would need to include two other groups; namely, the courts and the politicians.

The *stockholders* live in the atmosphere of traditional ethics, and thereby escape the responsibilities incident to their relationship to industry.

The *directors*, acting as the representatives of the stockholders, live in an atmosphere of almost purely pragmatic ethics; they stand midway between the stockholders and the management, and insist upon practical results from the industry, results which are visual; that is, profits.

The *management* exercises three functions; it deals directly with the politician, with the worker, and with the technologist. Some of its standards are taken directly from the machine, some from the politician, and some from the workers. Its policies are shifting and uncertain. Efficiency is its goal, and it recognizes human values only under pressure and then by compromise.

The *workers* live in the realm of necessity. As workers they must perforce accept a utilitarian mode of action. As members of families they are affected by the inevitable demands of a better life and a widening culture. They can assert these demands only through organized opposition to the management.

The *courts* live in the realm of tradition. They can only participate in enlarging ethics as legislature-made law enables them to transcend the precedents and the procedure of the past.

The *politician* as a representative of all the people is in a most uncomfortable position. He ostensibly seeks to follow the will of the greater number and actually follows the will of those who possess for the moment the greatest power. His ethical atmosphere is most doubtful since he cannot depart too far from the traditional and still hold his position, while he must at the same time deal with the acute problems of the present.

The *community*—the public—as now conceived is an anomaly. There can be no community in an industrial society until the above-mentioned groups live in the same ethical atmosphere. Modern life is group life.

The real community is the totality of the interactions of all the groups. Until there is some procedure and technique for such interaction, it is absurd to speak of public opinion, the will of the people, or democracy.

Third, the industrial situation is then seen as one in which groups have arisen with their own sets of values. These values emerge from divergent interests. Each group claims the right of its particular interest and forms behavior-patterns in conformity with the fight to maintain those rights. Interests and rights become mutually exclusive in the minds of the fighting groups, so that we ultimately reach an impasse, an ethical dilemma in which the right can only be stated in terms of power. Obviously, such a situation of morally disinfected groups cannot last. Power expressed in terms of force contains the germs of its own destruction. Relations between groups cannot be improved by force, for the conquered group remains as the embittered group, awaiting only the day when the fortunes of power shift to its side when revenge comes sweet.

Thus is industrial society seen as a gigantic conflict between interests, rights, and values.

Is there a way out?—Man's efforts to be free from this dilemma are in turn heroic and pathetic. There are, for example, those feeble attempts of the sentimental employer to solve the problem by so-called "welfare programs." Here we see the situation at its worst. The recipients of industrial doles from employers are not contented human beings. They are, in fact, no longer human. They have accepted the animal plane of life, and in their inner hearts they can have naught but contempt for their shabby compromise.

Then there is the heroic effort of the Russian proletariat, in which compromise is thrown to the winds, in which the participants add spiritual zeal to force and in one fell swoop cast the entire politico-economic system overboard. One may disparage the cruelty incident to this procedure, or one may be wholly unsympathetic toward the Russian revolution, but one cannot deny its heroic proportions. These two illustrations are used because they typify the two extreme methods of approaching the industrial problem. One is the method of capitulation and compromise, and the other is the method of non-compromise, of active resistance, of revolution.

We are not confronted simply with a choice between these two alternatives. That is despotic almsgiving which impoverishes the worker's mind, or that of violent revolution in the interest of a preconceived and ready made system of life; nor must we choose between the "red star of Trotski" and the "black shirt of Mussolini." All of these methods represent an oversimplification of human nature. We must dig deeper. Neither the sentimental nor the revolutionary viewpoint is scientific. The chief difficulty with radicals is that they are not sufficiently radical. They do not go far enough toward the roots of the situation. They are not scientific. No one can be scientific and at the same time be an ardent propagandist for an *a priori* scheme of reorganizing life. The two viewpoints are antithetical. Socialism, communism, and syndicalism are useful as ideals, they do very little to help us out of our ethical dilemma. To hold to an ideal and to proselytize others to accept that ideal when there is no opportunity or means of giving it an empirical test is likely to be worse than not possessing one. This sounds dangerously like an argument against all ideals as such. It is intended to be quite otherwise. It is proposed as a means toward a discriminating selection of ideals. The very emotional tenacity with which certain so-called "radicals" hold to their ideals precludes scientific experimentation. The true radical is the scientist. He deals with things as they are. He goes to the roots. Courageous flights of imagination he needs, but his conclusions are never labeled law, principle, or truth, until they have passed through the rigorous tests of experience.

What due does science offer?—Science is a method and not a body of facts. Facts change and are relative, and no one appreciates this more than the true scientist who feels his way forward tentatively and patiently. This statement is a preface for what is to follow, because it is not assumed that science has a patented solution for the industrial problem. This paper is more an appeal for the scientific method applied to human affairs than an exposition of scientific achievement. May we then, tentatively and in the spirit of adventure, suggest an approach to the industrial conflict from the viewpoint of science.

First, the scientific viewpoint invites us to eliminate emotionalism from the idea of conflict. Conflicts are not in and of themselves bad or immoral or unethical. They

simply are. Life is conflict. The whole concept of life as adjustment implies that there is a resisting force or object to which the organism must adjust itself. The adjusting process may produce either good or bad results, but this does not imply that the conflict itself is inherently either good or bad.

Second, the scientific viewpoint asks us to investigate this adjusting process minutely. What is it that happens when an organism adjusts itself to its environment? Is it the organism acting upon the environment, or the environment acting upon the organism? Obviously, it is both. The organism is changed, but the environment is also changed. The process is one of interaction, and not simply action and reaction.

Third, the scientific viewpoint indicates that no significant adjustments are made until conflict appears. This does not mean that life is all conflict. Nor does it mean that life is all co-operation. Life is adjustment, and conflict and co-operation are parts of the adjusting process. Conflict and co-operation are not antithetical qualities or quantities placed over against each other; they are merely two ways of viewing the life process.

Fourth, adjustment always takes place in parts and not in wholes. That is, the organism does not adjust itself completely to the total environment, but rather adjusts a portion of itself or a part of its function to a portion or a function of the environment. The total environment is involved in each adjustment and must eventually become a part of the total adjustment, but the total adjustment is a building up of minor adjustments.

This is perhaps sufficient for a beginning. Now comes the adventure! Is it possible to view the industrial conflict from the above-stated standpoints of science? And does such a viewpoint clarify the issues? I can now only speak for myself and that small group which shares with me this view, but from so narrow a platform I can unhesitatingly say that the viewpoint is not only possible, but that it carries with it a new hope and a new faith for mankind. And, now, I must speak tentatively for the above principles are by no means true principles, in that they have been verified on the social level. I only claim that they have validity in general for science, and that they must now be validated on the social plane. Permit me to call to your attention a few of the results of this viewpoint on relation to our theme-group adjustments within the industrial technique. The contending parties to the conflict now enter upon the difficult problem of adjustment, not with hatred, bitterness, and determination that one side or the other shall be vanquished, but rather with heads up and spirits high, to give integrity to their interests. Facts are not gathered and used for the purpose of proving one side wrong and the other side right. Facts are now jointly gathered and jointly used to assist in making the adjustment. "Power over" is gradually altered until it becomes "power with." We do not grasp control from each other according to the accidental shifts of power, but we share control according to our intrinsic worth. We are no longer measured by the mathematical yardstick of majorities and minorities, but by the spiritual values of personality. Social ethics will not be this or that dogmatic and traditional affirmation, but it will become the emerging reality, the technique of our evolving adjustments.

I am not proposing a scheme or a plan for the regeneration of industry and society. I am merely proposing a method of approaching the problem, and I do so with the full assurance that progress comes through new method and not through new facts or new results. Ends never justify means. Ends are insignificant save as they are related to

creative means. What I have indicated above is being approached in numerous ways. The impartial chairman who sits as arbitrator between employers and workers has gone part of the way. Industrial democracy ventures, in individual industries where employees share portions of control with employers, are leading in a similar direction. However, the real fruits of these experiments are likely to be lost unless we begin to see them as steps in an evolutionary process.

Industrial technique controls natural forces. Social ethics control human forces. Both sets of forces are natural, and the only valid distinction is that one set of forces is without and one within. It has so happened in the rapid rise of industrial technology that its control has become well-nigh supreme. Society takes its cues from industry. Groups form about economic interests, interests which they pursue in opposition to social ethics, or under a form of conduct which leaves other groups discontented and in a warring mood. As a result we live in a civilization which is fundamentally dishonest; a civilization in which men assert principles of ethics in which they claim thorough belief, but which they claim to be unworkable; a civilization in which ideals and activities are separated; a civilization in which there is one mode of behavior for the home and another mode for the factory; a civilization in which human personality is glorified on Sundays in churches and degraded on week days in stores and workshops. This conflict between techniques and ethics goes even farther; it lies at the bottom of our international dissensions. We believe in peace, but we participate in activities which inevitably lead to war. We believe in international co-operation, but sanction high tariffs. We long for world-democracy, but practice individual autocracy. We give enthusiastic support to a league of nations but leave our immediate neighbors in splendid isolation. Either our beliefs, our ideals, or our ethical standards are false or we are a dishonest people. So far and so deep has industrial technique sunk into our very souls. Our protestations of idealism are as sounding brass and tinkling cymbals unless they are translated into action. It is by our fruits that we shall be judged.

There is no easy way to redemption. Industrial technique must become ethical and social ethics must become technical. The process is not simple. Good will and straight thinking, character and science, are destined to be our chief tools, and we must use them well, for our civilization has nothing else upon which to stand or go forward. The alternative is disintegration and decay. It means that "We are working out a new way of living for mankind, a new rule, a new conscience. There must be lifetimes of building up and lifetimes of pulling down and trying again, hopes and disappointments, and much need of philosophy. Let us, therefore, set ourselves with all our minds and all our hearts to the perfecting and working out of the salvation of mankind."

RECENT INDUSTRIAL INVESTIGATIONS

BUSINESS CYCLES AND UNEMPLOYMENT

*Edward Eyre Hunt, Secretary, President's Conference on Unemployment,
Washington*

Before adjourning on October 13, the President's Conference on Unemployment adopted a report calling for careful investigation into the feasibility of stabilizing employment. To carry out this plan, Herbert Hoover, as chairman of the conference

appointed a committee on unemployment and business cycles to study the problems and if possible, to draw up a constructive program.

To prepare material for the consideration of this committee, an investigation was necessary into the facts of cyclical unemployment and into the various plans for reducing or preventing it. The National Bureau of Economic Research was requested to take charge of the investigation and to prepare a report for the consideration of the business cycle committee. This bureau was chartered to conduct quantitative investigations into subjects that affect public welfare. Its aim is to ascertain fundamental facts within its field as accurately as may be and to make these facts known. The form of organization is designed to ensure not only scientific and impartial work on the part of its staff, but also a review of their results by men who represent the various important angles from which economic problems are viewed. The investigators, directed by Dr. Wesley C. Mitchell, an authority on business cycles, have sought to supply not conclusions but data which would help the committee and the public generally to reach their own conclusions.

The fact-finding report, then, is the work of the National Bureau of Economic Research; the plan of action based on these facts is the work of the committee on unemployment and business cycles, which has just published both. The recommendations of the committee may be obtained from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, for five cents, and the full report, with the committee's recommendations and the bureau's findings of fact, from the McGraw-Hill Book Co., 370 Seventh Avenue, New York, for \$4. Interest centers in the third and largest part of the bureau's report, dealing with proposals for preventing or at least reducing cyclical unemployment, but a number of important questions is answered for the first time in the first and second parts.

Any consideration of methods to control the business cycle, in the opinion of the committee, divides itself into two parts: first, methods of preventing excessive expansion, such as occurred in 1919 and 1920; and, second, methods of reducing the extent of the decline and of alleviating the distress caused by the depression. The committee analyzes the various economic phenomena of the periodic business boom and sequent depression, and its conclusions are that preventive measures must lie in the better handling of business in boom times because depressions are due to overexpansion, inflation, loss of efficiency, waste, and extravagance in the boom periods; that therefore the first point of attack on the problem must be more informed action by individual business men in periods of rising markets in order that excessive expansion may be prevented and the extent of the decline reduced. Suggestions for such control of excessive expansion embrace recommendations as to the control of credit by individual banks, possible control of inflation by the Federal Reserve System, the control by individual business men of expansion in their own business, and the retardation in boom times of governmental and large utility building and construction. Methods of reducing the extent of the decline lie in the building up of governmental and public utility construction in times of depression, the use of unemployment reserve funds, and the expansion of federal, state, and farm employment bureaus. The better control of credit against overexpansion and speculation, through individual banks and the guidance of business itself by danger signals of overexpansion, is fundamental.

The committee points out the part the federal reserve banks can play in restriction of speculation and at the same time in liberalizing credit in times of depression, and

calls attention to the supply of gold now held by federal reserve banks, larger than necessary to support the credit machinery of American commerce, and suggests that consideration be given to earmarking a special reserve of this gold as against probable future gold shipments from the United States, thus accomplishing the double object of preventing both temptation to inflation of credits on the basis of this surplus gold supply and at the same time the great embarrassment of possible financial credit difficulties that would arise if foreign drafts were made upon the gold which had been used as a credit basis.

Early in the report, stress is laid upon the necessity of better understanding of the business cycle by business executives. The committee considers that before bankers, business men, and others can take constructive action in the enlightened conduct of business, there must be recruited and constantly disseminated the fundamental information on which the trends in business can be properly judged by each business man. Three of the ten recommendations put forth by the committee are concerned with this primary need for statistics to guide the business man. An increase in the resources of the Department of Commerce is recommended and greater co-operation with the department in co-ordinating and extending business information, so that business men and bankers may know promptly the facts about the rate of production measured in physical units, the stocks on hand and in transit, the trend of prices, the volume of sales, the trend in money rates, and the speed in freight movements. In recommending this larger statistical service, the committee asks for the expansion and standardization of statistics of business and employment now collected by state and federal bureaus, the collection of employment statistics by the Federal Bureau of Labor Statistics, and the final summation and publication of all of these statistics by the Department of Commerce, in order that there may be promptly available a connected, uniform series of facts about the trend of business. It urges the collection by telegraph and publication within ten days of the vital facts relating to these six key-industries: raw wool and woolen textiles; raw cotton and cotton textiles; hides and leather and shoes; iron and steel and leading fabricated products; zinc, lead, and copper and leading products of each; and bituminous coal.

A section of exceptional interest, as well as of practical, timely value, discusses the use of construction work as a balance wheel for the business machine. If all branches of our public works and the construction work of our public utilities—the railways, telephones, and others—could systematically put aside financial reserves to be provided in times of prosperity for the deliberate purpose of improvement and expansion in times of depression, we should not only decrease the depth of depressions but we should at the same time diminish the height of booms. A further advantage of the proposal is that our plant and equipment would be built in times of lower costs than is now the case when the contractor competes with consumable goods in overbidding for both material and labor. This utilization of government projects as an employment reserve, so far as possible, by which demand for labor and materials may be stimulated during depression, is now being made a part of the administration's policy. In response to President Harding's request for an opinion regarding the advisability of present building or postponement of proposed public construction work, Secretary Hoover recently recommended that such construction now under way should be slowed down and the initiation of new projects delayed, in order that they may be pushed forward at some later period when there is less activity in private construction and greater need for providing employment to the nation's workers.

Secretary Hoover, in his letter to the President, said that a survey of the situation in the construction trades had brought out several fundamental conclusions, which he lists as follows: First, the year 1922 was one of very large employment and activity in the construction trades, and at the end of the year stocks of construction materials were very much reduced. Since the beginning of the present year there has been even more activity than in the same period last year and the contracts let in the last few months are of larger volume than any hitherto entered into in a similar period. Advance orders for construction materials are upon a very large scale; second, labor in the construction trades and in the manufacture of material is not only at full employment, but there is actually a shortage in many directions; third transportation facilities available for the building materials are fully loaded, and almost constant car shortages are complained of with consequent interruption in production. "My conclusion," said Secretary Hoover's letter, "from all this is that, at least for the next several months, the trades will be fully occupied in private construction, all of which is generally needed by the country. For the government to enter into competition at the present moment will give no additional employment to labor and no additional production of materials, but must in the broad sense in the end displace that much private construction."

But the report on business cycles and unemployment has also had a profound effect on the policy of the construction industries. Yesterday's *New York Times*, carries on the front page a story with the headline: "Halt in Building Urged on Nation—All Factors in Industry Agree that Country Is Facing a Crisis—Governors of American Construction Council Aim to Avoid Depression or Inflation." The construction council includes representatives of the American Federation of Labor, bankers, railroad men, architects, engineers, contractors, material manufacturers and dealers, bond and insurance representatives, and municipal officials, and their aim now is to limit construction in order to avoid a later depression. No greater proof of the influence of our report could be cited.

One of the great and haunting questions with which the committee had to deal was the question of unemployment insurance, unemployment reserve funds, out-of-work benefits, and the like; for the burden of unemployment falls on the worker, and a way to equalize this burden must be found. As an example of the effect of the committee's findings on this great subject, the author of the chapter on unemployment insurance has, on behalf of 35,000 workers, just concluded an agreement in the Chicago clothing market which provides for the type of unemployment reserve funds, mutually contributed and mutually administered by the industry, which most commends itself to the business cycle committee.

The success in presenting the idea of controlling booms is shown by the action of the Federal Reserve Board since the report appeared. It is shown perhaps even more strikingly in action by individual business men. The chairman of our committee, who is chairman of the board of the General Electric Company, one of the great corporations of the country, told me two days ago that numbers of his friends had told him of their delight in the report, and had stated that after reading it they were completely changing their traditional policies for periods such as the present, were curtailing the activities of their salesmen, were watching the credit of their customers now instead of in the depression period, and were avoiding large commitments for advertising. The basic idea of controlling the boom is being translated into action, and action now means larger employment later. It means safety, it means health, it means happiness, and it means good citizenship as well as good business.

The program outlined by the business cycle committee gives an opportunity for all elements in the community to lend their interest and their influence to a solution of this vital problem. To statesmen, bankers, business men, economists, industrial engineers, labor leaders, and other groups of our citizens have been assigned important duties and responsibilities toward reducing the instability of business. Both as individuals and as members of organized groups they should devote their attention to the elimination of those destructive features of our economic life which are associated with periods of business stress and wide-spread unemployment. No problem in society offers a greater challenge to our wisdom and our sincerity. None offers a greater reward for its solution.

But this report is only one of the ideas which the Department of Commerce is popularizing with American business. The report on elimination of waste in industry, due to Mr. Hoover's inspiration as head of the Federated American Engineering Societies, is being carried into American business practice through this department. The President's Conference on Unemployment was due to the inspiration of the Secretary of Commerce. The commodity divisions which have been set up in the department to serve industry and commerce are carrying to the most important divisions of our economic life the message that business must conserve, that we must not waste men, that men and not goods are the principal products of industry.

That spirit which fed Belgium, which fed 1,300,000 of the children of Poland, which fed Hungary, Austria, Latvia, Finland, Esthonia and Serbia, and which guaranteed a balanced meal a day to 750,000 children of Germany, which today is providing for 3,000,000 Russian children, and which in the American Child Health Association is turning this great world ideal of service to the service of our own children is the ruling spirit of the department. The Department of Commerce is carrying into American business the spirit of American social work.

RECENT INVESTIGATIONS BY GOVERNMENT BUREAUS

Mary Anderson, Director, Women's Bureau, United States Department of Labor, Washington

There are two investigations which were made in the years of 1907, 1908 and 1909 which were the underlying basis for the creation of the Women's Bureau and also the basis for investigations which the Women's Bureau is conducting today. The Immigration Commission, of which Dr. Charles P. Neill was a member, did its field work in 1908 and 1909, and secured data for over 619,000 wage-earners, of whom 116,000 were women and girls. The survey of the conditions of women and child wage-earners made in 1907, 1908, and 1909, when Dr. Neill was commissioner of labor, covered establishments employing over 335,000 persons, of whom more than 167,000 were women and girls. It is significant that we think in terms of the past for just a few moments in order that we get our bearing upon the present. The survey of women and children wage-earners, which was the largest survey of its kind ever conducted in this field, was made under a special appropriation from Congress. The report was published in nineteen volumes, which are now out of print and can only be had in those libraries which had forethought enough to supply themselves with these volumes when they were issued.

From this early start began the agitation for the Women's Bureau, which finally terminated in the creation of such a bureau. The Women's Bureau is charged with two functions. One is to create standards and policies for the employment of women and the other is to investigate and find out the conditions under which women are now employed. It goes without saying that in order to create standards and policies for the effective employment of women we must first find out under what conditions the women are working. The Women's Bureau has made state-wide studies of hours, wages, and working conditions in twelve states. While we have not taken every employed woman in each of these states, we have taken a sufficient number so that the facts found are typical of the conditions existing in the states investigated. In addition to these studies of wages, hours, and working conditions we have tried to make other studies which go into other phases of the industrial life of women.

One of our studies is that of the occupational progress of women. It is an interpretation of census figures in regard to the number of women employed in the different occupations. We found through the study of these census figures that there had been very little increase in the number of women employed from 1910-1920, only about a half a million, while in the decade between 1900-1910 the employment of women increased from 5,300,000 to about 8,000,000. But the chief interest of this study centers in the facts showing how the women are employed and what is their march of progress, if any, during the decade 1910-1920. We found that as agricultural laborers, and in personal service occupations, the employment of women had decreased to a very considerable extent. Women had increased very little in the mechanical industries and in trade; they had increased to a very considerable extent in the professional group, but the largest proportional increase of women was in clerical occupations. It is significant to know that in the decade from 1900-1910 the women followed the work from the home out into factories, but since that period of expansion in industry, women have marched on into other and more responsible positions in life.

It has often been said that women have not contributed very much in the field of invention and creative work. In order that we might know something of what women really had done along these lines, we studied the records of inventions patented by the United States Patent Office. We took records for a ten-year period and found that women have made inventions ranging all the way from household goods to supplies for factories, building materials, and transportation facilities. We found that they had contributed very greatly to the number of inventions of automobile accessories, automobile bodies and parts, and boat and ship equipment. In fact there is no field to which women have not contributed inventions, from a tail-holder for a cow to automobile tops.

From the earliest time that any of us can remember we have always heard that many women worked only for pin money. The Women's Bureau felt it ought to contribute its mite to lay this old ghost. One of our latest bulletins, therefore, is *The Share of Wage-Earning Women in Family Support*. In this study we made use of fifty-two different bulletins issued on this subject by different organizations, but in addition to these we made a study in Manchester, among the shoe workers, by actually interviewing the men and women in the shops and by making home visits to their families. While we found nothing particularly new in this study, we were able, through the concrete, scientifically collected facts we assembled, to emphasize what the other reports had already said, that women worked because they have to live and that others

depended upon them. We found that married men and married women contributed to their families to an equal extent, but we also found that the unmarried girl more frequently than the unmarried boy gave all her earnings to the family budget. It is significant to know that the mass of information we have examined shows without doubt that women work from necessity rather than for a few luxuries.

Another type of study which we have recently made was undertaken again with the co-operation of the Bureau of the Census. For this study we were able to make a compilation of census material from questions on the census schedules, which had not been compiled by the Bureau of the Census because of lack of appropriation. We made this study in order to show the value of the material which was on the census schedules. We found many questions relating to the family life which had not been compiled. Therefore we took one city which was typical in the industrial history of the country and we studied these schedules to discover the family status of breadwinning women. We found that one-half of the women living in this city were gainfully employed. Many of them were working in the mills and factories, and many of them, especially the married women, were working at night. I think this report gives us information that no other report has given us, showing the sacrifices and the hardships which some women have to go through in order to be able to care for their children. We found that most of the women had to leave their children at home without any supervision or any care while the woman herself was working. Then we also found that most of these women were not able to earn sufficient money to get any help to do the housework. This means that the average woman has two jobs. One is to earn some money to feed and clothe the family and the next is to do her housework. I think you will agree with me that each one of these jobs is sufficient for one person. We, in our praise and honor of motherhood, forget that we have in our midst mothers who have to make untold sacrifices in great measure for their children. I think none of us feel we should demand such sacrifices from any number of women nor even from one woman. There is sufficient wealth in this land of ours to make it unnecessary for any woman to make such sacrifices, and I do not believe any of us are going to feel easy in our minds until every woman who is making such tremendous sacrifices is relieved from the burden. It is the duty of the Women's Bureau to give you the information as we find it, and it is for you to act.

THE TWELVE-HOUR SHIFT IN AMERICAN INDUSTRY

*L. W. Wallace, Secretary, Federated American Engineering Societies,
Washington*

"As service to others is the expression of the highest motive to which men respond, and as duty to contribute to the public welfare demands the best efforts men can put forth, therefore the engineering and allied technical societies of the United States of America, through the formation of the Federated American Engineering Societies, now realize a long-cherished ideal—a comprehensive organization dedicated to the service of the community, state, and nation." This is a quotation from the constitution of the Federated American Engineering Societies, an organization formed, supported, and directed by the engineers of the United States, in order that they might have an agency through which to render an essential public service.

It was quite consistent with the purposes of the organization and with the spirit of the engineers supporting it to make a study of the question of the twelve-hour shift in

American industry. This question had been for many years warmly discussed. A number of reports had been developed relating to it. But for several reasons there appeared to be much uncertainty pertaining to many aspects of the question. No one had definitely determined the extent to which a twelve-hour shift prevailed in American industry; the fundamental factors to be considered in contemplating a change from a twelve-hour to a shorter length of shift; whether there were any technical difficulties to be overcome before a successful change could be made; and the results experienced in those plants where the twelve-hour shift had been changed to a shorter length of shift. In a characteristic engineering fashion the Federated American Engineering Societies set about to determine the facts and to report those facts as clearly as possible and without any coloring. A trained and experienced investigator, an economist, was kept in the field for some eighteen months, and an eminent metallurgical engineer for six months. Their work was supervised by a committee of engineers. The results of this study have been published in book form and may be obtained from E. P. Dutton & Company.

This report discloses that there are more than forty continuous-process industries operating more or less completely upon a twelve-hour shift. They employ between 500,000 and 1,000,000 wage-earners on shift work. Their families constitute from 1,500,000 to 2,000,000 persons who are dependent upon earnings from shift work. In all of the continuous industries, between one-third and one-half of all workers on continuous operations are on shifts averaging twelve hours. In the iron and steel industry there are approximately 150,000 wage-earners on twelve-hour shifts. The total number of wage-earners employed on a twelve-hour shift basis is greater for other continuous industries than for the iron and steel industry. There has been a marked tendency throughout all industry to reduce the length of shift from twelve hours to some other basis. In the last six to ten years some industries have entirely abandoned the twelve-hour shift.

To make the change from a twelve-hour to some shorter length of shift is not as simple and as easy as many appear to believe. The committee stated that "if any one fact stands out above the others, it is that the change cannot advantageously be made by fiat. Our judgment is that to effect the change suddenly or without adequate preparation is sure to cause lowered production. On the other hand, it is our judgment that when the change is pre-planned and the co-operation of everyone is enlisted, gains will accrue to everyone concerned—to workers, management, owners and the public."

Some of the essential factors to be considered are:

First, the willingness or unwillingness of the men to do more work per hour under the shorter shift. A change from a twelve-hour to an eight-hour-shift basis means an increase of 1.3 in the number of men employed on continuous work. Unless there is a larger proportionate amount of production per man per hour, the cost of production per unit may be materially increased. This is inevitable if the men demand the same total amount of earnings for an eight-hour shift as they received for twelve hours. Where such a result cannot be obtained, the men in many instances prefer the longer shift. They prefer larger earnings to shorter hours. This is especially true of foreigners, and many are foreigners particularly in the iron and steel industry.

Second, the responsibility of management as expressed in planning, supervision, and control. In these there must be a higher quality than usually prevails under twelve-hour-shift operation.

Third, fluctuations in individual earnings and labor costs. Labor costs per unit of production must be kept down. How to do this in face of increased numbers of

workers and probably an hourly rate such that a man may earn as much in eight hours as he formerly did in twelve calls for a very careful analysis, judicious decisions, and effective procedure.

Fourth, the relationship of work periods for shift- and for day-workers. Under some circumstances this may present a real problem, upon the solution of which will depend success or failure. Into them also enters the question of hourly rates. If the shift-worker is paid at such a rate as to enable him to earn as much in eight hours as he formerly earned in twelve, the entire wage base for the day-workers may be very much disturbed:

Fifth, the number of working days per week is another consideration that must not be slighted.

Sixth, the rotation of shifts is another angle of no small consequence. When is the best time, day or night, to change shifts? In answering this apparently simple question many factors and conditions must be considered.

Seventh, general industrial and economic conditions to determine the most opportune time for making the change. Upon the wisdom of the decision regarding this point depends success or failure. Obviously it would be unwise to make the change when there was a shortage of labor, because where is the additional labor to be obtained. Likewise it would be unwise to make such a change coincident with a disturbed labor condition within the plant or industry, because it would likely contribute to a worse condition and furthermore success depends upon the closest co-operation.

I have dwelt upon the factors requiring careful study, not for the sake of emphasizing the difficulties or to make it appear doubtful as to the wisdom of making a change from a twelve-hour to a shorter length of shift, but to call attention to the fact that a plant manager cannot overnight decide to change and issue instructions to do so within twenty-four hours. The problem is too difficult, complex, and far-reaching for such a procedure. Success will depend upon the degree of care with which the change has been worked out. The report shows that in all cases where the problems has been carefully analyzed and procedure wisely planned that success has obtained. In those instances where such circumstances did not prevail failure ensued.

The evidence clearly indicates where the change has been made after careful consideration, wise planning, and close attention given to execution that the results of changing from a twelve-hour to a shorter shift have been satisfactory to all concerned.

The general conclusions to be drawn from this study are:

First, the shorter shift has resulted in a satisfactory improvement of quantity and quality of production and in a reduction of absenteeism and industrial accidents where good management prevailed and the co-operation of labor was secured.

Second, in general no economic loss inherently obtains because of such a change, provided management uses discretion, carefully plans, and competently administers productive procedure, and, further, provided that labor sincerely and fully does its part.

Third, in general the tendency has been to increase the rate per hour under the shorter shift, so that the daily earnings of the workers are the same as they were before the change. In some instances a compromise was made whereby the workers received an increase in hourly rate sufficient to compensate them for one half of the number of hours by which the length of the shift was shortened.

Fourth, the evidence shows that there are no technical processes that prohibit a shorter shift, and furthermore the extra time for leisure has in general been used to advantage by the workers.

President Harding in the foreword to the report said: "I rejoice to note that the conclusions of this great body of experts are identical with those which I have reached from a purely social viewpoint. It has seemed to me for a long time that the twelve-hour day and the type of worker it produces have out-lived their usefulness and their part in American life in the interests of good citizenship, of good business, and of economic stability. The old order of the twelve-hour day must give way to a better and wiser form of organization of the productive forces of the nation, so that proper family life and citizenship may be enjoyed suitably by all of our people. This clear and convincing report of the engineers must prove exceedingly helpful in showing that this much-to-be-desired result can be achieved without economic or financial disturbance to the progress of American industry."

LAW AND GOVERNMENT

SOCIAL WORK IN GOVERNMENT

Hon. Frank O. Lowden, ex-Governor of Illinois

Social work in government is comparatively a new concept. At first government contented itself with depriving offenders against the law of their liberty. Thus were established the first penitentiaries. When criminals were removed from the sight of society, it was thought that the state had performed its full duty. Prison management was regarded efficient in inverse ratio to the number of prisoners that were permitted to escape.

Now all is changed. In every step which has been taken in advance, the idea which we now call by the name of "social work" has been the moving factor. It became more and more difficult for good men and women to forget these defectives, even though they were removed from sight. From time to time horrible tales of brutal treatment of prisoners escaped from the prison walls, no matter how secure the prisoners were themselves. These tales touched the hearts of humane men and women and prison reform had its birth. The pioneers of this movement doubtless were actuated at first by a feeling of common humanity. And then they began to suspect that may be society itself was not wholly guiltless in the matter. If society was even remotely and only partially responsible, wasn't it the duty of society, not only to treat the prisoner humanely, but to attempt in every way possible to restore him to usefulness in society again? The science of criminology became inevitable.

Prisoners are now being classified in accordance with their capacity for restoration to society. Parole laws have been enacted to give the newly released prisoner a steady-hand while he is gaining his social feet. The parole agent who is most successful is the one who is doing the largest amount of social work. He must have real sympathy with the paroled man. He must interest himself in his environment. He must, above all, see that this man has a square deal from the police authorities. This last is not always easy, but that it is possible I think we proved, during my administration as governor of Illinois, by establishing a close co-operation with the police authorities of the principal cities of the state.

The criminologist it is who discovers those prisoners, happily a small percentage, who never can be made safe for society. Since the true purpose of confinement in the penitentiary is not to punish the criminal, but to protect society, this smaller number must permanently be kept apart from society. Even with this smaller number, which must be kept apart permanently, the community idea is the correct one. To give expression to this idea successfully, social work must play an important part.

Next after state prisons came state institutions for the insane. This step was taken because of the abuses which attended privately owned asylums. Again the dominant idea was to keep safely segregated from society the violently insane. They were regarded as a necessary by-product of society, and it was believed that the state had performed its full duty when it kept them safely out of sight. In a word, custody by the state was the alpha and omega of the state's concern.

How different now! If social work is now the dominant note in the management of our more enlightened correctional institutions, what shall be said of the part it plays in our hospitals for the insane, our homes for the feeble-minded, and for all the other dependents of society? In the old days, the principal equipment of an insane hospital was the strait-jacket. The chief aim of society was to keep concealed, and to forget if possible, its unfortunate members who were incarcerated as truly in the hospital as though it had been a prison. As in the case of the prison, stories of cruelties to the unfortunate inmates of these institutions escaped through their barred windows and stung the conscience of right-minded people everywhere. Again, some of the more thoughtful put the question of how much society was responsible for depriving these unhappy beings of their reason. The psychopathic institute and the new science of psychiatry began to unfold. Causes were inquired into. The state was no longer content to just keep these men and women hidden away from society, but employed resources of science to restore them to their homes. But science would have been powerless if the spirit of social work had not gone along hand in hand by its side. Finally someone suggested that even the normal man or woman could not sit idly day by day with folded hands without some impairment of the mind. How then could you expect the mentally unfit, shut up in idleness, to regain their reason? The idea of occupational therapy thus came about. It was found that some congenial occupation often held the patients more successfully than bars upon the windows. I myself have seen the transformation effected in some of these institutions by giving the patients something to do. Where before they were listless, wholly indifferent to any proper care of their persons, sunk in despair, I have seen them changed into the semblance of human beings, neat and cleanly in their personal appearance, with some measure at least of contentment and happiness upon their faces. That was the beginning of the community idea in institutions of this kind.

If it is the duty of the state to restore as many of its defectives to society as possible, social work becomes an indispensable agency. The social worker is the liaison officer between the patient and the patient's home and keeps open the path between the state institution and society. If the patient is paroled, the social worker follows him along the path and lends a sustaining hand while he is recovering his normal relationship to the world. In fact, the moment the idea of more custody gave way to the idea of care and cure, the social worker became as necessary as the physician himself. And so we introduced social workers into all our institutions for the mentally inept.

Wherever we turned in any of our state institutions, and this must have happened to you all, the question kept recurring, if only the state could have interested itself in these sad cases during childhood, how many of these unfortunates could have been saved from their unhappy lot? And so we established the Institute for Juvenile Research. This institute, the staff of which was made up mostly of those already in the employ of the state, and which was closely affiliated with the college of medicine of the University of Illinois, dealt with the medical, psychological, and psychiatric features of cases which came to them through other public agencies. It also undertook to study the social and environmental factors involved. This made necessary a social service department of the institute.

Indeed, so many problems of childhood were presented to us, for which we had no answer, that we determined to secure if possible a comprehensive report covering all phases of the subject. We called together from all parts of the state a body of

citizens familiar with the various phases of childhood which society encounters. The outcome of this meeting was the appointment of a state-wide volunteer committee, with a paid secretary, to study the entire subject and present a comprehensive report designed to determine the duty of state, public, and private agencies with relation to children. This survey disclosed a situation which was depressing, but which pointed the way to progress. For it disclosed an almost illimitable field for sound social work.

I cannot overemphasize the importance of social work in government. I know of no single advance step which has been taken in the treatment of either the criminal or the mentally defective in which the social worker, in one form or another, is not the indispensable agent for making the progress gained stay put.

With the rapid expansion of social work in government, one of the difficulties of practical administration is the securing of those who are fitted for this work. The temperament of the social worker is quite as important as technical knowledge. He or she must have a wide and deep sympathy and must possess unusual tact. The success of social work depends largely upon the ability of the social worker to enlist the voluntary co-operation of those with whom he has to deal. Legislation can accomplish little in this, but everything depends upon the social workers themselves. Existing civil service machinery usually is not altogether satisfactory for the proper selection of persons to do this work. No one, I think, who sees clearly would go back to the old spoils system. Civil service laws have afforded substantial relief from the evils of that system. Students of government, however, have been asked for several years if the last word had been spoken in civil service reform. I find that the examination test, while, of course, a vast improvement over the old method, is being recognized generally as far from satisfactory. Lord Haldane, in his recent inaugural address as president of the Institute of Public Administration in England, said: "I have come to the conclusion that the pure examination test is far from being a perfect one. Success may result from qualities which neither import the more thorough kind of knowledge nor guarantee fitness for the kind of employment sought after."

Civil service commissions have contented themselves in the main with blocking entrance into the service for purely political reasons. That is natural in view of the fact that they came into being specially for this purpose. Generally they have not concerned themselves much with efficiency after entrance into the service has been effected. In practice civil service commissions have been as far removed from the administrator as was possible. On the other hand, a great revolution has been going on in private business in the matter of employment. In private business of any magnitude there has been developed a great central employment department, the head of which is upon a level with other heads of the important departments of the business. That department concerns itself, not only with entrance into service but concerns itself with all those factors which make for a better morale, which remove inequalities of and injustices to different employees, and which keep in constant relation with employees through shop and other committees selected by the employees themselves. It is often said, and rightfully, too, I think, that the government should be a model employer. That it is not so today, I think all must admit. Many praiseworthy efforts have been made to standardize salaries. This has been found a most difficult task. And many think that this will be impossible until civil service bodies shall be molded more after the employment department in private business. That there are gross inequalities in compensation and in other working conditions among public

employees there can be no doubt. That a new spirit would animate civil service employees and efficiency be increased by such a department, I believe to be true. If civil service laws are to be entirely satisfactory, there must be genuine co-operation between the civil service authorities and those responsible for administration. Were this so, examinations would be so shaped as to put more stress upon temperament, upon character, and upon special fitness for the particular place than they do now. If the civil service authorities felt some responsibility for what happened after entrance into the civil service was once effected, they would find ways and means for recognizing special merit and insuring prompt promotion. In other words, it is conceivable that the civil service of the state could be vitalized in such way that inequalities in pay and working conditions, as between those doing substantially the same grade of work but in different departments, would be removed. A civil service employe even in the humblest position could be made to feel that he was part of a great living organization and not simply the cold product of a statute law which abandoned him to his fate when once he was in the service.

Recently a very important report upon this whole subject has been made by a special committee on civil service of the National Municipal League. This committee was composed of Mr. Henry S. Dennison, president of the Dennison Manufacturing Company; Professor W. E. Mosher, of the National Institute of Public Administration; Mr. William C. Beyer, of the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research; Mr. Morris B. Lambie, secretary of the Municipal Research Bureau of Minnesota; Mr. Charles P. Messick, secretary and chief examiner of the New Jersey State Civil Service Commission; Mr. John Steven, chief examiner of the New York State Civil Service Commission, and Mr. Whiting Williams, labor investigator and author. It will thus be seen that the committee was composed of men who had had large experience in employment, both public and private. It is the most comprehensive discussion of the subject of which I know. The general conclusions above stated, to which I came as a result of my experience as chief executive of Illinois, seem to have been reached also by this committee. Their presentation of the subject, of course, is more complete and much more authoritative than anything I have said. That committee has worked out a plan for a public employment policy which I believe to be a long step in advance of anything now in effect. I have not the time now to go into the details of this plan, but you can doubtless get a copy of the report by addressing the Bureau of Municipal Research or the National Institute of Public Administration in New York City. There is one phase of it, however, to which I wish specially to call your attention. Instead of a bipartisan commission, the usual form, the report would substitute a single civil service commissioner with an indeterminate tenure of office, the commissioner to be selected as a result of a competitive examination given by a special board. It is contemplated that this commissioner should be specially trained in matters of employment and should give all his time to his office. The present commission, usually composed of three persons, two of whom are of the majority party and one of the minority, has not functioned well in practice. They are usually wholly unfamiliar with the subject. And if it be a high-minded commission, it contents itself with permitting the secretary to do all the work. If it be not a high-minded commission, it hampers the secretary, sometimes to the extent of breaking down the law itself. The most conspicuous part it plays in connection with civil service laws is frequently to be found in the budget. The annual report of one state commission shows that of a total appropriation of

\$12,500 for the commission, \$7,500 was devoted to the salary account of the three commissioners. This commission regretted exceedingly that it had insufficient funds to employ a qualified examiner on full time. I am aware of the fact that I was not asked to discuss the civil service here tonight, but the subject is so closely related to the highest success of social work in government that I could not refrain from these observations.

We are told that the number of defectives for whom the state must care is constantly increasing in proportion to our total population. This raises a question of the first magnitude. Some way must be found to stop this tendency. Otherwise it is simply a question of mathematics when the time will come that the burden is too great to be borne by society as a whole. The final test of our methods of handling the socially unfit must be: Do these methods in the end reduce the cost to the producing members of society who must finally pay the bill? It may be a considerable expense to the state to establish an institute of psychiatry. If, however, that institute should discover a method by which even an insignificant percentage of cases of mental disease could be cured or prevented, such an institute would be a profitable investment for the state. The social-worker added to the staff of the penitentiary or the hospital will add to the already heavily burdened pay-roll of the state. If that worker, however, shall hasten the time for the return of the inmate to society and can exercise a steady influence during the first critical months after such return, it is a profitable employment for the state. If an institute of child research shall discover some way by which to decrease the ever widening stream of the youth of the land to our state institutions, it will prove a wise investment for the state. It is safe to say, though, that whatever discovery such an institution may make will be given effect only by an enlarged social work.

I have spoken of the cost to the state for the care of those who are now maintained by the state in its penitentiaries, hospitals, asylums, and homes. It reaches an enormous sum. It consumes more than a quarter of the entire revenues of the average state. And yet this cost is small compared with the final loss to the state from those who should be segregated from society and are permitted to remain at large. I have in mind especially that class which we generally designate as feeble-minded. Only a small percentage of them, those cases which are most pronounced, ever find their way into a home for the feeble-minded. And those who remain at large are they whose children, a generation hence, will swell still further the number of those for whom the state must care. The history of the famous Juke family, or infamous if you prefer that word, is in point. The investigator found that Juke, through two sons who married degenerate sisters, became the ancestor, in seven generations, of something like 1,200 persons "of every grade of idleness, viciousness, lewdness, pauperism, idiocy, insanity, and criminality." For this family, it is stated, the cost to the state down to that time was \$1,250,000. Later the history of the family was followed up for two generations farther. They had continued to increase and to fill the jails, the penitentiaries, and the almshouses at a further cost to the state of another \$1,250,000. This last investigation was made in 1915, and the investigator records the fact that "out of approximately 600 living feeble minded Jukes, there are only three now in custodial care."

This leads us to the most important problem of all in dealing with the defectives of society. In a state of nature, the Jukes would long ago have disappeared from the face of the earth. Starvation, disease, and exposure, if they had been left to their own resources, would have eliminated them long ago. Man's interference with natural laws

alone saved them from perishing. This interference was prompted by feelings which are creditable to the human heart, but its consequences are appalling none the less. Our consciences will not permit us to see the Jukes freeze, or starve, or die of disease against which we are able to guard. Is there any reason, however, why we should permit the Jukes to reproduce themselves? They should be separated from society, the sexes kept apart, or they should be made incapable of leaving progeny to increase the strain under which civilization is already laboring. I know the sentimental considerations which are urged against this. I have heard much of the right of parenthood. However, who can visit the home for the feeble-minded and look into the vacant or bestial faces of the children there, and not ask himself, did not these children also have a right, the right not to be born? The new science of eugenics, if I may call it such, is an answer to the dilemma in which we find ourselves.

PREVENTIVE JUSTICE AND SOCIAL WORK

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A significant and apparently a permanent phenomenon in Anglo-America is the rapid rise, in the last two decades, of what might be called executive justice—the administrative adjustment of relations and the forestalling or summary handling of controversies by boards and commissions. In antiquity the chief activities of the state were war and religion. In the modern state the chief activities are legislation and administration. Both of these are growing at the expense of the traditional or customary element in public justice. Instead of leaving all or nearly all controversies to be determined after the event by tribunals with customary standards of decision, ascertained, developed as grounds of decision, and applied by means of a customary technique, the modern state more and more forestalls controversy by prescribing rules through legislation, or deals with the conditions that produce controversy by subjecting conduct, and especially the conduct of enterprises, to the guidance of administrative regulation.

How far the change from judicial inquiry and judicial application of customary standards after the event has gone may be shown by an everyday experience. A generation ago there were no traffic rules for ordinary vehicles and no traffic policemen. Beyond a custom of turning to the right, everything was left to the judgment and the good sense of pedestrian and of driver. When one walked upon the street, on coming to a crossing he exercised his own judgment as to when and where and how he should cross. When a driver came to a crossing, he also exercised his free judgment. Each made up his own mind for himself at the crisis of action. If injury resulted, the judgment he had formed for himself was scrutinized after the event by a tribunal, which then told him whether or not he had lived up to the customary standard. Today, on the other hand, lines down the middle of roads tell where to drive, lines upon the pavement tell where to cross the street, and other lines tell where to park cars; while signals and signaling traffic officers tell when to cross the street and when to stop and await one's turn. This change is typical of what has happened in every sphere of activity. On every hand we now seek to handle concrete situations concretely at the time and when they arise instead of referring to abstract generalizations and handling them out of their setting of time and place. We seek to prevent rather than to cure after the event.

We give individualized treatment to the case in hand instead of generalized treatment to an abstract situation.

Indeed, no one should be more familiar with this change than the social worker. It has taken place in the life of this conference and has been conspicuous in the immediate fields of its activity. Fifty years ago we did not treat lunatics, we treated "the lunatic"; we did not give the needed help, medical and otherwise, to this or that human being afflicted with mental disease, we made general provision for insanity in the abstract. Fifty years ago we did not provide for specific children according to the exigencies of the character and antecedents and condition of each, we made provision for "the child." And since the first need of the typical abstract child was an abstract home, we consigned all homeless children in the mass to a children's home. Fifty years ago we did not relieve this or that case of poverty as such in view of its special causes and circumstances, we dealt with the abstract pauper and consigned to a common poorhouse the vagrant, the worn-out toiler, the drunken unemployable, the victim of disease, the imbecile, and the abandoned child. In like manner we did not give individualized penal treatment to criminals, we punished the criminal; we did not seek a just result in and for each case, we sought justice in the abstract. For the same contrast that may be drawn between the charities and corrections of fifty years ago and the social work of today is no less valid as between the judicial justice of the nineteenth century and the administrative justice of today.

There was nothing individual in the abstract legal individualism of the nineteenth century. It thought and spoke of "the individual." But the object of its thoughts was not a human being of flesh and blood struggling to satisfy his desires in a crowded world of his fellows. It was an abstract, standard individual *in vacuo*. The legal science of yesterday sought an abstract justice for this standard man where we seek today a concrete justice for an actual man. In truth, the so-called "individualism" of the last century was a reaction from the relational society of the Middle Ages, put in a rational formula after the manner of the eighteenth century. What it was in action in the other social sciences you know well. In the science of law, it assumed a general legal precept, laid down in advance of action, for a generalized abstract situation, and a mechanical measuring of conduct after the event by that precept. It is true in practice there was always a large administrative element in judicial decision. But the ideal was one of treating each case as an example of a type of case governed by a universal rule. In administration, on the other hand, the idea is to guide action in the particular case, or to substitute administrative action, authoritatively directed, for individual action at one's peril under the uncertain guidance of customary rules of decision applied after the crisis of action.

The legal ordering of society as part of social control.—Nowadays we conceive of the legal ordering of society as only one part of social control. A significant characteristic of recent thought is the breakdown of the water-tight-compartment theory of the social sciences. We no longer hold each self-sufficient. We no longer believe that we may give each a sufficient critique in terms of itself. We recognize that in the past generation each, as it were, sought to lift itself by its own boot straps; each, like Baron Munchausen, sought to pull itself out of the mud by its own long whiskers.

Except for convenience of exposition, there are no such analytical lines between the social sciences as we have tried so persistently to draw. For other than pedagogic purposes it is impossible to lay out separate social sciences with exactly limited frontiers,

with customs guards along those frontiers to prevent smuggling of ideas across the lines, and standing armies to defend against invasion of the territory of one by another. If the different organized bodies of knowledge that treat of different aspects of social life are distinct at the core, they shade out into one another at the periphery. When we look at the core, or chiefly at the core, the analytical distinctions are sound enough. But we shall not understand even that core, and much less the debatable ground beyond, unless we are prepared to make continual deep incursions from each into each of the others. All the social sciences must be co-workers, and emphatically all must be co-workers with jurisprudence. When we set off a bit of social control and define its bounds by analytical criteria, and essay to study it by its own light and with its own materials and its own methods exclusively, our results, however logical in appearance, are arbitrary and futile for any but theoretical purposes.

Unification of the methods of jurisprudence; unification of the social sciences, with jurisprudence treated as one of them; treatment of law as one form of social control, and so treatment of the legal ordering of society as one side or phase of a broader and more diversified social control; a functional attitude toward legal institutions, asking how do they work and what do they achieve—these are the characteristic features of the legal science of today.

The end of law.—When we study law as part of social control and inquire as to the functioning of legal precepts and legal institutions, we are led at once to ask what law is for. What should we demand of it? What is its end or purpose?

Historically, men begin with a mere idea of keeping the peace. In the kin-organized societies of antiquity, law in our modern sense was a lesser agency of social control. Its scope was narrow and its sanctions were relatively feeble. As a psychologist has put it: "With the exception of some conventions that are not put into words, most of our [modern, civilized] herd motives are codified. As we descend, however, in the scale of civilization we find less law (in the lawyer's sense) and more custom. The savage has few definite crimes against which he must legislate, although his life is hedged about with restrictions so (to him) self-evident that they need not be taught by precept.¹ In the earlier stage, politically organized society sought to do little beyond regulating or avoiding private war, or war between groups of kindred, through devices for buying off the desire for vengeance on the part of those who had suffered wrong.

With the rise of the state as the primary agency of social control, Greek philosophy gave us in place of the crude conception of a mere device to keep the peace a conception of the legal ordering of society in order to preserve the social *status quo*. This conception governed in Greek philosophical thinking. It governed in the classical Roman law and in the maturity of Roman law. It governed in the later Middle Ages. Law was designed to keep each man in his appointed groove or appointed sphere and thus to prevent friction with his fellows.

In the modern world we come upon a third conception of the end of law. This conception becomes strong in politics after the Reformation. It dominates in the science or law after the seventeenth century. Under the influence of the classical economics and the metaphysical or idealistic interpretation of history, it reaches its highest point in the science of law of the nineteenth century. According to this theory, the end of law is to secure the maximum of abstract individual free self-assertion.

¹ MacCurday, *Dynamic Psychology*, p. 331.

Of late there have been many signs that a new conception of the end of law is replacing the one which had ruled in jurisprudence for 300 years. In one way or another all recent juristic thought proceeds in terms of what I have ventured to call social engineering. It conceives of a practical purpose of eliminating friction and waste in the satisfaction of human wants or claims, rather than of a process of reconciling or harmonizing abstract free wills by a system of abstract universal legal precepts.

Limitations on effective legal action.—Another change in scientific thought about law is to be seen in our better understanding of the limitations upon what we may do effectively by means of legal administration of justice. We used to think that there were logical or metaphysical limitations upon the scope of law. Certain things were to be ordered legally because that mode of ordering them was deducible from a fundamental, metaphysically given, datum of free will. Other things were to be left untouched by law because restraint of freedom in those respects could not be so deduced. Law was the expression or realization of an idea of freedom. The criterion by which to discover the scope and subject matter of law was, What is the relation of the proposed legal regulation to abstract individual liberty? If the legal precept in question tended to promote abstract individual liberty, it was justified. But as every legal precept was a restraint upon freedom, it had to be justified; and it could be justified only by showing not merely that it was compatible with abstract individual liberty but that it actually advanced and promoted a maximum of abstract, free, individual self-assertion.

Under the reign of this mode of thinking we became quite oblivious to liberty in the concrete. It was not a question of free individual self-assertion of John Doe or Richard Roe under the actual circumstances, but of free self-assertion of the abstract individual, wholly removed from the actual social contacts and economic pressures of real life. Hence, courts talked solemnly about the employee who wished to take his pay in orders on a company store and was prevented from doing so by an arbitrary statute; as if anyone ever did so of real choice in the industrial society of today; as if the abstract freedom of contract of the metaphysical ideal had any counterpart in actual life.

Today we think rather of practical limitations upon the scope of law. We see that there are limitations upon effective legal action inherent in the nature of our legal machinery. Because of difficulties involved in the ascertainment of the facts to which legal rules are to be applied; because of the intangibility of many duties which are of moment morally but defy enforcement by external pressure; because of the subtlety of the modes of infringing important interests which the law would be glad to secure effectively if it might; because of the inapplicability of the legal machinery of rule and sanction to many important human relations and to some serious wrongs; and because legal precepts do not enforce themselves, but require us to rely upon individual human beings to set the law in motion—for all these reasons it is not possible, with any legal devices of which we know, to secure completely all interests which ethical considerations or social ideals indicate as proper to be secured.

Thus the difficulty is in the machinery, not in any metaphysically demonstrated or logically imposed barrier. With improved machinery we may do more and do it better. But as things are, there is much that we may not hope to do, or at least may not hope to do well, by means of law. For these things we must rely upon other means of social control. The law can do no more than preserve a social order in which these other means may operate effectively. Yet, when we put it thus our attitude must

be very different from the attitude of those who saw an inflexible and eternal metaphysical or logical bar standing in the way of the legal securing of human claims, beyond the minimum of interference that was required to bring about a maximum of abstract individual free self-assertion. The latter could wash their hands of all responsibility for the unsatisfied claims and repressed desires of their fellow-men. They could say with a clear conscience, We are powerless to do anything. They could invoke the immutable and eternal limits imposed upon law by its very idea and purpose as a conclusive reason for refusing to engage in the futile task of seeking to achieve something further for human happiness through the law. As we think today, this comfortable evasion of the jurist's duty is not possible. When we perceive that the limitations are to a large extent, at least, the limitations of our tools, not inherent limitations in social engineering itself, it behooves us to examine our tools in order to see what they are and how and why they fail to do all that may be asked of them. It behooves us to ask whether other and better tools may not be at hand or may not be devised.

The means by which law attains its end.—Law is given effect by means of sanctions. The sanctions, or means by which developed legal systems seek to attain their end, are punishment, redress, and prevention. Punishment is the oldest and crudest mode of securing human claims or vindicating rights. Almost without exception, even today, men begin to deal with a new subject by imposing a penalty, and only after experience of the ineffectiveness of retributive methods learn some better mode of treatment. Today punishment is appropriated almost exclusively to the immediate securing of social interests as such by means of the criminal law. On the civil side of the law there are only a few remnants of an older condition in which punishment was resorted to for the everyday vindication of private rights. And even in criminal law we now think and speak of penal treatment rather than of punishment. We recognize that except for satisfying a certain instinct of men to hurt someone when things go wrong, punishment simply as such has proved as futile on the criminal side of the law as we had long known it to be on the civil side.

Redress.—Legal redress is either specific or substitutional. In specific redress the wrongdoer is compelled to do specifically what he wrongfully left undone, or to undo what he did wrongfully. If he holds something that belongs to another, officers of the law take it from him, if need be, and restore it to the owner. In substitutional redress the law awards the injured person a substituted equivalent, at the expense of the wrongdoer, in the form of a sum of money.

Specific redress is only possible in case of possessory rights and of acts involving purely economic advantages. A court can repossess a plaintiff of a farm, but it cannot repossess him of his reputation. It can make a defendant restore a chattel, but it cannot compel him to restore the alienated affections of a wife. It can constrain a defendant to perform a contract to sell land, but it cannot constrain him to restore the peace of mind of one whose privacy has been grossly invaded. In the great majority of cases, substitutional redress by way of money damages is the only resource; and this has been the staple remedy of the law. But this remedy is palpably inadequate except where the purely economic side of existence is involved. The value of a horse, the value of a commercial contract, the value of use and occupation of land—such things may be measured in money. On the other hand, attempt to reach a definite measure of actual money compensation for a broken limb is at least difficult; and valuation of the feelings, the honor, the dignity of an injured human being is downright

impossible. We try to hide the difficulty by treating the individual honor, dignity, character, and reputation, for purposes of the law of defamation, as assets. Kipling tells us what the Oriental thinks of this conception: "Is a man sad? Give him money, say the Sahibs. Is he dishonored? Give him money, say the Sahibs. Hath he a wrong upon his head? Give him money, say the Sahibs." It is obvious that the Oriental's point is well taken. But it is not so obvious what the law is to do. If, therefore, the law secures property and contract more elaborately and more adequately than it secures personality, it is not because the law rates the latter less highly than the former, but because the legal machinery of redress is intrinsically well adapted to securing the one and ill adapted to securing the other.

Prevention.—Prevention is not so definite a remedial category. In general it means interference in advance to prevent disobedience of a rule of law or infringement of a right, or, better still, provision in advance to meet and obviate the conditions that make for anti-social conduct. It means provisions for reaching the causes of anti-social conduct instead of treating the resulting conduct by itself; provisions for mitigating or obviating the situations that lead to infringement of rights instead of relying wholly upon punishment and redress after the event.

Of the four means of achieving the ends of law, of the four ways of sanctioning legal precepts, punishment and substitutional redress are the oldest and the least satisfactory. Punishment should be reserved for the criminal law; and the criminal law, as all experience has shown, should not be used as the everyday agency of relief for every sort of case, but should be reserved for the direct and immediate maintaining of the general security and the general morals against types of anti-social individual and anti-social conduct. Substitutional redress should be reserved for cases where specific redress or prevention are impracticable or would operate inequitably. The modern forms of sanction are specific redress and prevention.

Development of prevention as a legal remedy has only begun. What we have in the way of prevention is, for the most part, relatively crude interference by injunction to prevent immediately threatened physical infringements of economic claims and, in recent years, to prevent interference with the nation-wide economic functions which are under the protection of the federal government. In England injunctions are used to prevent defamation, and there is an increasing tendency in this country to use them in order to protect personality. But the deeper possibilities of prevention have received scant attention from lawyers. Yet it seems clear that preventive justice will play a large part in the law of the future. The prejudice against it in the minds of common-law lawyers is historical in origin and has no sound basis.

The relation of prevention to administration.—We are now in a position to understand the growth of administrative justice, which has gone forward so rapidly in the last twenty-five years. Administration had little or no place in the pioneer, rural, and agricultural society of the last century. It belongs to a busy age and crowded, urban, industrial society, with a complex economic organization and minute division of labor. In such society economic adjustments are so delicate and all things are so specialized, that men cannot wait for long-drawn-out investigations after the event in order to know their rights and duties and liabilities. The economic order demands that, so far as possible, what they may do and what they may not do be prescribed authoritatively in advance in an accessible and intelligible form. It demands that they be guided or advised or directed in many things, so that they may do well the other things which are

their immediate task. The one case of traffic officers in our city streets, and even in our country roads, illustrates what may be required in the way of administrative regulation under the conditions of today.

But the same circumstances that call for administration call no less for preventive justice. Indeed, administration is one of the chief means of preventive justice, and the most effective work in the way of prevention that goes on in our legal order today is done through administration.

The development of individualizing agencies.—The crowded urban society of today, with its complex economic organization, demands legislation to make clear what may be done and what may not and administration to guide men away from trouble and controversy, in preference to elaborate investigation and exact reparation after injury. Legislation does for conduct in many fields what the lines in the middle of the road and the lines upon the street crossings do for the driver of the automobile. Administration does for an increasing number of activities what the traffic officer at the corner does both for automobile driver and for pedestrian. Moreover, the efficacy of the work of the traffic officer is in the individualized nature of his directions, as compared with generalized legal precepts. For the society of today demands an individualization in the handling of many things which was not needed in the simpler, rural, agricultural society of the past. When the points of contact between men are relatively few, the general lines and rough compromises expressed in rules of law suffice for the exigencies of justice. When the points of contact are enormously multiplied, as in the metropolitan city of today, and individual claims conflict and overlap on all sides, it is necessary to have fine lines and delicate discriminations, which are not easily made by means of rules of law.

General rules are made through elimination of the particular circumstances and fixing of the common circumstances in a series of cases. In the law of property and in commercial law, where one fee simple is like every other and one promissory note is like every other, so far as its significant elements go, this method of elimination and generalization suffices to give a practicable rule. But elimination of circumstances in order to get a rule makes the rule impossible as a self-sufficient practical compromise between the claims of the several participants in the infinitely variable situations involved in human conduct and in the conduct of enterprises. As the world becomes more crowded and the points of contact involved in human conduct become more numerous, and the friction of that contact becomes more acute, individualization in the legal treatment of conduct begins to encroach upon the domain of legal rules and legal conceptions. This need of individualization is met for judicial justice by means of legal standards—by the framing of legally defined measures of conduct—to be applied by or under the direction of tribunals.

In framing such standards, the law seeks neither to generalize by eliminating the circumstances nor to particularize by including them. Instead the law seeks to formulate the general expectation of society as to how individuals will act in the course of their undertakings, and thus to guide the common sense or expert intuition of a jury or of an administrative commission when called on to judge of particular conduct under particular circumstances. Titles to land and the negotiability of bills of exchange and promissory notes do not depend, and ought not to depend, on circumstances. Such matters are governed by rules which attach definite detailed legal consequences to definite detailed states of fact. These rules are not left to juries or to commissions. The

facts being ascertained, they are applied by a mechanical, logical process. On the other hand, what is due care in driving cannot be determined in the abstract, once for all, for every driver who will ever drive. What is a reasonable railway service cannot be laid down in the abstract once for all for an abstract railroad running through an abstract region and applied to all railroads thereafter by a logical process. In such cases the modern law resorts not to rules but to legal standards devised to guide the triers of fact or the administrative commission in applying to each unique set of circumstances their common sense resulting from their experience.

Legal standards are the judicial response to the need of individualization, as the setting up of administrative tribunals and increasing reliance upon administration is the legislative response thereto. Each is ultimately a response to the conditions of a crowded, urban, industrial society, and to a complicated economic order resting on a minute division of labor. The same conditions that brought each into existence are making and must make for a greater development of preventive justice.

Preventive justice in the law of the past.—Our historical common law had very little in the way of preventive machinery. There was a crude preventive device in the jurisdiction of criminal tribunals or of magistrates to put a threatening offender under bond to keep the peace. There was an old, real action, long obsolete, by which to obtain a judicial declaration that one who claimed a servitude in another's land had no such right. Later, courts of equity developed a jurisdiction to enjoin threatened injuries to property rights and to construe trusts and advise trustees as to their duties. That is as far as our law had gone until the declaratory judgment began to be introduced cautiously by legislation.

In most American jurisdictions one must break a contract before a court will tell him what it means. One must guess at the meaning of an instrument and act upon his guess at his peril. One must commit a trespass in order to find out whether he has a right of way, or commit an assault if he would test his neighbor's claim to such a right. If he wishes to test the constitutionality of legislation curtailing the free exercise of his powers, he must run the risk of going to jail in order to find out what are his rights. If he is the beneficiary of a will, he cannot do anything to establish the facts that show its validity so long as the testator is alive. And if one has made a will, he can do nothing to establish these facts, but the matter must await his death, it may be fifty years hence, when the question of his capacity at the time it was made will become a controversy between the claimants under it and the claimants against it.

In the countries governed by the Roman law the development of preventive remedies on the civil side of the law has gone much farther than with us. Actions to obtain judicial declarations as to the rights of the parties and wills made before courts, upon inquiry into the capacity and free volition of the testator, meet the difficulties in our law to which attention was called above. In England also, a proceeding is available by which anyone who claims to be interested in a deed or will or other written instrument may obtain a judicial interpretation and a judicial declaration of his rights. Bar association committees in this country have been urging legislation to provide preventive remedies in civil cases through declaratory judgments, and a few states have adopted statutes modeled on the English practice. Obviously a movement for preventive justice on this side of the law is gaining ground. Likewise, the gradual but persistent and continual enlargement of the power of courts of equity to grant injunctions, and the continually growing use of injunctions as a means of police, especially in indus-

trial disputes, indicate a similar movement to extend the most effective of the preventive remedies developed in the past. Moreover, with the setting up of modern municipal courts in our larger cities, we have begun to devise bureaus of justice to which the citizen may resort in order to know his rights, instead of leaving him to guess at them at his peril and then judging his conduct *ex post facto*. But this cautious development of preventive justice on the civil side of the law, significant as it is of the direction of legal development for the future, is but a small part of the matter. It leaves untouched the great field of the criminal law; a field in which, more than anywhere else, preventive justice may achieve great things.

Preventive justice and criminal law.—Substantially all of the energies of our elaborate punitive justice are devoted to dealing with offenders after the offence. The police are, indeed, an agency of prevention. But they are an agency of forcible prevention at the crisis of action. Juvenile courts have done much incidentally in the way of a preventive activity directed to the ultimate causes of delinquency. Our agencies of probation and parole, struggling with many adverse conditions and (in most jurisdictions, at least) laboring under a burden of defective organization and insufficient equipment, have nevertheless done something in the same direction. Yet, making full allowance for these things, it remains true that our legal treatment of delinquents is not preventive but is punitive in its whole conception and administration.

Our substantive criminal law is based upon a theory of punishing the vicious will. It postulates a free moral agent, confronted with a free choice between doing right and doing wrong, and choosing freely to do wrong. It assumes that the social interest in the general security and the social interest in the general morals are to be maintained by imposing on him a penalty corresponding exactly to the gravity of his offence. It is enforced by an elaborate machinery of execution of the appointed sentence. Also parallel to all this mechanism of detection, conviction, and penal treatment is a no less elaborate machinery of mitigation, affording those who are skilled in working it a succession of opportunities for extricating particular delinquents from the clutches of the law. But with what goes on before the commission of an offence, with the conditions that generate offenders and insure a steady grist to the mill of criminal justice, the lawyer is not concerned. His interest begins when the morning paper tells him of the committed crime. What goes on before and leads up to the crime, often much more surely and inevitably than the committed crime leads to conviction and the appointed penal treatment is wholly outside of his domain. Very likely he will tell us that his science has to do with what is, not with what ought, to be. The criminal law is a body of precepts for the regulation of anti-social conduct. Until there is concrete anti-social conduct, it does not come into play. If, within jealously guarded traditional limits, something may be done through legal agencies to reach the causes that lie behind concrete anti-social action, the science of legislation must be appealed to. The science of law assumes legal precepts already existent. It does not tell us how to direct our creative energies to the devising of new precepts or of new and improved machinery.

In effect, what there is in the way of preventive justice, in the domain of the criminal law, is achieved not by legal but by extra-legal agencies. It is done for the most part, not by the agencies of the law, but by social workers.

Social work and criminal law.—It is the more important, therefore, since this part of social control, one might say, this part of our whole scheme of social engineering, is

left to the social workers; it is the more important that there be complete team play between judicial administration of justice and the extra-legal social agencies of the time and place. Whether or not there shall be such team play, whether judicial justice and the extra-legal agencies of preventive justice shall co-operate in some degree or shall go their several independent paths in indifference to each other, or shall work at cross purposes is left wholly to the inclination or enlightenment or unenlightenment of the individual magistrate. At times and in particular localities much is done to promote such team play through the efforts of some particular socially minded judge. But there is no guarantee that his successor will continue the policy of co-operation, and the practice of rotation in judicial work, which unhappily prevails so generally in the United States, stands in the way of the development of any technique of co-operation, in the only way in which it can be developed effectively; namely, by experience and intelligent study of that experience by competent lawyers and competent social workers working together.

Social workers are much more conscious of the opportunity and, indeed, of the need for such co-operation than are lawyers. Today in our large cities the office of a leader of the bar is becoming a huge business organization. Its function is to advise, to organize, to reorganize, and to direct business enterprises; to point out dangers and mark safe channels, and chart reefs for the business adventurer. The actual administration of justice in the courts concerns the leader of the profession only as it discloses reefs or bars or currents to be avoided by the business pilot. Thus the leaders of the profession have come to be divorced not only from the administration of criminal justice but to no small extent from the whole work of the courts. The everyday work of the criminal tribunals is coming more and more to be the exclusive domain of an uneducated, ill-trained or untrained stratum at the bottom of the bar, or of a small group of none too scrupulous politician-lawyers.

Those who could appreciate the part which social workers play in preventive justice, and the more effective part that they might be made to play through well-organized and well-directed co-operation with judicial and administrative officers, are wholly out of touch with criminal administration, and think of it in terms of the abstractions of our old law books. Not unnaturally they are suspicious of aims and purposes which come to them couched in unfamiliar phrases and coupled with that word of doubtful connotation "social." Those who are in everyday contact with the work of the criminal courts are, for the most part, without the training and background required for an understanding of the possibilities of co-operation, or, even worse, may have interests adverse thereto. In the reorganization of our system of criminal tribunals, the reorganization of the administrative side of our criminal justice, and the overhauling of criminal law and criminal procedure, which are matters of the near future, if criminal justice is to function effectively in our large cities, the working out of plans for developing complete and systematic co-operation between law and social work of all kinds, and full use by tribunals and legal administrative agencies of the possibilities of our unofficial agencies of preventive justice, must be no small time.

Treating the concrete man, not the abstract wrong.—Organized, systematic co-operation, at least until we shall have developed a technique of preventive justice inside of the law, is the more important because of its relation to the closely related problem of individualization. Medical men tell us that in the last century their science thought in terms of abstract "diseases," not in terms of concrete men and their individual afflictions. They tell us that they have come to learn the necessity of treating the man

rather than "the heart, liver or kidneys, taken as separately subject to disorder." As the medicine of the past thought of and treated rheumatism, not John Doe who had rheumatic symptoms, so the law has been thinking of and treating abstract analytically defined categories of anti-social conduct rather than the concrete individual from whom the particular items of anti-social conduct proceed. Social work deals with that individual man. Often it deals with him in advance of the items of conduct which alone may bring him into court. Especially it deals with and knows intimately the conditions that lie behind those items of conduct and the circumstances that surround them. With our criminal law what it is, with our organization of the administrative agencies of punitive justice what it is, the whole background of individualized treatment as well as of an effective preventive justice is in the domain of social work. One step has been to organize social work and to bring its many phases into systematic relation. A next step is to organize no less thoroughly its relations to the judicial administration of justice.

Social work and preventive civil justice in the large city.—I have spoken of preventive justice in relation to the criminal law. But we must not overlook that there is a large field of preventive justice on the civil side of the law, which is of much moment in our cities of today, and yet is not within the purview of any of the plans for preventive civil remedies which lawyers are beginning to urge upon our lawmakers.

Dr. Southard has shown us that a condition of legal entanglement is one of the five types of evil with which those who came under his observation were afflicted. No doubt social workers encounter legal entanglement as a complication in cases primarily involving other evils. But the law books are full of illustrations of legal entanglement pure and simple, which fully justify Dr. Southard's proposition. Mistaken identity, deceptive circumstantial evidence, or inheritance of a *bona fide* litigated claim may involve the most innocent person in legal proceedings which may be a serious drain upon his resources and upon his energies. Such cases are pure misfortune and are among the risks of life in society no less than accident or disease. In other cases the innocent become involved in burdensome or ruinous legal proceedings through the fault of others—through the roguery of a plausible impostor, through wilful aggression of a neighbor, or through the activities of swindlers or extortioners. The reports of legal-aid societies are full of such cases. Such societies and social agencies of every sort, advising the poor and helping by wise counsel to keep them out of these entanglements or to deliver them therefrom, are efficient agents of preventive justice in a field where the law still lags.

Playgrounds and the "turntable cases."—A special example of the relation of social work to preventive civil justice may be seen in the so-called turntable cases—a difficult group of cases in which landowners maintain something on their land which is alluring to small children, who are attracted and trespass upon the land and are injured. Courts have been much divided as to the duty which the law should impose in such cases, and writers on law have debated it on logical grounds by deduction from abstract legal conceptions. A recent writer has shown that the question is related to the subject of playgrounds for children. It is significant that his discussion makes use of the report of the Playground and Recreation Association of America on "How People Play in Forty American Cities."

Here again the preventive activities of social work are likely to be more effective than legal rules. But in making and applying legal rules we must turn to the results achieved by social workers if we are to understand our legal problems aright.

Professional ethics and the poor litigant.—In another respect social work has an immediate relation to preventive justice. It is not enough that legal precepts be abstractly just and that a machinery be provided whereby those who know how, or who are properly instructed or properly guided, may invoke the protection of those precepts. Those who are involved in controversy with their fellows or who are likely to be so involved, those whose rights are threatened, and those who are about to act in matters of doubt must be able to secure the requisite instruction and guidance, or the procedural machinery and the abstractly just rules of law avail them nothing. Under our legal system the lawyer does much in the way of preventive justice that is done by the magistrate on the continent. He instructs and guides and advises compromises and arranges settlements and keeps his clients out of difficulties so far as possible. But a great part of our urban population cannot avail themselves of the services of a lawyer in the legal difficulties which they continually encounter, and the codified and sanctioned professional ethics, upon which in other connections we rely for improvement in our administration of justice, threatens to be an obstacle in the way of all attempts to make competent legal advice available for the poor litigant.

Those who pass upon questions of professional ethics object, and object rightly, to any impairment of the immediate personal responsibility of the lawyer. They insist, and insist rightly, upon the relation of attorney and client as a personal relation. They resist properly all attempts to merge the individuality of the lawyer in a corporation, and all associations of lawyers and laymen whereby those who are not amenable to professional discipline, and are not legally officers of the court, shall take an irresponsible part in the immediate work of administering justice. But our whole organization of the profession and our traditional professional ethics grew up in a different society and were adapted and reshaped in America under conditions wholly distinct from those that now prevail in our large cities. Hence what, from one standpoint, are agencies of improvement, from another standpoint are agencies of obstruction, standing in the way, for example, of co-operative organizations of workingmen, whereby a small contribution by each at stated intervals may provide a fund for retaining a lawyer, who shall be available for any member in case of difficulty.

In the Jefferson Brick era of our institutions, we went a long way toward deprofessionalizing the bar. The conditions that obtain in our large cities today have operated still further in that direction. In our efforts to restore professional tone and to organize the bar, as a self-disciplined profession, with responsibility and powers of discipline adequate to the responsibility, we must not lose sight of a mass of human claims that never come to the notice of the leaders of the profession, under the conditions of today, and are not unlikely to be left out of account in their plannings. Social workers alone know of these claims in their intensity and entirety, and co-operation of lawyers and social workers in this respect is no small item in a program of making straight the ways for preventive justice.

Preventive justice has no less possibilities than preventive medicine. If we think of law in terms of social engineering, it must be evident that sanitary engineering is not the least important feature. In the urban, industrial society of today, our organized social control must more and more deal with the anti-social in its inception and at its source. Characteristically we have left the experimentation—the exploration and development of the field—to private agencies. Social workers have accumulated a mass of data and have developed methods and technique which the lawyer must study and must learn how to utilize.

We need the fullest team play between law and social work. Moreover, on the legal side, in order to bring about that team play, in order to make use of all that has been done and is doing for preventive justice through the agencies of social work, we need the same creative spirit and inventive activity which Americans and American lawyers displayed so abundantly in the formative period of our institutions.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PUBLIC HEALTH PROTECTION AND PROMOTION

FUNDAMENTAL LEGAL PRINCIPLES

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The peculiar characteristics of our American system of government determine in large measure the fundamental principles governing the law of public-health administration in the same way in which they fix the principles of our general administrative law.

The fact that American government is based upon written constitutions, on the one hand the Constitution of the United States and on the other the constitutions of the separate states, is unquestionably the most important fact to bear in mind. Written constitutions impose limitations upon the exercise of governmental power and thus fix a sphere within which governmental authorities may act, while the power which our courts possess to declare acts of legislatures unconstitutional and therefore null and void, as taken in excess of powers constitutionally authorized, provides a method of keeping the action of legislatures and other governmental bodies within the sphere marked out by the Constitution.

These constitutional limitations are of two general classes. They are, first, those which are intended to preserve and maintain inviolate our scheme of federal government; they are, second, those whose purpose is to protect the individual private rights mentioned in the Bill of Rights, which are the invariable incidents to American constitutions.

The constitutional limitations, which have been adopted with the idea of preserving intact our scheme of federal government, are to be found in the United States Constitution. This document is framed on the general principle of enumerating the powers of the central government and on the understanding that all powers not thus enumerated are reserved by the states. An examination of the Constitution of the United States will show that the national government has no public-health powers except such as may be incidental to certain expressly mentioned powers.

The powers expressly granted in the Constitution of the United States to the national government, to which health powers are incident, are as follows:

First, power to govern the District of Columbia, the territories of the United States, and the reservations ceded to the United States by the states for the various purposes of the national government. The public-health powers of the national government in these cases are complete, subject, however, to the limitations contained in the Bill of Rights intended to protect individual rights, the most important of which is the one which provides that no one shall be deprived of his liberty or property without

due process of law. It was because of this provision that the Supreme Court recently held unconstitutional an act of Congress fixing a minimum wage for women in the District of Columbia.

Second, the power of Congress to regulate commerce among the several states with foreign nations and the Indian tribes. It has been held that Congress may, as incident to the exercise of its power to regulate commerce, pass regulations in the interest of the preservation of the public health. Congress has thus provided for quarantines, for prohibiting the transportation in commerce among the several states of impure foods and drugs, and for the inspection prior to their transportation from one state to another of the products the transportation of which has been prohibited.

There are, however, limits beyond which Congress may not go in this kind of regulation, even where the regulation has a public-health character. For it is not the health character but rather the fact that the regulation is incident to the regulation of commerce among the several states, or with foreign nations, which justifies the action of Congress. It is for this reason that the Supreme Court recently declared unconstitutional an act of Congress prohibiting the transportation in interstate commerce of articles made by child labor. The court held that what was really being regulated by such an act was the manufacture of the article, and that its transportation after manufacture could not affect the public health. As the regulation of manufacturing with the purpose of protecting the health of those employed in factories is a function of the state and not of the nation, the act of Congress in question was held to be an unwarrantable encroachment upon the power of the states.

Third, the power of Congress to levy taxes, imports, duties, and excises in order to pay the debts, provide for the common defense and promote the general welfare of the United States, has been interpreted by the Supreme Court as authorizing Congress to impose prohibitory taxes upon the manufacture of articles which may be deleterious to the public health on the theory that the power to tax is the power to destroy. Congress has thus imposed a prohibitory tax on the manufacture of phosphorus matches, being moved to this action by the consideration of the effect of making of these matches upon those engaged in the industry. Congress also has made use of this power of taxation in the passage of the Harrison Act against the use of narcotics, but in this case adopted a rather peculiar method which, however, the Supreme Court has upheld. The Harrison Act provides that all sellers and users of narcotics shall register their names and pay a tax of a small amount to the collector of internal revenue, who is required to turn over the information he obtains relative to the sale and use of narcotics to the state officers entrusted with the suppression of their use, who will then be in a stronger position to enforce the state laws. But here again there is a limit beyond which Congress may not go. The child-labor tax-law case decided by the Supreme Court held that Congress may not pass a tax law of prohibitive character, which is clearly an attempt to encroach upon the prerogatives of the states.

In addition to passing prohibitive tax legislation Congress may also appropriate money from the national treasury for the purpose of aiding the states in the exercise of their health powers. Of recent years such appropriations have frequently been coupled with the conditions that the states appropriate equal amounts in order to avail themselves of the congressional appropriations, and that the expenditure of the monies appropriated, both state and national, be subjected to the supervision of national

officers. Within the last year the state of Massachusetts has brought an action in the Supreme Court to test the constitutionality of this practice. Up to the time of the bringing of this action there was, I think, little doubt in the minds of lawyers as to the propriety of such methods, but it must be admitted that the decisions of the Supreme Court in the child labor cases show quite a marked tendency in the court as now constituted to preserve the independence of the states against encroachment upon the part of Congress.

Fourth, the treaty-making power. A recent case has held that where the United States makes a treaty, in which the contracting parties agree to pass the legislation necessary to put the treaty into effect, legislation passed by Congress for that purpose is constitutional, although upon subjects which apart from the treaty were not within the competence of Congress. If this case were followed, it would be possible for Congress to exercise powers of health legislation upon matters of international concern, which up to the present time it has not exercised.

The second class of constitutional limitations are those intended to protect individual private rights. They are to be found in both the United States and the state constitutions. Some of those contained in the former instrument affect only the United States government. Some, however, like the fourteenth Amendment, which provides that no state shall deprive any person of his life, liberty, or property without due process of law, or deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws, impose limitations upon the states. The state constitutions naturally limit only the powers of the respective state governments. One of these limitations which has an effect upon the exercise of public-health powers is what is often spoken of as the principle of the separation of powers; a principle which is to be found at the basis of all American governments.

The most noticeable effects of this principle in public-health law are: First, that all public health, as all police powers, must find their origin in the statutes of the legislative authority. No public-health authority has inherent powers. Second, the legislature may not vest absolute discretion in a public-health authority. It may delegate health boards powers of regulation, but it must lay down broadly, at any rate, the principles which such boards are to follow in the exercise of the power delegated. Third, all such delegations are narrowly rather than broadly construed where their tendency is to infringe upon fundamental individual rights, and particularly where the violation of health regulations and orders is punished criminally. Fourth, it is somewhat doubtful whether it is constitutional for the legislature to confer upon health authorities the power of conclusive and final determination, especially as to the existence of the facts necessary to give them jurisdiction to act.

The other constitutional limitations which have been adopted with the idea of protecting individual rights do not theoretically limit greatly the powers which may constitutionally be conferred by the legislature upon health authorities. But, practically, they constitute quite a limitation since it is sometimes difficult to convince the courts that concrete acts of legislation have really a health purpose. This is particularly true with regard to the conditions under which labor is carried on, including such matters as hours and wages of labor. On its face, all such legislation is economic rather than sanitary in character, and the courts have in the past been reluctant to permit the legislature to deprive the laboring classes of their constitutional liberty to

work as long and for such pay as they see fit, unless it can be clearly shown that the legislation in question has a health purpose in that it either protects the laborer or safeguards the public.

The constitutional limitations which we are considering are often directed toward securing a procedure for administrative action, which will make it certain that the persons affected by it shall have had an opportunity to be heard before action is taken, or that the law authorizing the action is scrupulously followed. Greater latitude in this respect is probably permitted in the case of the action of public-health authorities than in other fields of administration. The reason is to be found in the necessity so common in sanitary matters for immediate action, which will not brook the delay incident to hearings and an otherwise formal procedure. Summary proceedings without notice are thus frequently permissible in public-health matters.

This permissible, although rather drastic, action may, however, be violative of private rights. For this reason the action taken is rarely conclusive or final in character. If time permits, the person whose rights are threatened may have an injunction to restrain the action proposed, or where the action has been taken, suits for damage may be brought against those who take it. In either case, the court, before which such suits are heard, has the right to try the whole case and determine whether the law under which the official acted, was constitutional, whether the action complained of was authorized by the law, and what the damages shall be if the determination is against the officer.

As actions for damages are ordinarily tried by juries, which on the one hand are not composed of expert sanitarians and on the other often sympathize with the plaintiff, whose rights are alleged to have been violated, health officers are often deterred from acting by a very natural fear of being mulcted in damages.

The problem to be solved in all these cases is the ever present problem in all administration; viz., that of securing efficient administration with a due regard for private rights. Probably one of the best methods of solution is that adopted by the charter of the city of New York, which has been copied by some other cities. This provides that no injunction shall be issued to restrain health officers from acting, and no action shall be brought against health officers for damage, but that the city will be liable for all the damage caused by the unauthorized actions of city health officers.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PUBLIC HEALTH ADMINISTRATION

Eugene R. Kelley, M.D., State Commissioner of Public Health, Boston

Sanitary measures extend as far back as recorded history, but intelligent forethought for the preservation of the public health, by means of a definite code of law and a special executive mechanism for its carrying out, cannot be credited with any remarkable antiquity.

Interesting as it would be to trace the gradual development in many lands of the science of public health, the limitations of this occasion make it imperative for us to consider only the development of public-health administration as it relates to England and the United States. This is especially appropriate, however, because in both countries sanitary institutions have been evolved with the same common-law background,

by people having common speech and history, even though differences in geography, political organization, and economic and social backgrounds have resulted in the creation of divergent forms of public health administrative principles and practice.

During that period when both countries were politically united, certain developments in medicine, hygiene, and social institutions occurred which profoundly affected subsequent health-administrative practice. The medical profession itself first became a distinct body, with definite specified duties to the state, as a result of legislation passed under the English Tudor sovereigns. This advance deeply affected public-health administrative development, for, as a reciprocal phenomenon to this royal license to practice the healing art, it was a natural development both within and without the profession to consider it the duty of the physicians to advise with king, parliament and privy council in national, and with lord mayors and aldermen in municipal, health affairs.

The recurring invasions of plague in England in the seventeenth century led to the development of an elaborate, and originally an excessively cruel, quarantine code both for sea ports and of house-to-house character. Similar procedure in the British colonies of North America came into vogue in attempts to control yellow fever epidemics, which occurred as far north as Boston. The great basic, legal sanitary principle of the right of the community to restrain the freedom of the individual in the presence of infectious disease was fixed by these plague experiences.

At a somewhat later period, in the eighteenth century, the discovery of vaccination against smallpox, of the nature of certain chronic chemical intoxications, especially lead, and of the dietary deficiency basis of scurvy, point respectively to the beginnings of biologic therapy, industrial hygiene, and the nutritional aspects of public health, all of which have greatly affected the development of modern public-health administration.

These struggles against pestilence and efforts to overcome environmental handicaps inimical to life and health brought man into the nineteenth century with a vast heritage of erroneous conceptions relative to disease prevention. Some of these false ideas were the bases of elaborate legal and administrative codes. Others, though never translated into statute, had become so firmly diffused through and rooted in the popular mind that to this day they have constituted a tremendous barrier to the progress of scientific public-health development. The great nineteenth century flame of discovery in the fields of sanitary science, preventive and curative medicine, and community and personal hygiene, however, stimulated the development of a sanitary code and system of public health administration for the gradual, practical application of these discoveries.

The lines of public-health administrative development in England and this country can be traced to two main impulses, one humanitarian in character, the other emanating from the laboratory. The first trail leads back to that same great humanitarian impulse from which sprang prison reform and the abolishment of unrestricted exploitation of child labor in England, and of slave labor in this country. The same growth of public conscience that expressed itself in these three great moral welfare movements led to more careful consideration and searching inquiry as to the sanitary condition of the masses. For decades sanitary reform became a powerful issue in English political life. During this time sanitary engineering was born, and the resulting improvements in water supply, sewage disposal, nuisance control, housing, and ventilation led to great improvement, not only in community health, but also to a pathetic belief that all

disease of an infectious nature was due to faulty environment and capable of eradication by correction of environment. These views led to such ideas as the generation of diphtheria by sewer gas, and upon this and similar unscientific bases were erected elaborate but unsound legal and administrative practices.

The names of two men deserve special mention as the apostles of this doctrine of sanitary salvation by the route of complete control of the environment of man—Chadwick in England and Shattuck in Massachusetts. The activities of the first named were instrumental in the establishment of the first real central sanitary authority in the British Isles, while the other, from the influence of his masterly report on sanitary conditions of Massachusetts submitted to the legislature of that State in 1849, may fairly be called the father of all the state health departments of this country. Shattuck was fully a generation ahead of his time, for it was not until 1869 that some of his principal proposals were adopted in the statute creating the Massachusetts Board of Health. In one particular he builded far wiser than his great British contemporary, viz., by insisting on the necessity of sanitary education and persuasion of the public as the only permanent and sound basis for advances in public health.

It is of peculiar significance to social workers to recall that officially it was the Poor Law Commissioners of England who were directly responsible for the establishment of the first modern health department. Their greatest argument was that by expending money on sanitary improvements "nuisances, by which contagion is generated and persons reduced to destitution, could be prevented," and hence the burden of poor rates upon the well-to-do reduced.

Men soon perceived that it was not by sanitation alone that public-health administration was to achieve its aim. About thirty years after the general acceptance of the sanitary doctrines just sketched, the discoveries of Pasteur and his followers opened up the great and previously unsuspected realm of bacterial life, and demonstrated how profoundly these minute organisms affected human health.

Then followed a period corresponding roughly to the second half of the last century, which is of intense interest to every student of public health or sociology. It is of the deepest significance, because during this period practically all the principles of public-health administration under which we now work were either forecasted or completely formulated. During this period, also, sanitary science shook itself free from the cumbersome legal principles and administrative procedures which had come down to it through the centuries and which had been built around the old view that conditions of disease or of health were practically all attributable to causes external to man and controllable by modification of environment.

The revolutionary idea of infection by the agency of germs grew slowly at first, then by leaps and bounds. Coincident with its rapid growth came about a curious state of mind amounting almost to an obsession on the part of the sanitary-scientific leaders of the period, a belief that "germ control" was about all that did count in public health administration.

The doctrine of the right of organized society to interfere with the freedom of action of the individual for the good of society at large received great impetus during this period. The old doctrine of quarantine greatly modified by applying its principles to the individual rather than to the city or village or vessel was expanded as never before, and men honestly believed that by the multiplication of contagious hospitals, by earlier and more stringent quarantine, and by the use of methods for avoiding infec-

tion from the sick all diseases of transmissible character, even as chronic a malady as tuberculosis, could eventually be stamped out. The beginnings of many of the divisions of present-day public-health work can be traced to this period, not as a result of independent effort, but almost exclusively as a by-product of the search for the germs, as, for example, school hygiene.

In both of these notable health eras of modernity can be clearly recognized certain common principles of administration. The first era, that of public-health administration by applied sanitation, pinned its faith to a theory of the coercion of the elements, of man's environment for the mitigation of the social and financial burden of sickness and preventable mortality to the citizen, community, and nation. The second era, that of the pursuit of the germ, pinned its faith to the elimination of the disease germ through coercion of the human being unlucky enough to be harboring that germ.

Neither period conceived of the individual man, woman, and child of the community as having any active responsibility in the struggle. The health office was, for all practical purposes, as remote from the everyday life of the average citizen's family as was the jail or the orphans' home. We may sum it all up by saying that the whole concept of this period was that of "dodging infection." The health administrator's viewpoint was all negative. To abolish acute infections and to control environmental conditions that fostered infection, represented the whole duty of the sanitarian. With these objects once accomplished his full obligation to society would be fulfilled and he might then piously fold his arms and murmur *Nunc Dimittis*.

But after a time it became evident to public-health administrators that there were some very real defects in their program, whether looked upon from the angle of human physiology, community sociology, sanitary theory, legal machinery, or practical applied administration. Let us consider a few of the events that led to our present-day philosophy in reference to public health, though not with any intention of giving the impression that they represent all or even necessarily the most important influences.

First, public-health administrators had gradually learned of carriers, missed cases, of the intricacies of epidemiology. This led to the abandonment of the old dream of eradicating communicable disease by dependence wholly upon the principles of quarantine and isolation. Second, public health administrators began to see that the coercion idea could never solve the problems facing them even if public-health administration was held within the narrow confines of contagious-disease control alone. Third, public-health administrators began to realize that the problem of community and personal health was something far broader and deeper than a game of dodging infection in a world filled with pathogenic micro-organisms. They began to realize the need of a positive concept of health and of broad-casting this positive ideal of health to all the people. They began to realize that it was not enough to preach these possibilities to the people, but that the people must also realize that they must actively participate, that they must assimilate at least the simpler principles of personal and community hygiene and consciously live in accordance therewith, that in the field of health there could be no such thing as vicarious atonement for the physiological sins of themselves or their fathers.

The gradual transformation of the concept of public-health administration, as something remote from ordinary everyday experience, practiced only by a group of persons looked upon as a sort of cross between ward politicians and visionary scientists, to its recognition as a vital function of government, which considers the life of the

individual while yet in the mother's womb, and has a significant message for him for every period of life, and ceases this concern only at death, has been largely responsible in shaping the latter-day developments of public-health administration.

These later developments have one feature of special interest to the social worker. By a curiously tortuous path extending over a century in time, public-health administration is coming back to a close relationship with the humanitarian aspect of human problems of life and health. As the Buddhist would put it, the wheel has made a complete revolution. Public-health administration has turned back to the contemplation not merely of man in the abstract but of individual men, women, and children, finding itself once more standing shoulder to shoulder with the forces of social amelioration and advancement.

Having sought the answer to the riddle of disease and pain in water, air, and soil, and having found only fragmentary explanation there as well as in the world of parasitic micro-organic life, we now have turned squarely back to man himself, and have frankly called upon him to come and help attack and solve these problems with us. We, who are today engaged in public-health work as a life career, are calling as loudly as we can to all our fellows, pointing out the possibilities that lie in the sane development of all these things—epidemiology, infant hygiene, mental hygiene, metabolism, industrial hygiene, sanitary engineering—the whole stupendous list of modern specialities which have demonstrated that they have a definite contribution to offer to this great cause of health conservation. I repeat, we are pointing to these truths on every hand and calling to our fellow-citizens everywhere, "This is not simply our job, it is also yours. Come and help, for only by everyone doing his bit, by each one putting his shoulder willingly to the wheel, can the old spectres of avoidable death, preventable illness, unnecessary pain, and needless misery that have dogged man's footsteps from the infancy of the race be successfully controlled and finally overcome."

TRANSITION FROM NEGATIVE TO POSITIVE

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Old age should be the principal cause of death. We should be like that famous vehicle which, after a whole century of life, though there were indeed "traces of age in the one-hoss shay, a general flavor of mild decay," there was "nothing local as one may say!" And when the end comes from sheer old age, "it went to pieces all at once. All at once, and nothing first, just as bubbles do when they burst."

But death, as a rule, comes prematurely. Old age is only theoretically a normal and natural cause of death. Defects and disease cause the machine to break down before it wears out. This mystery has challenged the attention of man for ages, and out of it have grown all of our modern health movements. In the past they have been largely negative, mere battles to escape disease. Fortunately we are now entering a new phase. Our health ideals promise to exceed that of any other age. They will not stop at mere negation of disease, degeneracy, delinquency and dependency, but will be positive and progressive. In order to follow the transition from the negative to the positive phase of health work, it will be desirable to review briefly the evolution of some of the theories of disease. These theories have always molded the character of public-health endeavors.

Demonic theory.—The earliest theories of disease were found among the savages. They interpreted fever, sickness, pain, and madness to be due to the occupancy of the affected body by an evil spirit or demon. Savage therapeutics accurately followed savage pathology. Demons were cast out by exhortations or drums. They even practiced "preventive medicine" by means of charms and amulets. We have survivals today in the horseshoe, the rabbit's foot, the horsechestnut, which are carried for their charm.

Humoral theory.—Hippocrates, the father of medicine, clearly recognized disease as being a process governed by natural laws. He taught that the body contained four humors: blood, phlegm, yellow bile, and black bile, a right proportion and mixture of which constituted health; an improper proportion and irregular distribution, disease. This theory has never ceased to influence medical thought and practice. It had the merit of fixing attention upon natural rather than supernatural causes, upon the patient rather than demons.

Physical and mechanical theories.—There was a great shifting of opinion as to the true causes of disease between the time of Hippocrates (500 B.C.) and Sydenham (1644-1689). This period witnessed great advances in anatomy and physiology, which led in the eighteenth century to the establishment of our physical and mechanical theories of disease, upon which modern pathology stands.

Germ theory.—The germ theory of disease grew out of the brilliant investigations of Louis Pasteur. Enticed away from his laboratory by the French government to investigate diseases of animals, he laid the foundation upon which has been built all of our modern methods for the control of communicable diseases. Pasteur, whose centenary we celebrate this year, may well be called the "Father of Public Health."

The Evolution of the Modern Public-Health Movement.—Stirred by the discoveries of Pasteur, the whole attack upon disease began to assume new aspects. It was a short step from animals to human beings. The world was soon startled by the announcement that Koch had discovered the cause of tuberculosis. This, as you know, was only the beginning of a long series of brilliant discoveries which have furnished us our most valuable weapons in the battle against disease.

The underlying legal principles which have been used in the application of these scientific discoveries to the public-health movement have been defined by President Goodnow. Dr. Kelley has described the development of the administrative machinery that has made possible the remarkable advances which have been made during the last century. It is my privilege to call your attention to certain tendencies in the field of public health which appear to have unusual significance. I refer to the transition from the negative to the positive phase. Or it might be better described as our discovery of the importance of health promotion as a factor in disease prevention. Progress in the rational control of disease dates from the establishment of the germ theory based upon the researches of Pasteur. As the field of bacteriology has gradually broadened, we have roughly classified sickness as communicable and non-communicable. This classification based upon the known causes of disease has been the guiding factor in our public-health efforts.

Three well-marked stages may be distinguished in the evolution of the modern public-health movement. They are suppression of disease; prevention of disease; and promotion of health.

Suppression of disease.—Terrified by epidemics of disease and confident in our newly found knowledge of bacteriology, we focused our attention upon the causes and modes of transmission of the various communicable illnesses. We deceived ourselves with the belief that by the application of police power through quarantine we could solve the problem. Gradually but surely public-health leaders became convinced of the severe limitations of this method. This led inevitably to the next stage.

Prevention of disease.—Spurred on by the limitations of control by suppression we began the development of methods of prevention. This stage has been characterized by our most brilliant conquests of disease. Yellow fever, malaria, hookworm, smallpox, typhus, and typhoid fever are a few of the striking examples. This method of health work involved the control of the environment as well as the education of the public. Notwithstanding the brilliant victories mentioned above and the remarkable reduction in the death rates from many other diseases, our progress along certain lines leaves much to be desired. This dissatisfaction induced the public-health worker to search for factors of error in his methods. The results of this search have once more broadened the scope of health activities and focused attention upon an important factor which has long been neglected by the health worker.

Promotion of Health.—The newest phase of health work is the promotion of health. This marks the transition from the negative to the positive. To our long lists of "thou shalt nots" we are at last adding a few "thou shalt." This new point of view recognizes two vital facts: namely, that health is more than an absence of disease and that a strong body is one of Nature's important protectives against disease.

Methods of Health Promotion.—Health promotion has become the guiding star of many groups of persons interested in human welfare. This has resulted in a variety of methods which can only be indicated in this brief paper.

Eugenics.—The influence of a sound heredity is now recognized as an important influence in the development of a vigorous body. Based upon painstaking investigations, we are gradually but definitely influencing the future of this race through practical eugenics. This is truly a real contribution to health promotion.

Maternal and Child Hygiene.—While the field of maternal and child hygiene is not confined to positive-health promotion, it makes considerable contribution to it. The prenatal instruction of mothers, and the proper care and feeding of infants and small children are definite examples of ways in which it operates.

Health Education in the Schools.—The most striking development in health promotion has been the growth of health education in the schools. Here we have the entrance of a new and important influence into the health field: namely, the school teacher. The adaptation of scientific knowledge about the human body to the needs of the child is growing daily. An alliance between the educator and the public-health worker has wonderful potentialities for health promotion. Health is becoming an important subject in the curricula of our schools. The schools are beginning to train children in health habits as well as arithmetic. Physical education has taken on new and broader meanings and is making most valuable contributions to the field of health.

Health Education of Adults.—The extension of the movement for better personal hygiene is spreading with commendable rapidity. Stimulated by the propaganda of the health workers and stung by the unfavorable results of the war inventory of our physical stamina, we are at last awaking to necessity for better care of our human machines.

This new health consciousness is expressing itself in two principal directions. The first is an increased interest in facilities for wholesome recreation. The enormous

benefits which are accruing to our people from this rapidly spreading, popular outdoor life can scarcely be estimated. We should strive to secure the benefits for every grade of our population. The other interesting development is the growing number of people who are coming under continuous health supervision. We are gradually developing a new type of physician. He practices preventive medicine on an individual scale. The periodic physical examination and attention to all the details of personal hygiene replaces the classical pills and powders. It is true this new type is scarce, but the medical leaders of our country are awaking to the possibilities of such service. This is positive-health work of the most valuable kind.

We have followed the evolution of health work from the negative to the positive phase in a rather sketchy manner. It would be unfair to leave you with the impression that the speaker advocates the junking of all the machinery which we have built for the suppression and prevention of disease. These are invaluable in many ways. He does, however, wish to point out that in this new positive phase that we have at last recognized the value of health promotion as a means of disease prevention.

The problem of health and disease is a complex one. It can only be solved by the use of all the resources we have at our command. So if we are to reach that golden age when vigorous health will be the rule, and old age the principal cause of death, we must have real alliance of all of the agencies interested in social welfare.

THE LAW'S DELAY

THE METROPOLITAN DISTRICT ATTORNEY AND HIS RELATION TO SOCIAL WORK

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By "metropolitan" community is simply meant the very large urban American community. There is no necessity for fixing a population figure at which a community becomes entitled to the resounding designation metropolitan or acquires the advantages and disadvantages of metropolitan characteristics. Every such community possesses characteristics which are recognized as favorable to the growth of crime and which intensify the difficulties of both punishment and prevention. Both the number and variety of crimes committed place a great strain upon the law-enforcement machinery.

The expression "district attorney" will, in this discussion, be taken to signify the officials or group of officials who have charge of the prosecution of criminal cases before the courts. As was elaborately pointed out in the Cleveland Survey of the Administration of Criminal Justice, the division of prosecution of crime amongst different, independent, and uncoordinated groups of officials is a serious weakness in our law-enforcement machinery and a great impediment to the efficient administration of criminal justice. The Chicago Crime Commission listed the "maladministration of criminal justice" as one of the ten great causes of crime. The reduction of the inefficiency of the apparatus with which we control crime is therefore an important method of crime prevention; and one of the most practical and necessary steps in this direction would be the concentration into one highly organized office of the whole field of the prosecution of all types and grades of offenses before all courts within the same metropolitan area.

To complete the definitions of the terms of our subject, we must not forget "social work." Almost any definition of social work is either too much or too little. In its

more comprehensive sense, social work may be held to include every human activity which has the conscious and deliberate purpose of promoting the health, order, security, morals, and welfare of society and of the individuals who compose society. In the narrower sense in which the expression will generally be used in this discussion, social work consists of those more specialized activities in which the social workers and social agencies of our great cities now engage.

In order to analyze this subject of the relationship between the prosecutor's work and social work, we must adopt some fairly definite conception of the purpose and proper function of the prosecutor, and this, in turn, requires the assignment, in the scheme of things, of some fairly definite rôle to the enforcement of criminal law. For our purposes this morning it is sufficient to realize that each and every criminal proceeding is directed both at an individual offense and offender, with a view of meting out the punishment or other treatment which the law specifies for that offense or offender, and, at the same time, is designed to deter or prevent the commission of future crimes by this offender or by others. And the part which the prosecutor plays in this process is to gather and present the facts and the law to the court or other tribunal, which determines what was the offense, who was the offender, and what the punishment or other treatment to be meted out shall be.

The proper relation of the prosecutor's work to social work is very easily stated. It is social work. The prosecution of crime in any metropolitan community is simply one of the social agencies of that community. Criminal law is for social defense. It brands and punishes acts which society deems to be anti-social, which means acts that impair social, and therefore individual, health, order, security, morals, and welfare. It concerns itself with the individual only because and when the individual's acts injure society. Criminal law-enforcement is simply one of the means adopted for the promotion of these social goods.

There are certain conditions of physical and social environment which are productive of crime and which fall well within the scope of the prosecutor's effective action. All criminologists recognize, for instance, that excessive congestion of population, as, for example, the overcrowded tenement or lodging house, or other situations which we call "slums," are breeders of conditions which tend to produce criminality. The transient and migratory inhabitant is a chronic phenomenon of the metropolitan community. Most of the species, like most of any other class, are law abiding, but the criminal class receives a percentage of its recruits from this class. Sanitary conditions in the lodging-house have an important relationship to the production of crime. For instance, again, education is universally recognized as a means of prevention or reduction of crime. Consequently the enforcement of school laws, such as truancy laws, compulsory-education laws, and the like represent a field of crime prevention which falls within the normal province of the prosecutor. The mental and physical weaknesses which are apt to be developed by child labor constitute another source of crime. The child-labor laws furnish an opportunity for the criminal law to reach ultimate factors of criminality. The public gambling-den, the headquarters of commercialized vice, the lower types of drinking places, and various other species of "joints" and "dives" are universally recognized as breeding grounds of crime. The criminal law furnishes ample bases for the suppression of these breeding places by means of the prosecution of those responsible for them.

This field of the suppression of crime-producing social environments is one in which the social worker can obviously give great practical assistance to the prosecutor.

The files of the social agencies should be an up-to-date and an infallible guide to the plague spots of the metropolitan community. Organized contacts and co-operative arrangements can and should exist in every community, whereby the prosecutor can turn to the records of the social agencies for locating these plague spots and for demonstration of their effects upon the mental and moral fiber of those who live in them or frequent them.

Another type of social environment or condition productive of criminal tendencies, which offers special opportunities to the prosecutor for preventive measures and special opportunities for co-operation with social workers, is that which arises from various types of inequalities prevalent in large urban communities—inequalities of race or color, inequalities of social position, of depth of rooting in the soil of the community, of social stability, and inequalities of age. For instance, there is the problem of the immigrant and the child of the immigrant. The immigrant is peculiarly subject to exploitation. He has greater difficulties in knowing, understanding, and complying with the laws of the land. In dealing with him, the work of the prosecutor needs to be conducted with an educational motive, in addition to the motive of law-enforcement.

In most American metropolitan communities the Negro presents a special problem. Statistics show a large percentage, relative to their numbers, of law violations by Negroes; and, to an even greater extent than in the case of white persons. Negro criminality is the product of bad housing, sanitary conditions, and the plague spots of vice. The social environment of the Negro is not protected by public sentiment to the same extent as that of the white man.

And then there is the juvenile delinquent, universally recognized as the very heart of the problem of crime prevention. The modern learning and viewpoints concerning crime, sociology, and human behavior have been applied to the treatment of the juvenile offender to a far greater extent than to his adult prototype, and in the juvenile court the law enforcement has been "socialized," to use a pet word of the social worker. Every case of juvenile delinquency indicates a possible opportunity for crime prevention by crime prosecution. The juvenile delinquent is not an accident. In almost every case there is an explanation of him. Except where he is with an atypical or sub-normal mentality, this explanation may be found either in the conduct of some adult who had charge of the child or who was a source of influence over the child or in an environment, for which environment, in the last analysis, one or more adults were responsible. In other words, there are one or more adult delinquencies back of each juvenile delinquency. The statutes of every state supply more or less adequate means of reaching the adult in the case. The records of any well-conducted juvenile court or child-welfare agency will or should identify the adult in the case. From a social point of view there are no statutes of greater importance than these which permit the calling to account, in the shape of criminal prosecution, of those who aid or cause juvenile delinquency. Regular contact and co-operation and record exchange between the child-welfare agencies, including the prosecutor as well as the juvenile court, is therefore important. Crime prevention will not be complete even when we cure the juvenile delinquent. We must, in so far as is humanly possible, anticipate and prevent him.

The prosecutor may not have the right to select the type of crimes which he will attack or ignore. Necessarily, however, he must distribute the emphasis which he places upon different types of offenses, and it is in this matter of emphasis that both the public and prosecutors need to acquire a more social viewpoint. The prosecutor is tempted to place emphasis upon the newsier and more sensational crimes, particularly

homicide. He is usually an elective officer with a political ambition, or at least the desire to make a record. He is naturally apt to be attracted by the more sensational cases or fascinated by those which involve the element of mystery. The prosecutor himself, that is, the head of the force, generally lays aside all his other duties and throws himself into the trial of sensational homicide cases. Murder is and should remain the gravest of crimes, but, from the point of view of social results, the successful prosecution of murder is probably less valuable than the successful prosecution of many minor offenses or the successful suppression of breeding grounds of crime.

There are other phases of the social environment, less physical and more elusive in their nature, with less relevance, perhaps, to this subject of co-operation between law-enforcing and other social agencies, but which merit passing mention because they illustrate the value of the more social viewpoint in selecting the objects and the methods of prosecution: for example, political corruption. When political corruption is permitted to go unpunished, it reduces the general respect for law and thus fosters criminality. As another example, criminologists have pointed out that extremes of wealth and poverty side by side in the same community have a tendency to produce in those who have an exceptional amount of rebelliousness in their nature a feeling of resentment against society, which tends to destroy their sense of or desire for law and order. The prosecutor cannot, of course, control the distribution of wealth. There is, however, a small but easily under-rated part which he can play in the reduction of these by-products of resentment and rebellion, and that is to take special pains that prosecutions against offenders of means are conducted as vigorously and aggressively and as speedily as the cases against those who are poor, and, similarly, that prosecution of types of offenses habitually committed by those of means, such as bank embezzlement and business frauds, are conducted as aggressively and speedily as offenses habitually committed by the more indigent, such as petty theft, and, further, to do all within his power to overcome the advantages which material means give in defending cases.

To turn for a moment to a very different type of social service; namely, statistics, the Cleveland Survey pointed out the importance, from the point of view of efficiency, of accurate and well-classified statistics of the administration of criminal justice. Statistics are equally if not more important as an instrumentality for making law-enforcing agencies cognizant of social facts, responsive to social needs, and effective for social defense. The statistics of the criminal courts and the statistics of the other social agencies are but separate chapters of the same story and need to be connected, combined, and welded together before their full meaning and lesson can appear. Consequently, there should be established and maintained a constant contact between prosecutor and the other social workers of the community whereby the important and significant facts disclosed by the records of the agencies, or more effectively ascertainable by the agencies, can be placed at the service of the enforcement of the law.

In many communities the social agencies have worked out for themselves methods whereby the records at each are at the service of all; and the service of each is realized as forming an organic part of a whole, of which the other agencies are the other parts. What is needed is that the social worker and the prosecutor realize that one of these parts is still missing to some extent and without this part that there is no complete and effective whole.

We have noted that in every criminal case some facts are produced which relate to the offender as an individual, his history, and his mental and moral characteristics,

and that these facts receive some consideration in the determination of his punishment or other treatment. All, however, that has as yet developed in the field of the trial of criminal cases is that, in actual practice, by more or less *infra legal* methods, some evidence about the offender, as distinguished from the offense, is received and some of the lessons of modern anthropology, sociology, psychology, and psychiatry applied.

Shall these admissible facts include psychological and psychiatric tests? Is the social history of the accused to be taken into consideration? Shall the witnesses be the experts of the parties or of the court? How far should individualization of punishment or other treatment be carried? Neither the statutes nor court rules nor court practice have as yet attempted to formulate answers to these questions or to define the scope and purpose of this type of data about the accused. There is judicial individualization, each judge deciding these questions to his bent of mind and habits.

This confusion between two philosophies, or, if you prefer, between two historic stages of the science of criminology, some of whose elements are reconcilable and fusible, while others are so contradictory as to require, sooner or later, the process of adoption and elimination, reduces or retards the effectiveness of the administration of criminal justice and particularly intensifies the difficulties of the prosecutor, who can never be quite certain how much of the old he is to retain or how much of the new he may insert.

These questions remain as yet unanswered by either rule of law or actual practice. The place, the time, and the scope in criminal procedure of these more modern types of facts all remain to be defined, as well as the place of the prosecutor in the presentation of these facts. Inevitably and fortunately, the lessons of modern science will to a constantly increasing degree be embodied in the criminal law and will mold criminal procedure. The social scientist and social worker naturally desire to promote and hasten this evolutionary process; and a good prosecutor, like any other good official, is a constructive reformer as well as a routine administrator.

Obviously, in order to fill his place in this development, the prosecutor will need a training and outlook differing greatly from his present equipment, and including some knowledge of sociology and specialized fields of psychology and criminology as well as some concrete and practical experience in applied social science. Perhaps specialized offices will be created by law, separate from the office of prosecutor, to which will be entrusted this function of gathering, presenting, and interpreting these anthropological and sociological facts concerning the offender. Personally I would consider such a step unfortunate.

But whether the prosecutor of the future be one, two, or more persons or offices, he or they or one of them will need a constant education in the social problems and social facts of the community; and here lies another opportunity for co-operation between those who are administering the law and those who in unofficial capacities are applying by other means the social standards of the time. If prosecution is to be socialized, the social workers must help.

One reaction which this paper may produce in the minds of many members of this audience is that law and law-enforcement are herein constantly assumed to be institutions of continuing growth and importance. Some social workers are skeptical about this method of dealing with anti-social conditions. Some of them feel that laws and prosecutors and criminal courts are old-fashioned sorts of things, getting to be out of date. True, law alone cannot cope with all the injurious social and human products of modern city life. But the social worker should be careful not to underate the impor-

tance of having social welfare principles expressed upon the statute books and in judicial decisions in terms of law. Law is the concise statement of crystallized public sentiment; or, as has been well put, law appraises the social status of conduct. It embodies in definite form the public realization that such and such an act or neglect is dangerous to society, and therefore is wrong. Law is a great educator. Law-enforcement reminds the public of its own standards of right and wrong and re-awakens these standards when they slumber.

LOWER COURT JUSTICE AND THE IMMIGRANT

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I have been asked to treat this topic under the general heading of "the law's delay," but I have to tell you to start with that I shall speak about that difficulty probably less than about any other, because in my opinion this is one of the least of the troubles in the relation of the immigrant with our courts, and it is not a trouble peculiar to him; the general progress of legal reform will attend to that. On the other hand there are, for the immigrant, troubles peculiarly his own, not sufficiently recognized and needing special treatment, that I want to discuss more fully.

One is the need of understanding what is going on in the court and of being understood by the court in order that justice may be done in his case. Another is the need of doing justice, and, perhaps quite as important, the need of making him see that justice has been done, for the effect in his mind in determining his reactions to the agencies of law-enforcement, to the law itself, to the government that stands back of the law, and to the state which law and government represent. That is to say, the treatment of the immigrant in the courts is not simply the problem of rendering justice in particular cases, but of assimilating the individual alien to our community, and, through him, of assimilating the alien group he belongs to.

If the native-born citizen is treated badly in the courts, his general ideas of the country, law, and government are not so deeply affected; he has other means of information about the country aside from what the courts may do, he is held by ties of long habit and ingrained affection to the country; but the immigrant is learning what this country is almost entirely through his personal experiences, and if he is treated badly in the courts, or even if he thinks he is treated badly, he is forming habits of thought and action that the theoretical lessons in citizenship, taught to him and his children in the schools, cannot counteract.

In the court hierarchy the lower court in especial is the immigrant's school of citizenship, for this is the one with which he comes into contact the most. And some of these courts have been treating him very badly and are still doing so.

The evils of the old style court of justice of the peace are pretty generally recognized, and an active movement has been going on for some years for its abolition. It has been superseded, especially in the large cities, where, it would seem, most of the immigrant clients would be found. It may not be realized, however, that in many comparatively small places are to be found compact and sizable immigrant colonies, drawn there by some industry which dominates the town. And in many such places the justice court is still flourishing unchecked. Justices are still found who are densely ignorant, who promote litigation for the sake of the fees it will bring them, are in league

with their own underofficials and with unofficial hangers-on of the court, to promote schemes of exploitation by which immigrants peculiarly are victimized. In these courts there is only too little trouble from the law's delay, it works only too quickly to extract money from immigrant pockets.

In larger places where we find the lower courts divided into separate civil and criminal branches, we find that in the civil courts the worst difficulties are those of delay and cost, and these are receiving attention in the general movement for the reform of legal procedure.

In the lower criminal courts, however, there is especial trouble for the immigrant. In many of them he finds political influence plainly at work. And he is told by hangers-on of the court, and even by the lower officials, that "influence" and bribery are the regular means of getting a favorable decision. This he is all the more ready to believe if he comes from a country where bribery actually is the way to get favorable decisions.

The justice himself, in such a court, may be of the highest integrity, but he may also feel himself so far removed from the immigrant client that he will not concern himself with trying to clear away the immigrant's misunderstanding. The judge may also, in fact, not lend himself to the kind of grafting the immigrant client is taught to think he is carrying on, but he may be playing a larger political game in which the immigrant client is merely a pawn.

In the justice court almost entirely, and in the police court only too often, there is a lack of the special means needed to get the non-English-speaking immigrant in touch with what is going on, to enable him to present his own case properly, to understand what is being said and done by the court; that is, interpretation. Imagine any one of ourselves appearing before a Russian court, and trying to explain our case without a knowledge of their language, and they without a knowledge of ours! We can readily see at what a disadvantage we should be. The utmost clearness of understanding on the part of the court is needed, to grasp not only the bare facts in a case, but to clear away the prepossession against the stranger, his habits and manners, that is natural to anyone faced with some one unfamiliar to him. The justice court is too small to afford the services of paid official interpreters. The unofficial interpreter brought by the client may be almost as ignorant as the client, and he may have an axe of his own to grind, and put the client at a disadvantage. The police court in the larger cities is equipped with interpreter service, but it is too often inadequate. Sometimes such courts do not pay enough to secure able persons. Because of the low pay such interpreters are often tempted to form lucrative alliances with grafters about the court for the swindling of immigrants.

In the better courts, where interpreters are fairly well paid, and are held to a standard of efficiency through a civil service examination, some of the languages needed will not be represented. A difficulty not always recognized is that while the interpreter may speak a language well enough, a difference of racial or political tradition from that of the client will make him unsympathetic and even hostile. For instance, an Armenian speaking the Turkish language, who is used to interpret for Turkish clients, may be so ingrained with racial hostility that he cannot help making an unfavorable showing for the Turk. In many cases there is more hostility between peoples who are able to speak the same language than between peoples who know nothing of each other's languages, because the common language has been learned in the course of enforced and unpleasant association, in which each people has come to fear and hate the other.

An intangible element in the situation, and yet one as perceptible as the atmosphere, is the attitude of sympathy or of indifference on the part of court officers to immigrant clients. The court officer is in a position of advantage. The immigrant client is before him to be dealt with under rules carried out and sometimes made by him. Sometimes the court officer has a contemptuous attitude toward the immigrant client because the immigrant is ignorant, and the official does not try to conceal his contempt. Many of these court officers are sure, not like King David, that all men are liars but that all immigrants are liars, and do not hesitate to say so. This attitude is deeply resented by the immigrant client. It may seem strange to the well-dressed, brisk, prosperous American in the American court that this dirty, uncouth, deprecating foreigner should have a sense of self-esteem and self-respect. But he has; a keen one. He may not be much to look at, he may not know much about this country, but he has ideas and traditions of his own. In his own mind he is not just the poor fellow we see standing there, but the representative of a whole people, with all its fine qualities, great achievements, and high ambitions. In contrast to these what he knows of our country may seem inferior in many respects.

The improvements introduced into the courts in the progress of general court reform are of the utmost benefit to the immigrant client. The small-claims court, the court of arbitration, the practice of conciliating difficulties before they get to the court, are all to his advantage. The co-ordinated magistrates' court in large cities which tends to minimize the possibilities for political "pull," to increase the efficiency of magistrates through oversight by a presiding judge, and the pooling of wisdom and experience through conference is a much better place for the immigrant than the old minor court.

The one feature of most peculiar advantage to the immigrant, however, is one that should be worked out more completely with a view to the better adjustment of the court to special immigrant needs, and that is the principle of discretion lately introduced into the courts, with all that that principle implies. Discretion in the courts, as shown in the specialized courts for children and for family troubles, in the use of suspended sentence, in the use of an indefinite term of sentence, and in the employment of the probation officer and the parole officer means that the person and the general character of the person are of importance in the treatment of a case as well as the specific act which has brought him into relation with the law. It means, then, that officers of the law should study the person as well as establish the act. Study of the person means an understanding of the mental processes of the person, understanding of the environmental background, habits, and customs that have been at work together with heredity to form character.

In court treatment emphasis has already been laid on the study of mental conditions, as abnormal or normal, for all classes of cases. For children the psychology of the child is studied, and the environment of the child, for the purpose of making the right adjustment in his case. In family cases the effort is made to adjust differences by an appeal to motive, which can only be reached by an understanding of the person concerned. The first offender is studied as an undeveloped person for whom a part, at least, of the treatment needed is education.

Little attention, however, has been paid to the immigrant as a type with special characteristics due partly to racial, partly to social, inheritance, which it is important to know. For instance, many people of foreign birth appearing before the domestic relations court have got into trouble just because their inherited set of ideas about

marriage, children, the relation of wives to husbands, of husbands to wives, of social duty, and of religious duty are not in accord with the ideas and customs here about the same things. Sometimes this lack of adjustment shows itself by an endeavor to abide by the old social rules under which the immigrant was brought up; sometimes in breaking away from all social rules, because the social pressure which enforced the old rules is lost in the new country, the immigrant has had no opportunity to learn the rules of the new country, or to come under the social pressure that enforces them.

In addressing the client before him it is natural for the judge to fall back on the words "right" and "wrong" as self-explanatory, on the assumption that certain acts are necessarily "brutal" or "immoral" and are so understood by the client. This may not be so at all. The act may be the mistaken application of a social principle valid in its own time and place, but not suited to American conditions. To treat such cases properly, education, as well as the due penalty for the act, should be given to the client, and this is the line in which our courts are perhaps the weakest in their treatment of the immigrant. I realize that this is too large a task to be carried out in its entirety. The court cannot take on every immigrant client as a personal and perpetual charge. But even a realization of the need for some such line of approach will help greatly. Just the attitude itself will have its effect on the immigrant client. The feeling he would have that his view of things was to be considered, would give him confidence, and induce a co-operative spirit.

If the judges, the probation officers, and all of the officers of the court, can realize that there may be something in the immigrant's mind besides their own preconceptions of what an immigrant is, that he is not necessarily a liar, superstitious, brutal, of feeble intelligence, and an anarchist, and will approach him as an object of sympathetic study, much will be gained.

As practical measures we should ask, first, that every court dealing with non-English-speaking clients should provide proper means of interpreting the language. If the small court cannot provide this, that is another reason for consolidating the small courts, one of the present plans for court reform.

The probation officer should know something of the character and habits of the national types with which he deals. If possible, he should know something of their languages. If, however, the court with which he is connected maintains an interpreter's service of high type, as is the case in the municipal court of Philadelphia, the interpreter may be called in to his aid, and may, indeed, act as a sort of assistant probation officer. The judge cannot be expected to be an expert in all the languages that come before him, but he should feel a need, for use in his work, of an equipment of knowledge about types of peoples as great as for the technical equipment of knowledge of the law, in which he is now required to be well-grounded. Such measures are, indeed, what an adoption of the principle of discretion logically leads to, and our courts are accepting that principle all over the land.

Almost as important as the court itself, in the relation between the court and the immigrant, is the person or agency through which or whom he comes in touch with the court. His feeling about the court is important, as well as the operations of the court itself, and the bad lawyer may not only fail to secure justice for his client but may make him think evil things of the court.

At this point I am going to jump still further over the fence of the topic assigned for discussion in this room right into another building where at this moment the methods of legal aid societies are under discussion. The legal aid society has been of

great help to the immigrant, as a poor man, in reducing for the client the cost and delay which are found to be such great hindrances in securing justice. Are these societies, however, fully recognizing the principle of discretionary treatment, and applying it to the best advantage in their treatment of immigrant cases? In general, we may perhaps say that they are not. Reading the reports of legal-aid societies we are impressed by the emphasis generally laid on the "equality before the law" of everybody, and on the "treating of everyone alike" whether black or white, native or foreign; in short, on the purely legalistic principle of treatment. This is not, by any means, however, the universal rule in the societies. Many of them are recognizing the desirability of taking into consideration differences in clients as well as in acts, corresponding to the discretionary methods of the court. And here is to be found the basis of the present division of opinion now under discussion in another section meeting between the legal and social worker's activity—this idea of treating people according to their character as well as in relation to their acts. Part of this division of opinion, it seems to me, is clearly due to a misunderstanding on the part of the lawyers as to the methods of the social worker.

In a recent discussion of this matter (*The New Republic*, April 18, 1923, John MacArthur Maguire) the legalistic point of view has been given somewhat as follows: The legal-aid worker wants to remain separate and distinct from the social worker, because as a lawyer he feels bound to a traditionally sacred confidential relation between lawyer and client. He would obtain and use all personal information relevant to the immediate legal controversy, but any other facts obtained he would keep to himself. He will take a client's case; he will not make a "case" of the client by pinning him to a card like a specimen butterfly. Another difference: litigation is an evil necessity. Social service work necessarily becomes a commonplace to the socially inadequate whose lives will fail unless it enmeshes them. The poor man, and particularly the poor alien, needs to be disciplined in the idea that visits to lawyers should be rare and lawsuits rarer.

As to the first point, it is a fundamental principle of the social worker to maintain as sacredly confidential the relation between himself and his client. Nothing is regarded as more unethical in the practice of social work than to make public items of information about a case or, indeed, to docket the individual as a case, which, in fact, is rather the legal point of view. As to the second, the encouragement of self-help is another cardinal principle of the social worker. He is the last to expect or plan for perpetual recourse to aid. It is his aim to establish independence in the client. And, in connection with legal troubles, this would naturally result in an endeavor to prevent litigation through personal adjustment of the troubles. The social worker's plan of action is, in short, based on the same principles as those now being adopted in the courts, and is best adapted to assist the client in his relation with the courts as they are now developing.

Mr. Fabricant, council of the voluntary defenders' committee, has pointed out that in their work cases are approached from the social as well as the legal side, because the actual conduct of the work demonstrates that the social side is as important for the proper presentation of a man's legal rights to the court, and even to a jury, as the legal side.

It does not seem necessary, however, in view of these differences of opinion, to make an exclusive choice between the lawyer and the social worker for this type of work. Technical legal services are needed. The broader view of the case that takes into

account individual differences is also needed. But there is no reason why the lawyer should not himself recognize and meet this need just as the court now does. And in so far as methods of arbitration and conciliation out of court are adopted, in so far as court procedure is simplified, just so far the methods of the social worker will be more appropriate than the methods of technical legal offence and defence, and just so far the lawyer, who wants to keep up with the development of court practice, had better learn them.

LEGAL AID SERVICE AND SOCIAL WORK

THE LEGAL POINT OF VIEW

John S. Bradway, Chief Counsel, Bureau of Legal Aid, Philadelphia

Legal Aid in its organized form has been aptly called an orphan, claiming foster parentage with the organized bar on the one hand and with organized social work on the other. The purpose of this address is to introduce this orphan to one of these foster parents so that it may receive suitable parental care in the future. Most of you are more familiar with the problems of placing children in foster homes than I could possibly be. But I am sure that the process is one requiring great care, tact, and ability, because the first impression that the child receives of its foster parents and the first impression which the foster parents receive of the child go far to determine whether the home will be a place of suitable social contacts. It is, therefore, with some trepidation that I approach the problem of introducing this child to you.

I presume that it is permissible to divide society into three groups: those who never need social care, those who are nearly always in need of it, and, finally, the intermediate group. This last group is overwhelmingly the largest of the three. From it come some of the people who must receive social care. They come because of certain causes. The first cause is a great social catastrophe, such as a flood or an earthquake. The second cause is human frailty, such as illness or mental disability. The third cause is some social or economic disturbance, as where the breadwinner of the family is out of work. And finally, cases come to you because of some defect in the administration of justice, resulting in a denial of justice to the individual. With the other causes of social breakdown we need not deal here. But with the denial of justice it is necessary to stop for a time to consider the significance of the problem. It affects the country as a whole because it tends to create a class of persons who are denied justice and who are therefore outside the law, are outlaws.

It affects the organized bar because the organized bar is charged with the duty of administering justice. It affects social workers because it adds to the already too large group of persons in the community who must come to you for the necessities of life.

What do we mean by the denial of justice? There are three ways in which the law can operate to deprive a poor man of his rights. The law may require that certain preliminary costs be paid before a man may start suit in court. If the poor man cannot raise the necessary money he is shut out of court and so is denied justice. The law and practice may require that a period of time elapse between the time when the case is started and when judgment is finally delivered, and a further time may elapse before

the winning party may be able to collect his damages. If the poor man must have his money at once for food, it is a denial of justice that he should be required to wait a week, a month, or a year before he receives what the law clearly says he is entitled to. The law may require that certain complicated papers be filed or that certain legal steps be taken in a legal proceeding. The poor man cannot take these steps himself. He must hire a lawyer to do the work for him, particularly if his adversary has a lawyer. If the poor man cannot pay for legal services he may be denied justice.

Now what remedies are there for this denial of justice? If the law provides a proceeding by which, in certain cases, the court costs may be waived in the interest of a poor litigant, these costs cease to be a barrier to justice. If specialized courts, such as small-claims courts, domestic-relations courts, and industrial-accident tribunals, are established, the length of time of handling many of the cases will be very materially shortened, and delay will cease to be a large factor in the denial of justice. But there are always cases where a lawyer is needed. There are always papers to be drawn, petitions to be presented, motions to be made, cross-examination of witnesses, and the thousand and one details of court life to be disposed of. No one can handle such matters except persons trained in the law. A litigant cannot proceed with any certainty unless he has professional advice, and where the party on the other side retains high-priced counsel it is rather too much to expect the poor man to be satisfied with no lawyer at all. It is too much of a handicap. So there have never been any adequate solutions to the problem, except two. The first of these is to kill off all of the lawyers. This idea has met with favor at various times and always occurs to the losing party in litigation. But as a serious matter it cannot be done all at once. The only other solution is to provide a lawyer for the poor man without cost.

This, in its simplest form, is legal-aid work—supplying a lawyer for those persons in the community who cannot afford to pay for one, and who, if they did not have the services of a lawyer, might be denied justice. It will be apparent here that to foster legal aid is to take out a form of insurance against social breakdown.

It may be well at this point to illustrate the situation by a case of the sort with which you all are familiar. I can vouch for the facts of it because I handled it myself about a year ago while I was chief counsel for the Philadelphia Legal Aid Bureau. It is one which you yourselves could duplicate many times over. A widow had an aged mother and two children dependent upon her for support. By hard work she had educated herself as a stenographer and was in search of a position. She saw an advertisement in one of the Philadelphia papers to the effect that a certain John Jones wanted a stenographer to do confidential work. Whether it was the use of the word "confidential" or whether it was merely a desire to get some money into the house at once, I do not know, but the woman did call to see the employer. After a little conversation he decided to engage her for \$30 a week. Her duties were to tend office and to take in such money as should come in. The nature of Mr. Jones's work was not disclosed. She was delighted with the thought of \$30 per week because she was so new in her business. One last condition was attached, however. This was that in view of the confidential nature of the work she would be required to deposit with the employer the sum of \$100 to guarantee her honesty. She accepted the position and went home with a happy face to try to borrow the \$100. She finally obtained it from a pawnbroker by pledging almost everything she had in the world except the clothing which she was wearing. The money was given to the employer, a receipt taken, and the next day she went to

work. It turned out that there was little work to be done. She sat in the office. Occasionally Mr. Jones would come in. Occasionally she wrote letters to oil speculators about investments, but no money was given or received. At the end of the week Mr. Jones told her he would pay her every two weeks. And she was so anxious for the position that she did not fight about it. She went home and borrowed food from the neighbors to keep her family going. She borrowed money from the other neighbors to pay the pawnbroker, and she looked forward to the end of the second week with intense interest. It came, but no money with it. Mr. Jones was not in the office. She finally succeeded in locating him on the phone. He refused to pay her. She resigned and demanded her wages and the \$100 back. He refused and told her to look at her receipt. The receipt which she held for the \$100 was worded to read that she agreed to allow Mr. Jones to retain the \$100 for sixty days in case she should cease to work for him. She knew nothing about law; whether such a transaction was legal or not. So she went out and walked the streets and wondered whether it would be better to jump into the river and end it all. She realized that Mr. Jones's only occupation was taking the money away from her and other stenographers.

This story illustrates several things. In the first place, in Philadelphia she could have done nothing with such a case without advice from a lawyer. She had no money to pay a lawyer and was afraid to ask at a law office for fear she might incur additional expense. If she had consulted a lawyer he would have told her that to start suit in such a case would require at least \$6 to get into court and perhaps \$15 or \$20 in court costs before she could have completed the case. And, finally, it would have consumed at least two months of time before she could have had the case tried, judgment awarded her, the sheriff sent around to Mr. Jones's and the money collected and paid over to her. And such work would have cost the lawyer hours of time, for which he should be compensated, in all fairness to himself, by a fee of from \$15 to \$25.

Here was a denial of justice because of the court costs, because of the delay of court proceedings, and because of the need for and expense of counsel. If the woman did not receive the money which was rightly due her, she would be required to seek help for herself, her mother, and her children from a social agency, already straining its treasury to the utmost to care for other unfortunates. And yet all this time the courts were in session, laws were on the statute books, and the constitution of Pennsylvania, in words similar to the constitutions of nearly all of the states, provided that: "All courts shall be open and every man for an injury done him in his lands, goods, person, or reputation shall have remedy by due course of law and right and justice administered without sale, denial or delay." If she could receive this remedy she would be again perfectly normal and self-supporting. Denied justice, four persons would be made paupers. And yet it was her poverty which did deny her justice. When justice is denied any person, man or woman, merely because of the poverty of that person, it is time for organized society to step in and remove the barrier.

We are faced in this country with the problem of seeing that justice is made available for everyone without regard to class. Our fundamental documents of government, the Constitution of the United States and those of the various states, all guarantee justice as one of the fundamental advantages promised to those who wish to live under our form of government. What must a poor person think who is taught to believe that justice is guaranteed to everyone in this country without distinction, and who finds that there is a class which, because of its poverty, is outside the law? I imagine that

such a person is inclined to regard the constitutions and laws and guaranties as nothing more than black marks on white paper shut up in books, and I think organized society has only itself to blame if he and others in his situation are made outlaws and act as outlaws. The duty of organized society is to find the remedy and apply it, and the sooner the better. What we need is something to take those black marks off the white paper and give them flesh and blood, to make them ring true in the ears of everyone who needs them. America must learn that the law is a living, vital thing. We must recognize that we adopted this form of government because it promised us certain things. We must make good that promise or our own faith in the law and in our system of government will fail, and we will revert to a state of anarchy. We, as well as the poor man, need a machinery of justice which operates smoothly, impartially, efficiently, and without denial.

The case of which I have told you gives only one feature of legal-aid work; there are cases having to do with wages, with landlord and tenant troubles, with domestic difficulties, with contracts, with accident cases, with estates of decedents, with minors, with bankruptcy, with crimes, in fact, with practically every branch of law. The poor man has problems not unlike his wealthier neighbor. They do not include such large sums of money, but they mean as much to him as millions mean to the other man. Often they mean more because his livelihood is at stake. Unless the law can come home to every man in time of need we may have our citizens taking the law into their own hands.

Legal-aid work began in New York City in 1876. In that year there was one organization which handled 212 cases and collected for its clients the sum of \$1,000. Today there are sixty-eight active organizations doing legal-aid work in various of the larger cities of the United States. In the year 1922 these organizations handled over 123,000 cases and collected for their clients, in amounts averaging less than \$15, over \$520,000 which had been unlawfully withheld from them. In the last five years over \$2,250,000 has thus been collected. It is worth a moment's thought to realize that there are today in the United States persons who unlawfully will withhold wages and other sums of money from the poor to the amount of \$500,000 a year. Because of this fact thousands of persons become dependent on charity. It is a commentary on our national ideals of fair play, honesty, and justice that so many poor people should be defrauded and that an equal number of dishonest people should go unpunished. The result is that social workers must spend much time, thought, and money before these unfortunates can adapt themselves to the altered circumstances.

Now you will probably ask what this has to do with your particular city. I want to bring out your side of the problem and say to you that unless your city has a legal-aid organization, it ought to have one; and unless you can get someone better than yourself to start one, it is your duty, as a citizen and as a social worker, to see that organized society, as represented in your city, awakens to its responsibilities in this direction.

Let me give you an actual picture of a legal-aid bureau. In Philadelphia we have an office in the city hall. The city council gives us an annual appropriation of about \$27,000. We have eleven attorneys, four investigators, and six members of the clerical staff. An applicant for aid comes in and sees a clerk who takes down his name and address and such information about him as will enable the bureau to determine whether it is a case where the applicant should seek a private attorney or not. This information is entered on a card. The card and the applicant are brought in to the lawyer at the

interviewing desk. He listens to the story and gives advice, or writes a letter, or turns the case over to the court attorney if the circumstances justify such action. He may assign an investigator to look into the case and report back to him. Cases are kept up to date by a special follow-up system which brings out all cards for attention at least once a week. The place is a law office except that more cases are handled there than in any other law office in Pennsylvania, and no bills are sent out.

This picture has been in the minds of the organized bar of this country. The organized bar, which is our other foster parent, is likewise making a rapid advance in giving adequate assistance to these law offices for the poor man. A number of local bar associations personally supervise the action of the local legal-aid organizations, witness Philadelphia, Detroit, and Columbus. In Connecticut a state-wide act provides legal aid in criminal cases for the poor man. In Illinois the state bar association has arranged to supply legal aid throughout the state. And the American Bar Association, at its meeting last summer, unanimously adopted the report of a committee of which Reginald Heber Smith, author of *Justice and the Poor*, was a member, recommending that every local bar association establish a legal-aid committee to care actively for legal-aid clients in the smaller cities, and in the larger cities to establish and supervise the actual organizations.

Social workers feel that a legal-aid office should be more than a mere law office. The time has come for you social workers as well as the bar to show your interest by determining the real position which legal aid occupies. The organized bar is not at all sure that legal-aid work is more than mere law work. The bar is awake to the situation and is promoting the law office. Legal-aid workers themselves, in between the bar and social workers, are trying honestly to work out their position. Miss Waldo, as chairman of the committee of the National Alliance of Legal Aid Societies, or the relation between legal aid and social work, has prepared a most remarkable report on this subject, copies of which are available for distribution. Further study of the problem is necessary for us. A wrong decision at this time may forever wreck our chance of usefulness.

I have spoken of establishing an organization in some cities and a committee in others to do legal-aid work. Of what size must a city be to justify an actual legal-aid organization? Statistics show that a well-managed legal-aid organization will care for about one person in every hundred of population. In the smaller cities this group of people can be cared for by the local bar-association committee. In cities of 50,000 and over there should be an actual organization. Pittsfield, Massachusetts, with a population of 41,000, has an active organization caring for about 400 persons a year who need legal aid. In about sixty cities of the United States of this size there are organizations. In eighty-four cities of similar size there is apparently no trace of legal-aid work. Here indeed is a field of activity for socially minded persons.

Let us look at the matter from another point of view. Of the 110,000,000 people in the United States, a recent survey has disclosed approximately 8,000,000 who, in their family groups, receive an income of \$800 per year and no more. These persons cannot ever possibly afford to pay a lawyer for legal services. And yet they are just as much in need of justice as their richer brethren. Their problems are just as troublesome, their burdens just as heavy to bear as the problems and burdens of any other class in the community. On the basis of one legal-aid client to every 100 population of our great urban communities, it is not unreasonable to assume the existence each

year in this country of a group of approximately 500,000 poor persons who need justice. The active legal-aid organizations take care of 200,000 of these, but what happens to the other 300,000 where there is no such machinery? They apparently are left to get along as best they are able.

But this is not the only side of the problem. We have spoken of 500,000 persons each year who are deprived of their rights, in many cases with impunity. A menace to us all is this other group, also of half a million persons, who, with impunity violate the rights of the first group, and, to use a graphic phrase, get away with it. If organized society permits 500,000 persons each year to be victimized and another 500,000 to violate the law and get away with it, we are piling up a dreadful debt which must be paid sometime. And we have only ourselves to blame. The problem for you is, Why should social agencies be burdened with the care of this group of people whose difficulties are really defects in the administration of justice? A remedy lies in establishing legal-aid organizations in all your cities. The saving feature about the whole matter is the point of view of justice of our people who will see that a remedy is applied once they are convinced that a remedy is needed. If we can prove to the American people at large that the promise of American life is not being made good to any group of persons in this country, there is no question but that the necessary steps will be taken to adjust the matter. There is no fault to find with the laws of our country. They are remarkably fair and are designed to operate with absolute equality on all classes of persons in the community. There is no fault to find with our judges, who are probably the most able, conscientious, and thoroughly upright group of public servants that we have. The trouble lies with the machinery by which the law is brought out of the books and home to the individual. The problem is so to adjust our machinery for administering justice that it may be available for anyone. Legal-aid work is no panacea, but in its own field it is the efficient method of handling the problem.

The fundamental documents of our government contain certain ideals which we are accustomed to regard as the promise of American life. We are promised a government of laws and not of men, a government based upon clearly thought-out rules rather than decisions based upon some individual whim. We are promised equal protection of the law, a guaranty that before the law all men are equal, that no man because of the class to which he belongs shall be above the law or below it. We are promised equal protection of the law with respect to our lives, our liberties, and our property, whether that property be a billion-dollar corporation or a weekly wage of \$6. These things all of us have as matters of right. A legal-aid organization in your city, honestly conceived, carefully planned, and efficiently operated, will go far to take these guaranties and promises out of the books and make them live again in letters of fire as they lived when first written centuries ago. This is one way in which we as Americans can keep the faith.

SOCIAL POINT OF VIEW IN LEGAL AID WORK

Alice Waldo, Director of Investigations, Voluntary Defenders Committee of the Legal Aid Society, New York

It has been good to hear Mr. Bradway advise you as social workers to return to your home towns and organize legal aid societies, but as a social worker I want to amend his suggestion. Do all you can to make everyone realize the necessity of a legal aid organization, but interest the best lawyers and the bar association early in

your campaign, otherwise you will find yourselves in deep waters. You will need their co-operation and services, for legal aid is a highly technical job, and to be effective, there must be lawyers on the staff if your town is of any size. Some societies function well as a purely social body, calling in the services of a lawyer only when all conciliatory means have failed. This is a disputed matter, but the importance of the co-operation of the bar cannot be stated too strongly.

We have heard of the stray child that legal aid is, or has been, so now let us make this a family discussion and consider all who are here as social workers for the time being at least.

Upon us rests the responsibility for making lawyers and legal aid societies especially recognize the need for co-operation with social workers and social work. The need that we have for the assistance they can render us is met by the need they have for what we can do for them and the problems they are dealing with. From my own experience I have learned to know the value of the legal point of view—the habit of taking one feature of a problem and relating all facts to that in relative importance. The problem stands out, clear and distinct, and may be approached with a greater degree of certainty in its solution. We have situations so complex and urgent thrust upon us that we are often at a loss to know which end to pick up first. We will do well to learn the method of lawyers and analyze our materials. Then it is our part to persuade lawyers to see that, though the legal issue has been dealt with and disposed of, there remains the mass of social facts which gave it being. Unless this is resolved and intelligently handled we have a vicious circle which again will give rise to legal situations in the future.

If my illustrations have the emphasis of the criminal law, as Mr. Bradway's have that of the civil, it is because I am more familiar with that procedure. The criminal law leaves no doubt of the necessity for the close co-operation of social work, as we have demonstrated in the voluntary defenders' committee in New York City.

One of the best means of bringing legal aid lawyers to see that social work is indispensable as an ally is the social service exchange. The road to conviction is often uphill, for they fear the violation of the sacred relation of lawyer and client. They do not know that the social worker is as jealous of the confidences of his or her client as the most particular of attorneys. One is sometimes of the belief that the code of ethics is in the language of psychiatry, a defense mechanism, so seldom is a real test made or unbiased investigation undertaken.

It has been most interesting to find, in a study recently undertaken by the National Alliance of Legal Aid Societies of the use of the social service exchange by legal aid organizations, that in Minneapolis the exchange has been in use for a number of years. The report for the year 1922, which was sent me, showed that a large number of cases were known to nine or ten organizations, and one to twenty-one! It is possible to visualize what may be done in the way of prevention of social ills when there is complete and intelligent co-operation of legal aid and social work. In Minneapolis the legal aid society acts as counsel for sixty-odd social agencies when they have need of such services. Other cities can point to similar results, while still others are stonily against the use of the exchange or of giving any information. They accept all they can get when a social agency refers a case for assistance.

Perhaps the best working out of the legal aid society with a social agency in practice is in Chicago, where the two organizations are affiliated and the interchange of services is complete.

Too often our impression of the lawyer in practice is gained in our contacts with the men who are appearing for our poor clients, the ambulance-chaser type, whom we know in New York as the jitney bar, the black watch, or shysters; whose sole concern is that they be paid no matter how or where the money is obtained. This prejudice is carried to all members of the bar, and can be best dispelled by contacts with high-minded lawyers in legal aid work, whose status is the same as ours, in that they are on salary, and whose concern is justice and not money. Legal aid gives a great opportunity to lawyers who desire to give this kind of service, but we must have the backing of the bar as a whole.

I cannot emphasize too often the benefit which we gain in contact with such lawyers and that I, personally, have experienced in dealing with them, and especially do I owe a debt of gratitude to Reginald Heber Smith, author of *Justice and the Poor*. In the past two years I have learned from his book, and from the letters which he has written in answer to my questions, the best I know of legal aid.

Often lawyers with whom I have talked have spoken of social workers as though we were wild Bolsheviks, ready to disrupt the world overnight. They think that because we rail at injustices in perhaps a heated fashion when we see intolerable conditions, we seek the abolition of law and lawyers. We must let them know that it is far from our intention, and that as we clarify and define the bounds and limits of our new profession, we will aim to have more and better-fitted workers in our field, as they now are taking measures to improve the standards in theirs.

Here I think it will be appropriate to give you a sad tale from my own experience, which will illustrate many points we have been discussing. Something over a year ago a man came into our office as we were closing one evening, saying that he had been sent by a woman acquaintance of mine. She had told him of my desire to study law without giving up my position, which is one of the most interesting in the world. He offered a correspondence course in law, finishing with the degree of LL.B. and guaranteeing that the completion of the course would admit me to the bar in New York state. I wigwagged to one of our attorneys, but as he was more intent on getting home than seeing signals, I was left to make my own decision. I fell for the proposition, especially as the blue sheet accompanying the booklets he gave me repeated the guarantee. He also gave me an imposing sheet bearing a gold seal which showed that a "scholarship" worth \$123 had been conferred upon me in return for which I was to interview not more than twenty-four persons in two years and urge them to take the course. I also signed a small strip of paper which I later found was a note and had obligated myself to pay the amount agreed upon or be sued, paying all the costs of the suit.

No sooner was the deed done than I knew I had been a fool, and I began my investigations, determined that if I had paid \$5, I should get my moneys worth of experience out of it, and perhaps help save someone else from a similar mistake. I wrote to the regents of the state of New York and the secretary of one of the Illinois law schools, as the firm had an office in New York. The replies confirmed my worst fears, for in each state I was told that no credit is given for any work done in a correspondence course in law for entrance to the bar examinations.

The time had come for confession. I told our attorneys what I had done and they listened patiently till I had told the facts, and they advised me, only laughing when I had done with the sorry tale. A letter was written at once to the "school" telling them that because of fraud the contract was null and void, that I did not wish any more

of the lessons, was returning those left with me; and that I would send back at their expense all lessons received in the future. I also demanded my money back. Needless to say I never got it.

But I kept, then and subsequently, all advertising material, and each evening worked on my investigation, writing to the bar association in each state from which a supposed letter of recommendation came, all undated, obtaining the standing and present address of each lawyer who was supposed to advocate the system. In each letter to the bar associations I asked for the requirements for bar examinations. It proved that in practically every state written to no credit was given for correspondence courses, and that all of the lawyers were indignant at the use of their names, and had never sanctioned their use. One man was dean of a law school and another president of a state bar association.

A couple of months after I had started my investigation the meeting of the American Bar Association on the standards of legal education was held here in Washington. It seemed that the material I had collected was of enough importance to offer it to the bar association. So I wrote to Chief Justice Taft and to Mr. Elihu Root and had very gracious replies from both, with the result that my material is now in the hands of the committee on education of the American Bar Association for such use as they see fit to make of it. I only hope it will spare some of the 25,000 pupils whom they boast as having throughout the United States from the bitter disappointment which will be theirs if they apply for the right to take the bar examinations after two years of study and find themselves where they started. The final chapter in my story apparently was written when, nearly a year after my contract was made, during which time I had been bombarded with red-and black-inked letters, and trite sayings from authors old and new, I received a letter from a lawyer in New York saying that he had been retained by the "school" and that unless I paid the balance of my fees, he would proceed to sue me. Our chief counsel, Mr. Fabricant, wrote him that I had notified the concern of the fraud, and outlined the subsequent history, that the material collected was now in the hands of the American Bar Association, and that I would welcome any suit. Silence has resulted.

This experience has shown me several things, one, the open-mindedness of the leaders of the bar and their readiness to co-operate if statements are based on fact; their earnest desire to eliminate fraud, and to standardize and elevate the requirements for the bar. Also, that it is a wholesome thing to experience the feelings of one inside, not outside, the legal barrier, for most of us go through life without any notion of what it is like to be entangled in a legal process, and we realize thankfully the skill and technical knowledge of the competent lawyer.

Another way in which legal aid and social work may co-operate to the great benefit of the community is where the question of the enactment of legislation arises. Often work is done before the field has been thoroughly searched for existing laws which simply lack enforcement. In situations where corrective or preventive legislation seems desirable, why not enlist the interest of our legal aid society to advise us as to existing legislation, and, should new be needed, help us to draft it?

There are causes a plenty for us to espouse. The other day I was fortunate in going to a meeting of the Big Brothers and Sisters at which Judge C. R. Bradford, of the juvenile court of Salt Lake City spoke of the urgent need of Congressional action to change the decision of the Supreme Court ruling that no suspended sentences can be

given in a federal court. Judges prove their social-mindedness in the face of definite legal restrictions in their refusal to impose sentence and deferring it indefinitely, well knowing that the separation by hundreds, if not thousands, of miles of children from their homes works social injury and does not promote justice.

Let us realize the tasks that confront any judge in the administration of law, and realize in co-operation with our legal aid societies how we may assist and not hinder; we should remember that every day new situations arise to be adjudicated which have been undreamed of by the framers of the laws. Justice Cardozo in his delightful book *The Nature of the Judicial Process* makes this vividly clear, and makes one yearn for the time when the social point of view, the livableness of the human being in law, may be the equipment of every judge.

Here then is our great opportunity to create a feeling of confidence and willingness to co-operate between legal aid and social work by showing ourselves ready to learn and improve our methods of doing things. Lawyers will prove to have infinite patience if we will meet them half way, and by exposing them to the infection of our newer and less highly organized kind of endeavor, we can bring about a working solution of many of our vexed problems in complete co-operation of legal aid with social work.

GROWTH OF SCIENTIFIC UNDERSTANDING OF MENTALITY AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO SOCIAL WORK

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What is mentality? Our Standard Dictionary tells us that mentality is the sum of mental faculties or powers, as distinguished from the physical; it is mental activity, intellectuality, or the cast or habit of mind. On a better knowledge and control of the available and the undeveloped mentality depends a great deal of our program in social betterment and in social work generally, and this use of the word, with the facts it draws into our purview, makes me choose the relatively broad conception of mentality, of the mind as it appears and works, not merely as the intellect, but rather as the personality.

Man's notion of man not only was but still is in a definitely unscientific and partly anti-scientific stage, and though in the hands of many philosophers it is at least rational, yet full of unjustified presuppositions. Among these stands foremost the idea that mentality is a feature that cannot be treated in the same objective way as the rest of the facts of the world.

Man's knowledge of man generally and specifically has had a peculiarly devious development. Early man was so engrossed with conquering his environment and defending himself against enemies that there was little room for acquiring any abstract knowledge of himself. At the same time the slow evolution of mind itself so obviously failed to furnish even the necessary capacity for scientific accuracy that mythological and philosophical imagination had its sway for thousands of years before the era of science dawned. From the start, man's view of himself naturally was but part of the dominating view of the universe as he saw it. And in this undoubtedly a wealth of thought is registered from the earliest historical period, furnishing clear evidence of very long epochs of human mentality.

Science, as we understand it today, is a specific method of dealing with facts. It is systematized common sense, but of a type demanding, first, exact observation and experimental control of facts, and, second, methodical formulation of the facts and the principles or laws. Science stands opposed to uncritical knowledge, such as knowledge by intuition and fancy, if such knowledge at all deserves the commonly accepted implication of what is meant by knowledge. Fancy, assumption, hypothesis, belief, and more or less crude, actual experience—these are the raw materials out of which science arises as soon as we put the emphasis on objective validity and trial by all the rules of experimentation and not only the rules of reasoning. Science is man's way of bringing order into his own vision of the facts, and his vision of the facts is laid down in his language and formulations in words and number signs, but above all in the practical command of the facts themselves, as shown in experimentation.

For a long time, repeating in a way the manner in which the human mind with its tendency toward universals and noumena dealt with nature and facts generally, the scientific study of mentality kept in unduly abstract spheres, as if we had to confine our study to the aspect of man, to which eternity is ascribed. And then to counteract this tendency with another extreme, the conscientious scientist arose with the attempt to explain mind out of the brain and the glands of man, as if mind were a product of the individual alone and not a development of habits largely molded also in social contacts. Both of these tendencies are metaphysical and destined to yield ultimately to a method of objective science, which takes the facts as it finds them and studies them for their differential characteristics, the conditions under which they arise, the way they work, their effects, and the means of modifying them.

With the application of the scientific method to the study of mentality there first came a phase during which psychology tried to establish itself through an elaborate use of quantitative methods, limiting psychology, as the science was and is called, to a science purely of the data of consciousness. In this it rid itself first of the soul concept and kept itself in virtuous aloofness from the concepts of causality that govern the natural sciences, and even from genetics. It became an essentially descriptive science, made particularly limited through the paralyzing and devitalizing formula of psycho-physical parallelism. In the hands of a few it rid itself further of the mind concept and finally even of that of consciousness, and turned to a strict behaviorism, and within this frame of transformations we have had by contractions and re-expansions a number of editions of so-called "new psychology," of which we want to outline the outstanding trends.

If there is any one trait common to man, it is his individuality, inequality, and remarkable variation and variability. The practical realization of such differences must be as old as man's appreciation of man. They naturally suggested a quantitative approach. In a way, the scientific understanding of these differences of personal equipment received a first pragmatic contact with rigorous science only as late as 1795, when Maskelyne dismissed Kinnebrook, an observer at the Greenwich Observatory, because of the excessive personal variation in his reaction-time.

With Fechner and with Wundt, when he initiated laboratory work in psychology in 1878, efforts to establish quantitative methods were uppermost, and Hipp's chronoscope lent especially great scientific dignity to psychological science with the rise of researches on reaction-time. Accuracy of time-measurements for a long period dazzled the would-be psychologist. Weber's law of the relations of stimuli and the just per-

ceptible differences of sensation was of this quantitative order. We need not wonder that in judging the result of these labors William James spoke of much of the scientific psychology as a laborious demonstration of the obvious. The early efforts were largely efforts to acquire a standing for psychology among the sciences by showing that it can use quantitative methods.

Somehow, in order to work peacefully and unmolested, academic psychology found it of advantage, if not logically necessary, to limit itself to strict introspection, and even when the behavioristic wave came, it made a special point to keep its skirts absolutely clear of the psychology not only of morality, ethics, and religion, but of all the most truly dynamic interests of life. It limited itself to the pursuit of the study of the sensations, neutral associations, and thought processes, and, finally, a venture with the work-curve, the learning-curves, and the use of trial-and-error devices akin to the puzzle box and maze of the animal experiments, and a certain amount of flirtation with the natural history term "instinct."

There were, however, a few insurgents who wanted to include in the individuality more vital human facts and distinctions, and, as the broadest and most courageous among these, we find G. Stanley Hall, who urged his appeals in behalf of child study and a frank attack on all kinds of human problems. He was, and is, an unhesitating pragmatist temperamentally, if not theoretically. With him, the principle must have been that nothing human should be foreign to the psychologist. Above all things he was most devotedly interested in child study, and in a biological and genetic approach, uncritical as it may have been with its bold exploitation of the recapitulation theory, and a characteristic post-Darwinian method of piling up analogies as well as examples in proof of his theses. It was again Stanley Hall's group that was ready to see a large contribution to psychology in the tests of Binet and Simon, which came to replace the overaccurate and formal psychometric studies of Cattell and others on college students by sets of simple performances, viewed no longer from the angle of absolute quantity, but from the much simpler and direct one of success or failure.

We do well to realize that the venture of Binet and Simon came only eighteen years ago, no doubt intended frankly as a modest effort, born essentially of practical exigencies—the call for a safer grading of Paris school children; hardly understood by the originators as a move that might for a time command the central interest in psychology. The outstanding feature of this move is its confidence in the value of sampling a variously wide range of objective performances, and not merely testing and measuring an abstract mind.

In the meantime, about 1905, there had arisen the movement of medical social work through Cabot in Boston, and in New York through a revolt against an attempt to introduce old-fashioned after-care principles in psychiatry into the state system.

The "new psychology," which Scripture had extolled to us in the nineties (some of you may have seen the book once present on many bookshelves), would hardly have startled any social workers. But things proved different with respect to another wave which had started in the eighties with occupation, hypnotism, work with multiple personalities, and hysteria, was further developed in the nineties, and came, in the first decade of the present century, to take the more finished form of what we now know as psycho-analysis, with its preoccupation with the unconscious, the emphasis on the sex-instinct, and, later, also on the ego-instincts. Seeing man in the light of mythology and the fancy of the psychoneurotic, but at least in really human and vital terms—

that was to my mind the fundamental contribution and stroke of genius of the movement.

Freud's concepts arose from the attempt to understand the principles at work in hysteria and in other abnormal and unusual conditions which do not conform with the usual formulations of human life. Back of the supposedly banal realities of ordinary human experience Freud had the courage to see a latent unconscious reality in the form of mankind's struggle for happiness reflecting itself in the individual life; and especially in the *naïve* dream more personally expressed than in socialized waking life. Freud was led to see in the dream the very revelation of the individual's nature, because it carries on a kind of disguising of reality in a manner of hide and seek that has made its use in the old quest for a secret of the real nature of man all the more tempting. Freud, made an involuntary psychologist of every human being, a betrayer rather than a revealer of his own nature, and he assured for himself a widespread interest through his working with the dream, the very activity that had intrigued man for ages and aroused all the curiosity modern man seems to need to turn his interest to a fact as common as human nature. Instead of generalities and abstract concepts, he used the similarly intriguing concrete facts of sex-life as the bearers of all the forces at work, and released all the pent-up curiosity and eagerness of talk and fascination required for a sensation. Freud's theory has proved most fruitful, fascinating, and stimulating where plain, common sense could not make an impression. It has the vital elements that were lacking in most other efforts: it is intensely dynamic and speaks of absolute determination of life in contrast to the peculiarly timid evasion of casual thinking in most psychologies.

Unfortunately, while Freud has given us a broadening and humanizing of our conception of mentality, his theories have also tended to fix in the minds of many certain questionable obsessions in their philosophy of life, from which we would be glad to be freed, so as to be able to turn to more neutral ground again. The consequence of these modern psychometric and psycho-analytic developments was: on the one hand, a tendency to rule-of-thumb measurements, unfortunately largely neglecting, if not belittling, the personality features, just as had been done by the soul-shy and mind-shy factions of academic psychology; on the other hand, a humanizing psychology, but, unfortunately, one getting its impetus largely from the lessons of mythology and hysteria, where we might prefer a confident front attack upon an average man as we all should know him.

In connection with psychiatric work, but from an angle quite different from Freudism, there had developed during the last twenty-five years a less spectacular objective psycho-biology, which may well furnish an obligatory background of any dependable scientific understanding of mentality, including that needed for social work and law. The chief point in this conception of objective psycho-biology is that it looks for an understanding of mentality which does not merely see intelligence tests or a reduction of man's life to sex and to the unconscious, but begins with and turns back again to a frank and reasonably balanced review of man's responsiveness and his positive and negative assets in the form of specific samples from the whole wide range of practical performance. It surveys, according to the extent of specific demand, the jobs and recreations, the interests and ambitions, personal, educational, civic and political, moral and religious, and the balance of actual performance and ambitions and opportunity, as shown best in concrete performance, but also, and I want to emphasize this

specifically in contrast to the mere performance psychology, in the capacity for satisfaction and for what I should like to call "constructive composure," composure in the best sense of the word; that is, putting oneself together in rest for new activity and new responsiveness.

This gives us a science which would mean the acceptance of man as the product of physico-chemical, biological, and finally psycho-biological integration, an intrinsically social type of individual, the heir, structurally and culturally, of a succession of civilizations, with their languages and literatures, their art and architecture, their traditions and customs, their religions, philosophies, and codes of life. We study the biologically and psycho-biologically integrated individual for its performance and behavior and activity and achievement, for its general and specific attainments, and the conditions for their successes and failures; we study it as well for all the soul and spirit and mind we may get concrete facts for, whether shown in action or in that inward and outward adjustment which, for want of a better term, I emphasize as constructive composure, including leisure, faith and conviction, culture and philosophy, and other apparently imponderable realities of life and of man.

I am tempted to introduce the further discussion with the question; Will the social worker learn more from psychiatry or from normal life? I am inclined to think that the more of his or her experience the social worker learns to get from normal life and its variations, and not largely through the overspecialized taste for a kind of dime-museum oddity, the better social work will fare. These are my reasons: it may look as if psychiatry of today had received its light and salvation exclusively from the study of the abnormal along lines quite different from our common-sense knowledge of man; it may look as if you cannot possibly do justice to man if you do not talk largely in terms of internal secretions, of psychometrics, or of the unconscious and of rationalization and the outcroppings of the repressed unconscious, of the dominance and compelling urgency of the sex-instinct, and the whole of life as little more than a by-product of sex-yearning. This I do not believe to be the best reading of the facts as they are. But as I see the facts in my patients, I get the truest and safest picture from a dependable common-sense account as little altered as possible by theoretical jargon, which is usually based more or less on assumptions. Whatever the more highly specialized methods furnish us fits easily into this setting. Just because it may sometimes be necessary to point to unconscious factors, I do not consider it desirable to start the student of normal or average human nature, and the helpers in the care of my patients, on a scheme which focusses the attention on what it might take months of systematic self-pondering, called "analysis" to bring out in a manner that would amount to scientific proof.

In my training of medical students, I have each student work out a fairly systematic personality study of the worker himself or herself and a more summary sketch of a few outstandingly contrasting classmates or known persons. Instead of accepting adjectives and general descriptive comment, I ask the student to develop the habit of making statements of definite situations and reactions and actual performance and ambitions apt to bring out the distinctive personal traits for their bearing on concrete personal life-problems, and especially those which might call for a specific personality study. Essentially the same thing I do with my patients, in whom I may interest myself infinitely more in what is normal and working than would be the case with the overspecialized psychopathologist.

In training social workers I should frankly espouse the task of looking in each personality study and case record for the plain, actual personal problems. I should then see whether and to what extent the individual under consideration shows or fails to show a capacity to use his or her assets, partly by considering the successes, but, since the successes might be the results of gambling, also the capacity for constructive composure.

The cultivation of this practical background appears to me urgent for scientific as well as practical reasons. In the first place, we have to remind many hasty generalizers that intelligence tests cannot be used without such a background, as rule-of-thumb measures, without a revulsion of the victims, both the tested and those for whom the tests are made. In the second place, psycho-analytic generalizations had best be kept on a similarly pragmatic basis. The actually dependable psycho-analytic work takes months and years, and is fitted only to exceptionally chosen persons. It remains a matter of practical demonstration which will be the best training for a social worker. But I for one shall try to make more and more convincing and attractive the study of the accessible facts and their use in contrast to that of the exotic and largely dogmatic.

The great calamity in present-day life is the loss of a sense and appreciation of points and periods of satisfaction and rest instead of the never ending craving for stimulation and excitement. One of the principal goals of the social worker is to find a way to a safer and saner and less haphazard- or theory-ridden individual and social existence. There is a tremendous need, not only for success and temporary gratification, but for more lasting and restful and yet constructive satisfactions, and for the capacity for what the word composure may well suggest. There is too much dependence on stimulation and excitement and too little on activity, which leads to restful satisfaction. To help people find their place in nature and in the social fabric, to get visions of achievement rather than destructive propaganda à la class-consciousness and class-emphasis, to cultivate cause for confidence rather than juvenile chafing and suspicion of interference where we really just want the right kind of order and self-regulation, to attain poise and to attain satisfaction under a creative rather than violently revolutionary régime—that is what most of us yearn for at heart. Are we cultivating a knowledge of mentality and of humanity that will get us there?

The setting for a real hygiene of mentality should be, above all, practicable, sane, and satisfying as we go along. No one line will bring us exclusive salvation. We need a religious getting-together; we need an intellectual-philosophical getting-together; a religious-philosophical background for a reasonably undisturbed grasp of the opportunities offered in the common goals of ethics, moralities, and ideals of life, and, above all things, practical types of socially practicable happiness and creativeness.

In our study and in our practical work we do not impose upon ourselves any artificial limits or fixed standards of interest in the human aspect of our subjects. While we are agreed that as social workers we do not favor any meddling with the religious, legal, educational, and personal life, we have to understand the person's habits and capacities and ambitions, no matter how different they may be from our own, and we have to learn to help, not to meddle. If we find differences in intelligence tests and the like, we do not allow ourselves to give a verdict without consideration of the facts of the life-history. And in shaping this we look for an expansion of the best critical common sense, and wholesome regard for simplicity and directness, with a frank espousal of a sane behaviorism and objective psycho-biology. This furnishes us a sane and

safe background for all the further detail knowledge, the appreciation of the instincts and their evolution, the evaluation of intellectual and other assets, and of the deep-seated individual and social problems, some of which we might need to unravel along the line of dogmatic psycho-analysis.

What will be of importance in the individual personality-study cannot be settled *a priori*, and should not be viewed under restrictions and limitations of information. The social worker will always do well to keep himself thoroughly alive, not only with regard to charity and education, but with regard to the religious, ethical, artistic, and dramatic manifestations of the day, and especially with regard to the interplay of all the fate-determining factors in the persons with whom he deals. Without a rich and active constructive imagination and an interest in the human problems of those about us, a social worker might easily become a poor routinist, and a kind of Marceline, the Hippodrome clown of fifteen years ago, who always rushed in where things had taken care of themselves anyhow, a kind of superfluous, ludicrous "fuss." The social worker does not have to be mainly a kindly messenger and go-between. He has to demonstrate to an essentially antiscientific public by deed and vision, and usually with silence, that sound training and willingness to understand situations and make available resources of experience is different from meddling. Enthusiasm has to have a solid backbone of controlled method and experience. Modern personality and situation study aims to furnish that. With a truly experimental constructive spirit and a melioristic philosophy we accumulate experiences, and, without neglect of any of the sources of sound knowledge and of inspiration and stimulation, we may well hope to increase and use the ever growing confidence in a scientific understanding of mentality, personality, and life-situations.

What then are the fundamental gains that stand out in the growth of the scientific understanding of mentality?

First, a growing conviction that, as far as possible, we want to go by concrete performances, and not general impressions; that we are dealing not with abstract mentality, but with performances in intelligible and controllable situations, with full confidence that we do justice to both critical common sense and the fundamental principles of science when we single out the human problems worthy of study and calling for work, determine the conditions under which they arise, their working, and the means of experimental modification. With a reasonably well-planned personality record we find in the sphere of psycho-biological integrations a basis for our science as solid and as objective as that in the spheres of physico-chemical, biological, sociological, ultra-biological, mathematical, and other sets of integrations.

A second important gain is the realization that we must consider the individual as a personality, and also the stock from which it was born and the setting in which it grew up, on the basis of a reasonably full life-history.

The third point is a growing confidence, important especially for our relation to the law, that, in proportion as fairness and sound judgment become the rule, we shall be able to overcome the traditions which make people distrust unbiased and unlimited study of facts and still prefer legal and other traditional and arbitrary limitations of evidence and of practice in the work with human beings and their problems.

The fourth point is the conviction, no doubt comforting to those who suspect us as reformers, that there is no room for perfectionism in modern psycho-biology and in social work, but that our philosophy is satisfied to be a sound meliorism, with faith in

human effort. As a background for these developments, unfortunately we still find about us, and sometimes in our midst, the heritage of the past ages and the result of "sloppy" and uncritical irresponsibility concerning clear thinking an extreme that indulges in the notions of omnipotence of thought, calling the really archaic mental attitude "new thought"; and another extreme, that of complete distrust of anything that smacks of psyche or mind and soul and spirit.

Let us remember that we have a science of man called "physical anthropology"; we should cultivate also a functional anthropology and not only physiology on the one hand and ethnology on the other, with a psychology left too much in the abstract. With a sound practical sense for the sweeping or specific assets and problems of the individual and of social groups, we are working for a growing understanding of man's nature and mentality as a solid basis for social work, and also of a sound and progressive law, especially if we study the performance also in the light of what I have here called constructive composure.

To sum up: the human mind has a limited capacity or range of attention. It is apt to become one-sidedly focussed. In the scientific study of mentality there have been conflicting lines of emphasis, some due to presuppositions inherited from the long prehistoric periods of mankind; then the overeager quantitative perfectionism and elementalism; then the insurgent tendencies of psychometrics and psycho-analysis; but, in the background, a steady development of an objective psycho-biology, keeping its feet on the ground of a scientifically critical, common-sense approach. It furnishes a well-balanced setting for social work and law, with an interest in the normalities rather than the sensational, and also, while basing itself on objective concrete performance, making a specially needed point, not only of the acceptance of success and failure as a scientific criterion, in addition to purely quantitative measuring, but also of the call for consideration of what I chose to term "constructive composure."

THE TRANSITION FROM CHARITIES AND CORRECTION TO SOCIAL WORK, 1873-1923, AND THEN?

Julia C. Lathrop, Rockford

The Conference of Charities and Correction was begun in 1873 by a group of men, secretaries of state boards of charities, who were deeply convinced of the responsibility of the state for the protection of its helpless and suffering members in public institutions and elsewhere. They created the conference in the earlier years of the era of institution-building, with the details of which they were necessarily much occupied. Those great secretaries had a noble pity for the misery which they were trying to remedy and, better, they had a noble curiosity as to why that misery existed.

We celebrate the fiftieth anniversary under a new title substituted a few years ago, the Conference of Social Work. Unfortunately it cannot mean that the work of carrying on public institutions is outdated or completed. It does mean that the words "charities and correction" have worn thin and that the eagerness to discover and to cure the causes of social wastage is increasingly the inspiration of those who form the conference. Probably "social work" is a term destined in its time to wear thin, but for the present our title answers the purpose. The celebration of the

fiftieth year as a conference of social work shows many accomplishments and projects of genuine social value.

Yet how sternly we are confronted with examples of tasks uncompleted or still baffling us. The ardor felt for public institutions in their developing period has evaporated with years, and too generally they now lack the intelligent, public interest which can never lapse with safety. The states spend enormous sums. The institutions are still necessary. Prisons, orphanages, hospitals for the insane, institutions for the feeble-minded, the aged, and the handicapped have been multiplied without lessening the numbers coming to their doors. A deadening acceptance of them as inevitable is too much the rule. Only where they have become in a true sense centers of study and of teaching are they really alive.

Undoubtedly Mr. Kelso, as a Massachusetts man, if for no other reason, intends speaking at length on the scientific, ingenious, and courageous work of Dr. Fernald of Massachusetts. It is enough for my point to refer to the fact that what would be under less skilled management a vast custodial institution for the feeble-minded has become under his superintendency a place of scientific research, from which developed methods of work and play and instruction for its population, together with growing plans for the freedom and safety of individuals of feeble minds throughout the state. And these plans promise to make a fundamental change in the treatment of the whole question of how best to deal with the feeble-minded. All of which affords an illustration of what public institutions could become if by firmly established public policy and not by occasional good fortune our ablest young scientists were drawn into the public service from which they are now repelled.

Again an instance: It is significant of the eagerness to understand causes that Dean Kirchwey's recent report on the Cook County (Chicago) jail, making plain its abominable discomfort and crowding, disturbs our complacency most deeply when he shows the economic status of the prisoners. We are told that 97 per cent of the 10,642 prisoners awaiting trial during the year 1921 were charged with bailable offenses, and were held in jail only because they could not get bail. The same report shows that 70 per cent of the 6,000 persons sent to the house of correction in 1921 were committed solely for non-payment of fines,—55 per cent of the fines under \$20. The last federal census showed that in the whole country more than 290,000 persons were in prison in a single year for non-payment of fines. In these grim figures we now clearly see their dark threat against public welfare, but we abandon the mean solace of fatalism and recognize the sure power of public opinion to change this or any social injustice if once made plain and clear. What is more important, we confess our share in the failure to make this particular injustice plain and clear to the general public.

But it does not need illustration to lead the way toward two basic questions which occur in the discussion of the transition from charities and correction to public welfare, a transition incomplete and undefined, leading on we know not how far into the next half century or beyond.

Can we create in fifty years a public service of such practical opportunity and such great ideals that our ablest youth may look toward it as a career?

Can we abolish poverty within fifty years?

If the one hundredth anniversary of the Conference of Social Work can show these questions answered affirmatively, its members will still have work to do of a fineness no one can measure until public service has its rightful place in public respect and until

the gross social waste of sheer poverty is ended. Both tasks should be accomplished in far less than fifty years.

First as to training for public service. No endeavor to secure the best minds for the public service can be effective for public institutions or even for the wider field described as public welfare apart from all the other kinds of public service. Unless public service is seen as one whole, great field, offering adequate rewards of dignity and opportunity for activities requiring ability and integrity, we shall continue to see it abandoned by men of high ambition. Nor can we have scientific ability highly trained for public welfare and leave administration to untrained, unprofessional persons, who inevitably are placed and replaced by political parties as political fortunes rise and fall. However, it is not the disaster of political control which interests us now, rather it is the substitution of a fine ideal, which automatically but incidentally precludes political control. If this view of the civil service seems fanciful, read the little volume containing the evidence of Lord Haldane, the most practical of practical Englishmen, before the Royal Commission on Coal Mines in 1919, and the convincing introduction by Messrs. R. H. Tawney and Harold Laski.

Lord Haldane described the valuable practical training as administrators, which the London School of Economics had arranged at his request for a selected group of young army officers. It developed an administrative technique which included the understanding of how to get the best out of men by a more human approach than that of military discipline. Obviously he described a task beset with special difficulties and which would be more readily and naturally performed with civil students. The significant thing for us is that Lord Haldane's testimony shows that administration must be taught and can be taught, and taught in a school of a type well developed in this country.

I hope it is not improper to remark here that in my opinion nothing could be more ill-advised at the present time than any belittling attack on the many fragmentary laws designed to protect the civil service in our cities, states, and federal government. Whoever objects to civil service rules because he cannot discharge whom he likes forgets that if the tenure protection of the law were removed, the appointment power would no longer be his, but only that of the winning side in a tug of war between the backers of rival candidates. The present tendency of our schools and universities to train both for research and for administration would at once be discouraged if we lost the protection now afforded by our merit laws.

A vigorous, forward movement is urgent to strengthen the merit system throughout this country; to make it elastic and flexible (as the federal service already is in many ways). Too often now the system of appointments is topsy-turvy, standing on its head, protecting futilely the inferior positions and leaving the more responsible positions to be filled by political influence. Set it on its feet, give due weight to the non-assembled examination, the personal interview, the opinion of the applicants' peers for the top appointees, make removal for cause as easy as appointment, and the efficiency of public service will increase beyond the belief of the sanguine.

Put into the public service the patience, the modest devotion of McCarthy, of Wisconsin, who made the first legislative reference library in this country, and who bequeathed to us all a plan for a society to improve the public service and we shall see our drab, dusty words, "Civil Service," shine and glow as the title of the finest opportunity for service to the living force of a growing democracy. Who thinks this change

requires fifty years? Twenty-five years is too long a period. Why not say ten? We have schools, we have young men and women eager for the opportunity public service should offer, we need only to stir the public imagination and our own.

As to poverty, the social worker is already guilty of insidious attacks upon it, and by paths so direct that they are unavoidable. The juvenile court unexpectedly enough affords an admirable illustration. It made visible the mother, "to double business bound," who, because death, sickness, desertion, or other reasons deprived the family of the father's support, is compelled to earn the living and to perform her own duties in the household at the same time. How often she is crushed by the burden and loses control of the children no one knows. Often enough so that the children come into the courts neglected and lawless, plainly because of her inability to do two things at once. After some years of observation the judges of two or three courts almost simultaneously insisted that cash allowances or pensions from public funds, be made to the mothers as the most economical way to prevent the neglect and ruin of the children. We know how generally this principle has been adopted. Much prophesy of evil followed, but the results have been disappointingly successful wherever common sense and patient study have been put into the administration. Careful analysis of cost, a budget always too narrow perhaps, but infinitely more comfortable than the previous precarious uncertainty, slowly began to grow more reasonably liberal. The adoption of these minimum allowances under mothers' pensions, calculated with such painstaking care, as Miss Nesbit, for example, has given, is a step toward the wider studies of incomes and living standards which the furtherance of social welfare demands, and which social workers must be called upon to aid in securing.

The old doles must go before the study of living costs and necessities, such as the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor carries forward in its family relief.

If we need encouragement as to the possibility of draining rapidly the ugly depths where poverty and petty law-breaking meet, we have only to turn to the English law of 1914, known as the "Criminal Justice Administration Act," which permits fines to be paid on installments, and by various arrangements makes the payment both possible and sure while it obviates imprisonment. Ninety thousand commitments because of inability to pay fines in the year 1910, and 9,000 ten years later after the new law had been in operation six years is the extraordinary change reported. If no other and better reason than mere reduction in cost of maintenance is considered, the English practice is not beneath our legislative attention.

But though the social workers must deal with the extremest results of poverty, they look increasingly for a solution through raising general living standards safely above the poverty line. In this wider view it may be remarked that though the majority of the Railway Labor Board cry out against the consideration of a reasonable standard of life as a basis for determining wages, it will surely cry vainly in the end. Far more significant than its protest is the law by which Congress has created the fact-finding commission in the coal mining industry of this country. This law translates a certain paragraph of the Declaration of Independence into the life of today in terms we may be sure the bold and wise spirits who signed that document would be the first to approve if they were here now, again leading public opinion. Let me remind you of the sections directing study of living costs and wages:

Said Commission shall also submit recommendation relative to (a) Standardizing the mines upon the basis of their economic productive capacity—and regarding the

closing down of mines which, by reason of their natural limitations or other conditions, fall below the standard; (b) Ascertaining and standardizing the cost of living for mine workers and the living conditions which must be supplied or afforded in order to surround the workmen with reasonable comforts, and standardizing also as far as practicable the amount of work a man shall perform for a reasonable wage, recognizing the value and effect of such surroundings in respect of their efficiency; (c) Standardizing a basis of arriving at the overhead cost of producing and distributing the coal, including delivery at the door of the consumer, recognizing in this compilation that the standardized cost of living to the miners should be the first and irreducible item of expense.

Those who have watched the infant death rate, that sure index of social well-being, fall as wages rise in the families of miners and of many other industrial workers can never be persuaded that public welfare is safe in a country which ignores such evidence. This evidence alone would drive us to the definition of a family status above the poverty line, which we take so for granted that it may be no harm to remind ourselves that the earnings of an average man must not fall below a sum which permits him to support his family in prudent comfort, allowing his wife to carry on the home and rear the children free from the necessity of piecing out the family income.

Social workers at the beginning of another fifty years are a strong and growing force. They are trained in new specialized schools, and often have degrees and diplomas. They are better paid than their predecessors. They demand and deserve professional recognition. So much for the outside.

As for the spirit, they inherit from the founders of the conference the vital legacy of pity, that "rebel passion" in the words of Gilbert Murray. And they inherit a noble curiosity, a search for facts in true relation, which both inspires and holds to patient work the "rebel passion."

We are well aware of the great structural social movements which slowly must compel a better public service and the abolition of poverty. After all, no one knows how long or how short a time will be required to finish this spade work of our civilization. But this much is sure we can quicken the pace. To illustrate: this year, immediately, we can help to make plain the power toward abolishing poverty which Congress has bestowed on the fact-finding commission quoted above.

Is this not an auspicious beginning?

PASSING OF THE STONE AGE IN CARE AND CUSTODY

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This is a picturesque title which admits only of commonplace treatment. Perhaps, too, it is presuming to speak of the passing of the institutional period in care and custody. The United States is sown broadcast with asylums, orphanages, and poorhouses; jails, prisons, and juvenile reformatories.

In 1910 the federal census listed 5,408 benevolent institutions, nearly half of which were hospitals or infirmaries, one-fourth of which were child-caring homes, and one-fifth, homes for the aged or for the aged and children combined. These were exclusive

of penal institutions. There were ninety-two county homes for children out of a total of 1,151 child-caring institutions, of which 1,151 institutions had 151,441 children under care. Eighty-four thousand one hundred and ninety-eight persons, over half of them beyond 55 years of age, were being cared for in almshouses, and 88,313 a year were being admitted. New England had 181 paupers per 100,000 of the population. The Pacific division had 132. The southern states reported 18. In 1910, also, 1,314 convicts were entering our state and federal prisons and our county jails each day while 1,264 were stepping out. January 1, 1910, 24,974 minors were inmates of juvenile reformatory institutions, and in addition there were in the unclassified jail and prison population noted above 911 persons under 18 in state and federal prisons, 6,325 in county jails, 3,539 in municipal jails and lockups, and 1,141 in institutions for both adults and juveniles.

And this vast field of institutional activity, greater in volume than ever before in our history, shows some decided elements of permanency. Was not the first overseer of the poor created in 1572, and is not the last one just like the first? Was not the English sponging house and private gaol a horror for centuries, and is not the county jail, its American counterpart, the same unclassified human flotsam kept just a bit freer from death by jail fever and other infection? If one is to propose the passing of the institution as a primary function in social service, he must proceed with care. Approaching this subject is something like stepping up behind a mule: either one must leave no intervening space at all, or plenty.

But if you will bear with me, I wish to call up before your minds a dimly seen or soon forgotten course of change in human relations, to trace its progress to the present, and to apply it where I can to this subject of institutional care and custody. It is only now, as we look backward from the eminence of understanding, that we perceive what a revolutionary change has been going on. Crudely named, that change has spelled the discovery and recognition of human individuality. What then is the reasoning by which it has come about? First, man's progress from epoch to epoch is measured by his knowledge of the laws of nature, in particular his knowledge of himself. Second, scientific knowledge of the human mind and the human body has so far, developed that the extreme individuality of each one of us stands revealed. We differ in our intelligence, and the degree can be measured. We differ in our ability to carry responsibility. We differ in the degree to which we may exercise choice or free will in our conduct. We are of all shades and degrees of mental soundness, from the well-meaning condition of reverie with never a creative thought to madness that bays the moon.

Our slow and steady progress in this great field of understanding has been accelerating for a hundred years. The first mighty impetus came from Charles Darwin as late as 1859. But it is only yesterday that psychology as a science was born. William James wrote his epochal treatise in 1890; and it is almost upon the hour that we are peering beyond the general psychology into the vast untrodden vista of psychiatry.

As one approaches the mainland from the sea there appears first a low, dark line; then a battlement of cliff and crag; then valleys; and last of all the details of trees and meadows and houses and cattle. It is in like manner that mankind approaches his philosophy of citizenship. With dim perception he sees in the far distance the dark background of things. A man is just a unit in the drab mass of humanity. His behavior is to be governed by the same standard as that applied to every other unit in the mass. All men were alike in their power to will, in their freedom of choice, and in their

ability to bear responsibility. The indiscriminating eye saw all these minutiae alike and fixed the same rule for all.

Hence we look backward in this comparatively enlightened age and review without astonishment the doctrine that every man has one alternative in the observance of the law: either he can commit an act which is a breach, or he can refrain from committing it. So long as he is rational he has unlimited freedom of choice. And as to his rationality, either he is of sound mind, as competent as any other sane person, or he is demented, insane, a lunatic, crazy.

And as all men are alike, punishment or other treatment which society considers appropriate for one is good enough for all others. So we are not surprised looking backward to see the rogue who makes stealing his art and the poor wretch who has taken another's bread for his starving child hung on the same scaffold. We do not wonder that all who had not the means of self-support and were infirm were herded together in the same poorhouse—the wandering mendicant whose philosophy is one of change and whose religion is maintenance without labor cast in with the widow who has toiled with all her God-given strength and is now come to want through no fault of her own. We are hardly shocked to turn to John Howard's account of English prisons and discover his mildest generalization to be that the prisons of his time were built exclusively for the safekeeping of the inmates. In that earlier stage of social science there was nothing individual about conduct: consequently there was nothing individual about treatment.

What then has the new understanding brought us? In the realms of the infirm, the dependent, the diseased, and the defective it has spelled classification. For the citizen accused of crime it has brought a recognition of varying degrees of ability to carry the responsibilities of citizenship. And for his wretched pal who has been convicted it has worked that same intelligent classification according to his ability to respond.

The castellated orphanage will persist long years after we are dead, because man applies newly acquired knowledge slowly. The germ theory of disease is recent. We know that the assembling of children under average conditions of medical oversight results in a high incidence of communicable diseases. We know that the consignment of very young infants to congregate care, except under the most perfect hospital conditions, is akin to a death warrant. That was a dark year in the history of child care in Massachusetts when 80 to 90 per cent of all foundlings sent to the state infirmary died there. It was the year 1857, and it was Samuel Gridley Howe and Frank Sanborn who had the courage to make the facts public.

But the knowledge which man gains about himself abides. It has its effect in the long run. He readjusts his life so that he may take advantage of that knowledge. In this field of child care, science points to individual treatment. Social case work with its fundamental of service to the individual in the development of his personality demands that separate treatment. Individual treatment under conditions approximating the natural home status of the child is making ever deeper inroads into the province of the orphanage. Kindly care in the one is giving way to skilful treatment in the other. The days of the orphanage are numbered. Were it not that we cling to the idea that it is especially good for the souls of these little folk to be herded together, we should have torn down the minarets long ago. It is but a question of a few years now when every orphanage in the land will be no more than a temporary shelter, and its inmates will be placed in foster homes.

It is still within the memory of living man that to be crazy was to be possessed of the devil. This fact illustrates one of the most picturesque phases of all folklore. The Christian Bible is full of it: the Koran is full of it: the Sacred Book of the East is replete with its imaginings: mythology and the entire philosophy of things which we sense but cannot see echoes its fallacy.

Its tragedy cries out in anguish from the chained wretches of the Salpêtrière, from the executioner's block in London Tower, and from the Salem gallows in our new America. Ignorance has no blacker stain upon its shield, nor sadder story. Let ignorance excuse our forefathers for their treatment of the insane. Let me illustrate that treatment from the records of Massachusetts, one of the foremost states in modern methods of treatment. I quote from an inspection report by Dorothea Dix:

"Late in December, 1842: thermometer 4 degrees above zero; visited the almshouse, neat and comfortable establishment; two insane women, one in the house associated with the family, the other "out of doors." . . . I asked to see the subject who was "out of doors"; and following the mistress of the house through the deep snow, shuddering and benumbed by the piercing cold, several hundred yards, we came in the rear of the barn to a small building, which might have afforded a degree of comfortable shelter, but it did not. About two thirds of the interior was filled with wood and peat; the other third was divided into two parts, one about six feet square contained a cylinder stove, in which was no fire—my companion uttered an exclamation at finding no fire, and busied herself to light one—"Oh, I'm so cold, so cold," was uttered in plaintive tones by a woman within the cage; 'Oh, so cold, so cold!' Here was a woman caged and imprisoned without fire or clothes, not naked, indeed, for one thin cotton garment partly covered her, and part of a blanket was gathered about the shoulders; there she stood shivering in that dreary place. The grey locks falling in disorder about the face gave a wild expression to the pallid features; untended and comfortless she might call aloud, but none could hear; she might die, and there would be none to close the eye. Pretty soon I moved to go away.

"Stop, did you walk?"

"No."

"Did you ride?"

"Yes."

"Do take me with you, do, I'm so cold. Do you know my sisters? They live in this town; I want to see them so much; do let me go!" And shivering with eagerness to get out, as with the biting cold, she rapidly tried the bars of the cage."

Into this somber setting has been projected a process of scientific analysis of the human mind. At first a timid psychology, not readily credited. Now we know that the mind may suffer from disease equally with the body; that human conduct is the result more of bodily condition than of divine inspiration on the one hand or total depravity on the other. Our religion is purified by purging from it this heinous mistake. Yesterday the insane wretch was an enemy of society; today, barring some ever widening zones of enlightenment, he is still restrained by force, as distinguished from persuasive therapeutic treatment; tomorrow, launched as we are into psychiatric research, the irons which Pinel struck from the shrieking women of the Salpêtrière may be taken even from the distorted minds of those who journey in the shadow.

The wretch who was first chained at the road side was finally taken into the asylum, where at least he could have warmth and shelter. Then the asylum became a hospital where chains and straight jackets gave way to immersion baths; and scientific medical treatment was added to kindly care. Today insanity is challenged as a visitation of fate. It is recognized as frequently curable. The hospital no longer waits like a yawning abyss to swallow the tragic dement; it reaches out into the community and welcomes the citizen who is mentally troubled till he fears a catastrophe; it receives him as a voluntary patient and treats him for mental sickness.

Our world of experience has produced another figure grim and silent. He stands with head bowed down. The world has disowned him. From him as a last measure of retribution it has taken the birthright to labor and earn workman's pay. He has broken the law. It is painful to read the world's story of the criminal and see with what ingenuity he is explained; how one school finds him to the manor born, a type, a distinct being; how another cares little about the rogue except to kill or punish him, the safeguarding of society from the repetition or the imitation of his act being paramount; how one group finds solitary meditation excellent for his soul, and another, under the centralizing force of the age of mechanics, would assemble him for work but would impose unbroken silence.

In all this dimly focussed reasoning the great lack was a better knowledge of mentality. What manner of man is this who will not keep the laws? We are now in a fair way to discover the key to this fellow's thoughts. Meantime we discover to our surprise that he has a soul like the rest of us, that the degree of responsibility for upholding the rules of society varies greatly, and that those who transgress most are oftentimes most eager to obey the law. It is not so very long ago,—I know of an instance in Plymouth Colony,—that we destroyed buildings and slew animals as retribution for crimes in which they were concerned. The being who committed crime sinned also against God. Those were days when governments were not usually by the consent of the governed and consequently in which the sovereign needed the partnership of Jehovah to expand and perpetuate his good will. If it were possible for the members of this conference to descend this morning into the dungeons of Philip II, or to peer into the cells of the English prison hulks, or to inspect any one of a thousand county jails in our own beloved country, they would see the physical results of all this wrong reasoning of the past. The individual has broken the rule of society. He is therefore outcast. What shall sovereign society do with him? "Kill him," said sovereignty of old, "and if that is not conscionable, shut him up in solitary confinement that he may be known of man no more forever." "Protect society from his lawless acts," says modern democracy, "but salvage the man if you can, turning him back to ordinary life when he is likely to be able to get along."

Has the new understanding had much effect upon the convict and the prison? In three ways we see the beginning of the end of the old régime. First, the discovery and classification of mental defectives while they are children provides a fund of knowledge certain in time to identify most defectives who are charged with crime, and will in the end locate them by themselves for treatment according to their conduct. This process of finding the mental defective takes form in the census of the feeble-minded, in the conduct of the out-patient clinic for mental examinations, as in Massachusetts, and in the requirement of special classes in the public school for markedly backward children. Second, the rapid growth of probation for all but chronic offenders and of parole even for felons marks the unwillingness of the people to condemn merely for punishment and their desire to put up with the offender and to improve his condition as long as he shows even a half-hearted desire to behave. Third, the steadily progressing tendency to look carefully into the mind and character make-up of the accused and of the prisoner is leading to an intelligent classification of the inmates of all of our correctional institutions except the county jail. The slag pile of miscellaneous humanity is to disappear and prisoners are to be grouped according to their ability to react to reformatory influence. The day is not far distant when courts will no longer commit

offenders to particular prisons or places by name. When the fact of guilt has been proved, the court will fix sentence and commit the prisoner to an administrative arm of the government which will take him in custody and deal with him, not contrary to the limitations of his sentence, according to his condition and prospects as a citizen rather than according to his conduct as a wrongdoer. One of the finest examples of the beginning of this classification is the industrial farm at Occoquan.

Individualization in law and in our social service practice will certainly destroy the frowning battlements of penology, and in like manner it will destroy—it is destroying—the unclassified almshouse.

A report of 1790 described the Boston Almshouse as a place where "persons of every description and disease are lodged under the same roof and in some instances in the same contiguous apartments, by which means the sick are disturbed by the noise of the healthy, and the infirm rendered liable to the vices and diseases of the diseased and profligate." This unsavory condition was attacked by the building of the House of Industry where the worthy poor were to be given work. In eleven years after this new institution was opened its report (for 1834) showed the population to be made up of 61 persons who were either insane or idiotic, 134 sick or infirm, 104 boys and girls of school age, 28 children at nurse, and an unclassified remainder of 201, of whom 64 were men working at picking oakum.

That concentration of misery has been broken apart. Little children are forbidden the almshouse unless they are with a parent. Those little folk who swarmed the old almshouses have gone out into foster homes, for the most part. Contagious disease cases, notably tuberculosis and syphilis, have been isolated. Vagrants have been segregated. The insane and to some extent the feeble-minded have been taken away for special care. The best modern almshouse is an infirmary.

While the better knowledge of today is breaking out the granite walls of the prison and renovating the place with sunshine and the opportunity for productive labor, it is increasing institutional care in another field, the care of the insane. Prison custody of the insane will no longer be tolerated by enlightened people. But custody there must be, and treatment there must be. Insanity is now mental disease, and the old asylum is now a special hospital for treatment of such disorders; hence a new institutional method in this field of care and custody is in the making.

That childhood is coming into its own we have many evidences. The foremost child-care agencies in the world are child-placing enterprises. The abandonment of a child in favor of anyone willing to walk away with it is disappearing as a phase of the movement from barracks orphanage to the foster home. Standards of home-finding, standards of efficiency in the supervision of children placed in foster homes, have come into being. The congregate institution is to disappear, leaving behind it the temporary shelter housing only a few little ones at a time, and keeping those for the briefest practicable period.

Thanks to modern science again we are able to place ophthalmia in the discard with smallpox and the hookworm. News comes from my own state that whereas in other years there have always been from twenty to thirty pathetic little gropers in the infirmaries, there was last year not one single case of infant blindness due to ophthalmia. A decade ago this one cause was responsible for a third of all blindness. And in this field too a revolution has taken place. The blind man who used to be dumped into the discard along with chronic paupers and defectives in our poorhouses has been brought

out of his darkness where at least his mind may see. His need is for opportunity. He is handicapped, but nevertheless able and of rare courage. He wants his chance. We now recognize his problem as educational, no longer a task in mere care and custody. And though we still follow false prophets in continuing pauperizing pensions for the blind, notably in Ohio and Maine, we are for the most part awakening to the true nature of that problem.

Let me close this statement then as I began. Man's rapidly increasing knowledge of his own mentality, that science which we call by the general name "psychology," has broken down many of the set attitudes born of ignorance in the past, has spelled individualization in the law, and has resulted in a recognition of the person himself in the process of judging his conduct and rehabilitating him for citizenship. Today we see only the beginnings of this revolution in a process of care and custody built upon the old notions. With constantly increasing speed this movement will revolutionize our methods. Though we are early upon the scene, you and I are witnessing the passing of the Stone Age in care and custody.

GOVERNMENT BY BOARDS AND COMMISSIONS IN ITS RELATION TO SOCIAL WORK PROGRESS

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The ineptitude of democratic governments for tasks requiring scientific foundations and specialized skills is one of the venerable axioms of politics which has long been accepted without serious challenge and has largely dominated our political and social thinking in this generation. It followed and almost superseded an earlier conception of democracy, its precise opposite which recognized no task too difficult nor too delicate to be entrusted to the chosen representatives of a democratic constituency.

We have now come to a period in which neither of these beliefs is an adequate basis of sound socio-political development. There is an undoubted revival of faith in the democratic principle and reliance upon it. An awakened realization of the inadequacy of individual strength in the face of some of the mammoth forces let loose by the growth or modern social institutions, a clearer recognition of the dependence of individual progress upon social well-being, and a keener sense of social solidarity have stimulated throughout America a constantly accelerating tendency to employ the government as an instrument of common service and protection. And this fervor for increased governmental activity rises to its crest during a period of unparalleled growth in appreciation of science and scientific specialization as an essential factor in social progress.

The eternal problem of democracy—how to unite leadership and the authority of special knowledge and insight with the ultimate authority of the masses of men bent upon self-control and self-expression—is thus presented in this epoch in more acute form and in broader extent than ever before. If too complete reliance is placed in the old democratic principle, society faces the danger of sacrificing at the hands of a clumsy, unenlightened, political organization the slowly won standards of technical proficiency and the ideals of patient, disinterested, scientific effort toward progress, which are the most precious distinctions of modern social work and its most valuable contribution to

social life. If, on the other hand, in our impatience to achieve final mastery over some of the obviously destructive forces in our civilization we lean too heavily upon the authority of the enlightened minority, we lose the priceless legacy of democratic institutions to be found in the constant renewal out of the infinite variety of mind and experience that make up a democratic society—of the ideas and ideals that move the world forward.

There is reality in both these perils, or at least in the fear of them which lurks in the minds and determines the reactions of great bodies of our people as they confront projects of social reform. Have you watched the response of organized labor to the successive efforts of federal and state governments to set up agencies for the determination and enforcement of community policies affecting industrial problems and relations? Is there doubt that labor's reluctance to subject itself to even the most friendly and enlightened supervision and protection is based upon its fear that it may lose its own birthright of self-control and self-advancement? The apparently democratic, though slow and costly, process of progress through self-organization and mutual aid wears a more attractive mien to the man in the ranks than the most elaborate protective code framed and administered from above. And is there not genuine justification for that fear? Is there not danger that so-called expert administration shall become too disinterested, so to speak, too far removed from the daily grind of toil and trouble, to sense those emotional backgrounds which are the very essence of every human situation?

On the other hand, who can watch an American legislature at work—rushing in to solve by legal fiat the infinitely complex and delicate problems of human relationships; writing into rigid statutes the shifting slogans of ephemeral crusades; throwing aside the laborious scientific efforts of disinterested investigators—without praying to be delivered from the tyranny of ignorance and prejudice?

We have yet to find a formula which will unite, in proper balance, the force of democracy with the efficiency of enlightened leadership. Our first effort in that direction resulted in the movement, under discussion this morning, toward government by boards and commissions. A glance at recent history of political development in America suffices to prove the reality of that movement. It is significant that the life of this conference practically spans the period of its growth, for this conference represents above all else the scientific spirit and method in social work; it grew out of a dawning realization that by comparison and analysis of experience general principles of procedure could be identified as applicable wherever like causes operate. It is of more than passing significance that the conference owes its origin to the first few state boards and commissions in the social field.

It is interesting to note that the movement toward the creation of boards and commissions began as an adjunct to legislative, that is, strictly democratic, control of social policy. Almost invariably at the beginning a legislative investigating committee was the forerunner of the independent administrative commission.

Its development took about this course: First, a recognition on the part of intelligent legislators of the need for special knowledge as the basis of practical handling of specific problems recognized by the whole community as requiring governmental action, this knowledge to be interpreted and applied by general law at the hands of the direct representatives of the whole people, the legislature, and the courts. These first committees were composed, almost invariably, of legislators themselves.

Next, there appeared occasional recognition that the problems which had at first been viewed as relatively simple and within the field of general, rather than special,

experience, were in reality technical and complex in character. Outside specialists were therefore summoned to the aid of the legislators, first in mixed commissions and then in special commissions entirely apart from the legislature.

Then intelligent men recognized the futility of endeavoring to act upon spasmodic flurries of fact, and the investigating commissions were transformed into permanent fact-finding bodies, charged with the duty steadily to accumulate and to interpret the basic information essential for progressive policy-formation by the legislature.

Larger and larger powers of law-enforcement were granted to these bodies that were in possession of the facts upon which the policy of the law was based, and the courts were compelled to surrender to the boards and commissions some of their earlier functions.

Finally, and most significant of all, the legislature delegated to the commissions large powers of rule-making, amounting in fact to the power of policy-formation and of law-making itself.

Strikingly parallel with this growth in the scope and power and influence of the commissions was the consistent pressure from within and from without to free them from control by elected representatives of the people. Long, overlapping terms of office and other safeguards against political overturn or domination were consistently employed to protect their independence. Honor, alone, without the salary which would presumably make the positions tempting to mere politicians, constituted the reward offered for service.

There is plainly to be seen in this record slow but steady progress away from the principle of democratic control toward that of government by enlightened minorities. Clear evidence was given of the distrust, conscious or unconscious, with which theoretical democracy, in the shape of popular control, was viewed by those responsible for the development of these new governmental agencies in the field of social work. This fear of practical democracy is easy to understand in the light of our political experience before and since, and it is a factor in the present situation which cannot be overlooked.

To those early instruments of an awakened public purpose to achieve social progress through specialized scientific efforts social work in America owes a debt beyond calculation. To them we owe, in considerable measure, at least, a new appreciation of the unity of the social problem confronting modern communities, a concept that underlies all modern scientific social work. For they were charged in most instances with studying and interpreting not one but many phases of the social maladjustment that came to public attention, and they found the roots of them all intertwined deep in the common life and the common nature of men.

They demonstrated the futility of spasmodic, fragmentary contests with conditions that are continuous and universal in their scope and effect. They led in stressing the imperative necessity and supreme utility of preventive measures. They patiently and persistently brought to public consciousness the community's responsibility for its own future. They looked ahead, they planned; they organized and systematized the growing body of fact brought to light by the study and experience of scattered and often isolated workers in the social field. Above all, they infused into the public service a flavor of disinterested social purpose which alone can justify social control through government. Their place in the history of social work in America is secure.

What is it, then, that accounts for the obvious recent reaction away from government by independent boards and commissions toward government by direct responsible representatives of a democratic electorate? Such a reaction is plainly to be seen

in practically every recent effort to reorganize state government, and such efforts are becoming frequent. As one commonwealth after another applies itself to simplifying and unifying its governmental structure, the movement toward government by responsible executive agencies and away from diffused and independent administration by boards and commissions becomes clearer.

In the first place, I venture to suggest that the reorganization movement itself, despite superficial appearances to the contrary, is an expression, somewhat indefinite and even unconscious, it is true, but none the less real and far-reaching, of an awakened interest in government as a social agency, of a widespread determination to employ this most powerful agency of social control in the promotion of social justice and progress. The fact that governmental expansion, which is one of the conspicuous facts of our time, has occurred almost wholly within the fields which are distinctively social in character and influence is evidence on this point. It is because of this expansion, of the broadened functions of government and its larger part in the lives of individuals and communities, that the movement to organize and direct its energies more effectively has gained popularity. This is at least one aspect of the "economy and efficiency" crusade, which has given it vitality and effectiveness.

But something more than a general interest in governmental economy and efficiency underlies the popular reaction against independent administrative boards and commissions. I believe it is due in considerable measure to a revolutionary change in the community's attitude toward the social problem which these boards and commissions, among other agencies, have laid bare. The boards, that is, have themselves helped to shape the weapon now turned against them. They have helped to prove that the ills with which they have been chiefly concerned are not isolated elements, different and separate from the rest of the life of the community, but are part and parcel of that life, inseparably connected with all the economic, intellectual, spiritual, and social interests and activities that compose that life; that they are not the affairs only of an unfortunate and underprivileged minority, but are like in kind if not in degree, the problems that arise in the lives of all citizens, rich as well as poor, strong as well as weak; that health, education, friendship, mutual service, economic stability, and opportunity, with whose acute defects or maladjustments the boards and commissions have been largely occupied, are but aspects of the rich and rounded life which every man would live and which none enjoys now in its fullness.

The distinction between social service and the rest of life, between social work and the rest of government, tends to vanish when, in the name of social service, the state reaches into the home, the workshop, the school, the playground, and meeting place of every citizen, not of a single class. Why then, it may be properly asked by the plain citizen, distinguish in the form through which the state acts? Why preserve some community agencies from the alleged taint of political control and not all? What is politics but collective action for the achievement of common purposes and the promotion of the common welfare?

I do not suggest that this process of reasoning is usually nor often as consciously clear as might appear from this argument. Least of all can we deny that far less idealistic motives enter into the calculations of many of those who now appear most intent upon transferring the powers and functions of independent commissions concerned with social problems to responsible executive departments. Yet there is clearly to be discerned in the whole movement to bring the social activities of government under

popular control, through responsible executives, the influence of the new conception of these social activities as a universal, normal function of every society, as a constructive force in the life of every citizen. So long, that is, as social work was concerned with the especially weak and unfortunate minority alone, it mattered little, so it appeared, to the great body of citizens how or by whom the state's social service was administered. When social work becomes, however, the guide, the helper, the mentor and censor of all alike, it achieves a new significance to all, which brings it within the ranks of those common concerns over which, in democratic communities, the citizens themselves exercise control.

This raises new and pressing problems for those who would see social work maintain and advance its ideals through scientific research and technically proficient administration, and who yet share, as we all must share, the democratic hope and faith abroad in our time. One course is closed to us. We cannot turn back to that dark age when social work was pure philanthropy, when we fixed our gaze and confined our discussion to those mythical entities, the dependent, defective, and delinquent classes, as if the sum total of health were the absence of disease, and the object of life were the elimination of corruption. Our field is the whole community and every individual in it. Our objective is a sound, vital, growing society, in which every individual shall have the greatest possible opportunity and the greatest possible incentive for self-development and self-expression.

Nor can we yield ground on that other fundamental of our faith, the efficacy and the necessity of scientific, disinterested, honest workmanship as the basis of sound social policy and administration, whether in public or private service.

Our only choice is to welcome and to utilize this new interest in governmental affairs, this new appreciation of the common responsibility for the promotion of social welfare through government, and to make of it an ally in the extension and improvement of community-wide social effort, in which the widest democratic participation and control shall be linked with specialized knowledge and skill in administration. We cannot contest the simplification and unification of public service, with its attendant gains and savings, without losing touch with the rising volume of social spirit and purpose which the governmental reorganization movement represents. We can, however, if we will, build into the governmental structure foundation stones of solid scientific spirit and method, and thus not only serve the cause of social work but strengthen the whole edifice of our democratic system.

Because it seems to me that there is a dangerous breach between those who are primarily interested in the development of scientific social work, and those who are interested in promoting efficient democracy, and because they must find common ground and move forward together if either group is to make its most telling contribution to our society, I propose here to suggest one practical plan by which their aims may be reconciled.

I admit cheerfully and finally that the day of miscellaneous, unco-ordinated, independent, irresponsible boards and commissions in the social field is at an end. There is no department of government which more clearly needs to feel and to express its responsibility to the community for economical and efficient administration than that which deals with specifically social interests. There is none which will profit more largely from the general interest and participation which grows out of democratic control.

But I go further and declare that as the state is in fact and in its entirety a social agency, justified or not as it promotes the well-being of its citizens or fails in that purpose, those phases or departments of the state's business which are especially concerned with fundamental human needs and relationships are the state's highest functions, which deserve first consideration and at least an equality of status with other departments in the structure of government. On principle, I claim for the state's social activities the prestige and force which attach to departments of government regarded as essential, organic, ordinary responsibilities of the state, rather than accretions and appendages of a different and inferior grade. Such a status of equality carries with it, rightly and inevitably, ultimate democratic control of policy, through legislative and executive authorities responsible to the people.

Equally emphatically we are obliged to assert the imperative importance of scientific leadership and technical proficiency in these departments. These must be protected by several means. Qualifications for appointment must be so clearly defined in the law as to establish a clear standard to which the appointing authority can be held to account. The merit system must be applied rigorously in all subordinate appointments. Outside of the government, associations of vigilant and informed citizens must stand guard over these standards, ready to support effective service with the same vigor with which they condemn betrayal in public office. These are measures applicable alike to all departments of government. The larger significance of social work in the public service of the future must result in reawakened effort toward these general public improvements.

But there are specific policies to be urged with reference to these specific departments. First, it must be recognized that scientific leadership and technical proficiency can only be secured to the state by granting freedom of initiative and independence of operation within each field having definitely differentiated and organized objectives and techniques requiring the direction of qualified specialists. That is to say, several independent departments, rather than one blanket organization directed by a chief necessarily unfamiliar with many of the technical tasks involved, should be provided.

Secondly, having thus emphasized the essential independence of technical specialties, we must balance this autonomy in technical departmental affairs by recognition of the unity of the whole social process as of the whole individual life. We must require the closest possible co-operation, consistency of policy, and unity of purpose among all the departments of government concerned with social interests.

May I illustrate the principles suggested by the outline of an organization of governmental activities in the welfare field which, it seems to me, would achieve the desired end?

Let some American commonwealth create within the structure of its government a series of single-headed, responsible, executive offices or departments, each concerned with one of the well-defined fields of social improvement and construction now recognized as within the scope of state activity and responsibility. There come to mind at once the fields of: health, mental and physical; education; labor and industry; child protection and guardianship, perhaps; family and adult rehabilitation and assistance; and prevention and correction of delinquency. Others may now or hereafter be required.

Let the head of each department be appointed by the governor for an indefinite term, without approval of either branch of the legislature, but removable for cause, after hearing, with the consent of the legislature or of its upper branch. None would be

eligible for appointment who did not meet at least certain stipulated requirements of training and experience. Each director would be responsible for the execution of the law and for the development of policy and efficient administration within the law in the field of the department concerned.

Associated with each director would be an advisory council of unpaid citizens, appointed for fixed overlapping terms, by the governor, upon the nomination, in part, of professional organizations and associations of citizens particularly concerned with or affected by the work of the department. These councils would be strictly advisory in function, except in certain matters, and a quasi-judicial or quasi-legislative character, which may be entrusted to them by the legislature, with the power to approve of rules, to interpret the law, and to decide particular controversies arising under law or rules. In such matters the councils would have the right of approval or veto of departmental action.

The independence and autonomy of each department having thus been safeguarded within its own province, the necessary unity of aim and co-ordination of activity among all these departments would be promoted by constituting the heads of the several departments into a welfare board, having within its province matters of general policy affecting the whole welfare program of the state and also all those particular problems involving the co-operation of two or more departments. The proposals and projects of this board would be subject to approval by the governor, as the chief executive responsible for initiating and controlling governmental programs and insuring effective administration.

This roughly sketched type of organization, which is equally applicable, apparently, to other phases of governmental business, such as finance, public works, and the like, offers one, in some respects, I believe, the only feasible solution of the problem of public administration in an era of rapid scientific progress. It is democratically controlled, being responsible in all its parts to an elected chief executive, and subject to law in matters of policy; it cannot, therefore, far outrun the general opinion of the community, nor unduly disregard the proper sensibilities of those subject to its jurisdiction and influence.

It recognizes and provides for scientific leadership within each field in which science has revealed and proved important distinctions of objective or method, but it recognizes the value of a whole view and of concerted treatment of the social situation as a single problem, requiring joint consideration of a general program and of common or overlapping responsibilities.

It provides the basis of efficient administration by placing initiative and responsibility in the hands of a single qualified executive in each department, but it safeguards public and individual rights against arbitrary bureaucracy by entrusting to representative groups of informed and disinterested citizens the final decision in matters involving vital interests of any citizen.

It invokes the service of specialists and authoritative leaders in every field, and gives them room for the utmost exercise of their powers, but it balances against the zeal and the impatience of the expert and the reformer the deliberation and caution of the average citizen, and it taps the great reservoir of ideas and ideals from which democracy presumably draws its strength.

It is capable of adaptation to wide administrative activities or narrow ones, as the need and policy of the state develop. It avoids the temptation to plunge forward, or just as often backward, in an effort to meet some fragmentary view or superficial

need, through the creation of new agencies of government without relation to those already at work in the field.

It is difficult to conceive of such an organization at work in any state without infusing into the whole political life of the commonwealth something of the spirit of professional service and workmanship and of scientific method, which would make of every department of government a department of social service in its best sense.

I have no illusions as to the danger of relying upon mechanisms to meet the complex problems of human adjustment that center in government and in social work alike. No mere formula will meet any human situation. But in a time when the mechanics of government are being revised, we cannot hold aloof and leave to others the reconstruction of the machine through which our own ends are to be achieved. We must contribute of our own experience to that task. It will tax the combined leadership of social workers, economists, and statesmen. Of these, the first should not be the last to assume their share of the common responsibility.

THE CHURCH

THE INFLUENCE OF THE CHURCH ON SOCIAL WORK

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Dwellings*

The National Conference of Social Work has asked me to speak at the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of its founding and this invitation I consider a great honor. I feel very unworthy of it, but I must add that it is a great joy for me to come to this meeting in the name of the Catholics of France and of the social and charitable organizations I represent, and to proclaim the deep friendship that unites the people of old France to young America.

These two peoples of the Old and New World are destined to come to an understanding and to work together in the terrible crisis through which modern civilization is passing, because both are filled with the same enthusiasm for justice and for a high moral ideal.

With deep emotion do I recall my intercourse with the American Red Cross during the war. It was during the critical years of 1917-1918, at a period when, without the sons of free America to help us, Right could not have triumphed. You sent us not only the troops that so greatly contributed to the final victory, but you also brought us the self-sacrificing service of the most intelligent and the most active women of your social and charitable organizations. Thanks to these women, numerous centers of social work were founded, which remain living witnesses of the brotherhood that unites the two peoples. It was thus that Miss Curtis, of the American Red Cross, called me from the front, where I was serving as chaplain, to collaborate with her in the foundation of a confidential exchange on the model of those already at work in the great cities of the United States. Thanks to the help of the Red Cross, this confidential exchange was founded and continues to work for the greater good of the poor and for the benefit of all charitable and social work in Paris. In coming to speak to you at this meeting, therefore, I merely pay a debt of gratitude.

You have been kind enough to ask me to talk to you on the good relationship between the church and social work. It is a subject which is particularly dear to my heart, because for twenty years I have been engaged in trying to find a common ground for religious action and for social work.

There are certain social problems that seem to me characteristic of contemporary society. The foremost of these is the education of the modern citizen. Society has conferred new rights on him, and consequently, has necessarily awakened new temptations in him. It has given him at one and the same time knowledge, the right to vote, and liberty of conscience. But knowledge is not education, as we understand it—that is the formation of character and conscience. Now, it is a fact that the greater the knowledge of a man, the better should he know and realize his moral and his social responsibilities. When modern society gave each man the right to vote, it entrusted

to him the destinies of his country, with an influence on the general march of affairs. Finally, when modern society decided that every citizen had a right to liberty of conscience, it thereby proclaimed that, as a society, it had no concern with the religious or philosophical ideas each might turn to in seeking a solution of the problem of his destiny.

Under these circumstances, how is the social conscience to be aroused in such a manner that the citizens may use their voting power only for the public good? How is their political action to be freed from the personal interests that are so often prejudicial to the public good? If they do not vote properly, will they not disturb social economy, promote discord, and multiply injustice? That is a serious problem for which there is no solution except that of the thorough moral education of the masses. I say the same as regards liberty of conscience. This liberty becomes a danger whenever the citizens see in it a means of freeing themselves from all moral constraint and of allowing themselves to be led by their selfish passions. Liberty of conscience must not be taken to mean liberty for each one to do as he likes and to think what he chooses. Every man is morally bound to seek for truth with all the strength and power of his being.

It is easy to see that in all these questions the church is necessarily called upon to take an important part in the formation of conscience. To begin with, she reminds everyone that moral responsibility increases in proportion to culture and knowledge. That is why she endeavors to develop in everyone the sense of right and wrong, and also why she reminds men that they are absolutely bound to accept the sacrifices imposed by moral law. The part the church plays becomes more important as temptations become stronger. Now, as everyone knows, selfishness, pride, the love of pleasure, and money increase in proportion to material civilization. If therefore, care is not taken, social divisions will go on increasing and may easily be transformed into fratricidal strife.

In this endeavor, in view of the moral training of the individual, Christianity claims the foremost rank. Does it not, as a matter of fact, strive to remind each man that he is responsible to God, not only for his outward acts, but for the most secret movements of his heart? Does it not remind him that everyone must keep his conscience pure from sin and not shrink from sacrificing human pleasures and satisfactions rather than do wrong? Does it not put into men's minds a hope, strong enough to help them to make the sacrifices that moral perfection demands of them? And finally, does it not keep constantly before their eyes Christ dying on the cross in order to save the rights of conscience and to bring men to look on the life to come as the true end of their life on earth? In order to meet the demand of the moral education of the human race, Christianity claims perfect liberty of teaching and education, a liberty all the more necessary in our days, in that the modern state has declared itself neutral as regards religious teaching.

The church in France, fully conscious of her educational mission has founded a large number of good works, the primary object of which is the moral training of the faithful. We have, first of all, the free schools and colleges. In these schools the church strives to form character. She adopts the new pedagogical methods, according to which the will is to be led to accept what is right rather than be forced to submit to it. She awakens a sense of responsibility, and she teaches self-government by making the pupils share in watching over the moral condition of the school. Besides these schools, properly so called, the Church of France has founded a large number of clubs for the

young people of both sexes. I think it may safely be asserted that organizations of that kind may be found in nearly every parish.

The French club is in many ways like the English or American club. It is a center for meetings, for pleasure and sports, where young people may be occupied and amused without being exposed to the temptations of the street and of questionable resorts. But our club is above all a center of moral education. This education is given through what we call study circles: that is, groups of young men under the direction of a priest. There are as many study circles as there are categories of young people. Some are destined to bring together young apprentices, others workmen, still others are centers for the young people from high schools, or the children who attend the primary schools. The program of studies is prepared beforehand every year. First and foremost comes the moral teaching, the Gospel, the foundations of belief. Then come the serious social and economic questions of the present hour. Only a limited number, about twenty at most, should form a circle, so that everyone may have a chance of taking part in the discussion. These study circles are certainly one of the most efficacious means of training the rising generation. In order to train adults and remind them of their duties as citizens, the church had founded among other things, the parish unions, social clubs, and professional guilds. The special aim of the latter is to train the professional conscience. As is well known, every profession brings in its train its own temptations and special dangers. That is why it is important to enlighten Christians and to give them the courage to react against the dishonesties that are current in certain professions.

We have also groups of social workers recruited among the students of our great schools (Polytechnique, Centrale, Normale): that is, among future army and navy officers, university professors, engineers, etc. They go at stated intervals in factories and workmen's quarters and deliver popular lectures on topics of the day and subjects of interest to the men. This movement is relatively new and has a great future before it.

Finally, the education of the adult is completed at public discussions. The French do not care to accept ready-made doctrines. They want to argue, and not to yield till they have carefully examined every argument. This habit practically tends to form an élite who knows what and why it believes. Indeed, one may say that the church in France has, above all, devoted herself, for the last fifty years, to the formation of an élite. Only now is she beginning to reap the fruits of that patient endeavor. It may be asserted with truth that, at the present moment, the most cultivated circles in contemporary France know nothing of the narrow sectarian spirit of past years. Large numbers of college students and of young university professors are fervent and convinced Christians. These men have no intention of remaining isolated from all social activity. On the contrary they take their share boldly and generously in all the movements whose aim it is to develop in the whole nation the sense of moral and social responsibility.

The organization of modern society offers another problem, which is as important as that of the social training of the citizen, and that is the defense and preservation of the family. It is in the bosom of the family that the virtues, which are essential to the life of the nation are formed and developed. It is through and in the family that the child learns to obey and to sacrifice himself, that the parents practice a wise and self-sacrificing authority, that both parents and children serve their apprenticeship, as it were, in the spirit of solidarity and social responsibility.

Now, the normal development of the family is seriously endangered in our days by numerous causes, chief of which seem to be the following: the demands of industry; the love of luxury and of comfort; the unquenchable thirst for pleasure and enjoyment; the exaggerated development of the rights of the individual, who easily comes to believe that he has no duty except that claimed by his own personality, without any regard for the duty he owes the community of founding a family or of devoting himself to the families of others.

This family crisis is due also to a conception of human love, which is making great headway in the world and which it seems necessary to define. There are many who preach "the right to love" exactly as they preach "the right to live." In their eyes, human love is merely a means of personal enjoyment carrying with it practically no social responsibility. They think of human love without any reference to the child, its natural fruit, and they consider that they can take it up and drop it at the beck and call of caprice and circumstances. It is easy to see that such a conception can only lead to the destruction of the family. It thwarts the establishment of the home, and makes of the child an obstacle to the free exercise of the faculty of loving. It opens the door to dissoluteness and debauchery.

In France great efforts are being made to find a remedy for this terrible evil, and it is important to point these out. France is, in fact, the chosen land of the family. In spite of the spread of the doctrines mentioned above, in spite of the economic obstacles that the family has to face, the moral life of the nation rests on an élite, faithful to its ancient traditions, and struggling bravely to preserve the moral qualities that are the basis of our ancient European civilization. Hence there are at present in France two marked currents of thought: one which claims the right of an irresponsible love and preaches the voluntary restriction of the family, the other which insists on subjecting love to the moral law and encourages large families.

Movements in favor of the defense of the family are growing prodigiously in France at present. There are, to begin with, the family associations. They are innumerable and their influence on legislation and on the economic life of the country is beginning to bear fruit, which it will be useful to point out. It is thanks to them that the system of taxation has been modified so as to relieve the family in proportion to the number of its children. This is especially the case in calculating the income tax and the inheritance tax. Employers have formed vast organizations called "compensation funds," the purpose of which is to give extra wages to the workmen and employees in proportion to the proportion to the number of their children. There is a wide movement in favor of the family vote, and there is a hope that Parliament will pass a law granting the father of a family as many votes as he has children in his family.

The Federation of the Family Associations of the Region of Paris, in the formation of which I had a part, is examining a system of provident forethought, meant to help young married couples who are determined to do their duty as founders of families, and so make their task easier. This federation has made a special study of the housing problem. It has built a number of houses, and has even begun the building of a whole village in the outskirts of Paris. It considers also that a provident forethought must provide for the needs of the family; it founds co-operative stores, the returns of which go into the provident fund.

But, however important the economic factor may be in the struggle of the family against the causes of destruction, it remains none the less true that this problem depends

above all on conscience and the moral law. Hence Christianity must have the chief part in the reconstitution of the modern family. This does not mean that in questions of sexual intercourse, there is a religious moral law which differs from the natural moral law. The rules laid down by the church for her children are the rules of the natural moral law, but the fact that she connects them with the religious life of the individual gives them a particularly penetrating power and influence. These rules are very simple. They lay down that the body has its responsibilities as well as the conscience, and that love is a creative power whose essential aim is the generation and education of children. It follows that young people must keep themselves chaste until they marry, and that married people must submit to the moral law that governs married life, and not consider themselves free to make such use of their bodies as may please them. A high and difficult moral ideal; to live up to it the spiritual life will almost always be an indispensable factor.

It is in order to help in the solution of this weighty problem that the French Church has founded the Association of Christian Marriage. This association, though of recent formation, has spread rapidly into most of our dioceses. Its president is Cardinal Dubois, archbishop of Paris, and its acting president, his auxiliary, Bishop Chaptal. It is in essence a work of training and education in right thought and feeling. It groups together the young, who promise to keep pure before marriage, and shows them that they must learn to be proud of the effort that makes them masters of their animal nature. It distributes tracts and pamphlets, in which it reminds the masses of the greatness and beauty of the moral law. It publishes three reviews, one for young men, another for young women, and the third for married people. The latter makes a special study of the difficult problem of the education of children. In the diffusion of this teaching on sexual and marital relationships, the Gospel principles of self-sacrifice and self-renunciation necessarily play an important part. It is indeed impossible to give one's self up to a single love, without having to struggle against the temptations of nature. It is also impossible to dream of founding a large family, if one seeks in the goods of this world a means of satisfying selfish desires. The will itself has to bend to the claims of life in common and to the maintenance of a good understanding in the family. The spirit of sacrifice which is essentially one with the Christian spirit is therefore a necessary condition for the restoration of morals.

Religion plays an equally important part in the education of children. It reminds parents that they are the representatives of God, and that their authority must be used to train the moral conscience of the child, and thus it gives them a clearer and keener knowledge of their vocation. It obliges children to accept the authority God has given their parents, which will render easier their efforts to do right, and thus it inclines their hearts to obey and to trust. The Association of Christian Marriage devotes much of its literature and its propaganda to the reaffirmation of these essential principles and to the demonstration of the innumerable ways in which they may be applied.

So far we have only sought to show the influence of the church on the training of the individual and the family. To complete the survey, we ought to examine her influence on the government of the country, on its economic life and on the works that are, properly speaking, social and charitable. These problems are too complex for me to even try to sum them up. But I may be allowed a few remarks on the attitude of the church with regard to the grave problem of the relations between capital and labor and to the social organizations which represent those two economic powers; that is, the syndicates.

In consequence of the weakening of religious belief in our days, it would seem that material interests have taken on a prevailing and almost exclusive importance, to the detriment of moral and religious ideas. The result has been the letting loose of desire and a wild race for material goods. This leads to economic conflicts which, alas, too often become sanguinary, and also to merciless class strife. As a matter of fact, the tendency of paternal and workmen's syndicates is to take into account only the particular interests of the class they represent. They forget that the interests of every corporation demand an understanding between capital and labor and a spirit of mutual self-sacrifice. Unfortunately, the syndicates are too often indifferent to the interests of other corporations, and to national and international interests.

Modern nations must realize once more that the Christian idea of work is the only remedy to be found for this great evil. Employers and workmen must be fully convinced of their social responsibilities, and understand that work is first of all service rendered to the community and only secondarily a source of gain for one's self.

It is with the object of rendering professions moral that the church encourages the forming of syndicates and other professional groups. But she takes care to keep distinct the religious and the social life, and leaves the syndicates to govern themselves. She only groups Catholics in special unions, called guilds, in which moral principles are studied in relation to the different professions. Thus trained, Catholics can take a share in the syndical movement, without being drawn into opinions contrary to justice or to the idea of brotherhood.

The different points I have touched will allow you to understand clearly the position taken by the church in France toward social action. She has no intention of monopolizing this action for her own benefit. On the contrary, she asks the faithful to take their share in all the social endeavors of the nation as long as they do not imply the giving up of the essential principles of Christian morality. She encourages initiative and brings to them the help of Catholics trained by her moral and educational organizations.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have finished. There remains one duty to fulfill which is dear to my heart, that is to tell America how closely we are united to her in our strivings after the same moral and social ideal. America and France are two free peoples. Both understand that the religious and the social life must give each other a continuous mutual support, and that the salvation of modern civilization makes an appeal to all the moral powers of the nations in a spirit of justice and of mutual disinterestedness.

THE OPPORTUNITY AND TASK OF THE CHURCH IN VIEW OF THE FACTS AND THE EXPERIENCE WHICH SOCIAL WORK NOW PRESENTS

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Organized Christianity faces a new epoch. A generation ago religious thinkers and church leaders had barely begun to break from the conception of their task inherited from the middle of the nineteenth century. Sociology itself had only begun to be recognized as a field of study. The control of the Protestant churches, was largely in the hands of mid-Victorian evangelicals who had been warned against the "cooking stove apostasy." Though Freemantle, Brace, Ely, Strong, and other prophetic souls

were continuing the succession of Maurice and the Christian socialists, the social interest was only kindling. There was not a book in English on the social teaching of Jesus.

In this presence it would be imposition to contrast the present interest in social affairs with these conditions. It is a new age we are entering and making, and in this new age the social emphasis is dominant.

Alongside of the Christian ministry have grown up the vocations represented in this conference, which deal with human welfare far beyond the limits of church programs. The ministry no longer is the only calling in which the idealism of youth can find expression. The church must now share with other agencies of human welfare the vicarious tenth of society. Indeed it suffers somewhat in the new competition, because men and women can serve their fellows through social agencies without committing themselves to theological tenets.

The situation raises the question as to whether the church conceives of itself as having any social function, or as being compelled to leave social work to non-ecclesiastical organizations. The answer to such a question must be discriminating. The overwhelming mass of church members are adherents of Catholic churches, which regard themselves as the channels of saving grace from God. Through their sacraments and priesthood and their dogmas they bring about such a relationship between men and God as can otherwise not be attained. The church is the agent of divine love which seeks to rescue individuals.

From such a point of view social service is not an essential duty of the church. Yet it would be a mistake to say that these churches are without social agencies. They maintain hospitals, establish schools, care for the poor, and in many other ways come in very close relationship with social affairs, particularly with the family life.

A similar position, although of course subject to modification, is that of the historic Protestant groups. They hold that the primary object of the church is to preach the gospel of salvation from sin and guilt and to minister to the spiritual nature of their members by means of sacraments and religious activities. To such churches social service until recently has not appealed. It is true they have, like the Catholic Christians, set up certain ameliorative institutions, but the general tendency of Protestantism has been toward the withdrawal from many social interests to which the Catholic churches have devoted themselves, such as education and the control of marriage.

Over against this inherited view of the function of the churches we find a rapidly growing appreciation of their social obligations. The development of social work has reacted upon them and to a considerable degree they have begun to represent new social interests. Kindergartens, nurseries, and parents' classes are growing common. Many churches have complete outfits as community centers, with the necessary apparatus for athletics, sociability, dramatics, and of course for dining. Quite as striking is the widespread avowal of loyalty to the Christ-spirit of service. Denomination after denomination has adopted or enlarged the social creed drawn up by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. Altogether, it is beyond question that although reactionaries may protest and the elder statesmen of Christendom may warn, the generation now coming on to the stage of church life is full of social spirit. True this attitude is not yet universal in the churches. Probably the majority of Protestant churches are served by men of little or no social sympathy and, so, oblivious to the new world of which the churches are a part. It is to the university and seminary-trained men that the present social interest of the church is largely due.

But does this growth of social interest argue that the church is no longer to have a religious function? A few radicals seem to hold that social and cultural activity is the primary, if not the only, function of a church. They would substitute sociology and psychology for theology, and social activities, moving pictures, basketball games, and political discussions for the conventional activities of the church. Naturally such a conception of the operation of a church finds favor among not a few representatives of social agencies. Just as a few years ago we were told that eugenics was to accomplish more than the Ten Commandments, so now we are encouraged to believe that society will find some new technique which will enable it to escape the evils of so-called "supernaturalism." This technique seems to be found pretty largely in the field of medicine and surgery, sanitation, amusement, recreation, and talk. In this pursuit of morals without God and Utopias without repentance, the churches are asked to join. It is of course conceded that they will at least for the present preserve vestigial religious organs, such as the choir, prayer-like meditation, an address, and a collection. But religion itself is to be a sociology and an ethic.

I do not believe that the number of de-religionized churches is large, but if one can judge from literature, they represent the outer lines of the ecclesiastical spectrum, to which many social workers give their approval, but apparently do not heartily support. Nor is it easy to see why they should. Specialized organizations for social ends are better organized, more efficient, less encumbered with inheritance, more frankly understandable than a church which has only a social program to offer humanity. If religion is psychopathic, the sooner churches are replaced by frankly and consistently non-religious social agencies, the better. A church as a church loses its grip on humanity about in the same proportion as it fails to stand for something which is religious in the sense of a relation between man and that immanent reason and purpose upon which he is dependent and from which he seeks to draw help.

But to churches which are neither anti-social nor anti-religious, the present development of social agencies is a call to new efficiency. I do not see how any man with historical knowledge beyond an ability to make epigrams can fail to see the significance of the church in preserving and developing social ideals, social agencies, and social service. When one stops to consider the cataclysms across which Christianity has carried humanity during the past 2,000 years, it is strange that so many vocational social workers ignore it. Think only of the crisis which arose when a great and brilliant civilization disintegrated, cities disappeared, literature was destroyed, works of art were buried, political institutions were abandoned, citizens were massacred and millions of armed immigrants inherited a land they had conquered! Yet that was the crisis in civilization which the church had to face in the fourth and fifth centuries. The Dark Ages and the brutality of the Middle Ages are not chargeable to the church. They were the result of social forces which the church had to withstand and transform. And, despite all difficulties, it did its work. The only learning was in its circles, the only social ideals were in its teaching, the only social service was in its institutions. But hardly had it assured the work of the wonderful thirteenth century, when the discovery of America and other causes brought about another complete dislocation of economic, political, and educational life. Again Christianity had to face a crisis such as no other religion has been able to face. Again the church survived and gave direction to the Renaissance and Revolutionary periods of the sixteenth century. So, too,

when in the eighteenth century the stress of the new industrial life in Europe and America brought the middle class to power. This period of revolution was not merely political; it was still another shifting of the entire perspective of life. At the start it seemed as if Christianity was to give way to some sort of illumination or philosophy or proletarian impracticability, but great religious movements like those of the Methodists, Baptists, and Evangelicals of the Church of England, produced men, cultivated attitudes of mind, and organized social agencies, which lie beneath much of the social-welfare program of modern times. In all this activity the church has not relied merely on social technique. It has had power to minister to social needs because it has stood for dynamic morals rather than social convention, for the cosmic forces working in evolution, for God in human life.

Disregarding therefore extreme types, we can consider the opportunities which the situation in the world of social activity offers to those churches which, on the one side, are determined to represent genuine religious faith and, on the other, to have some part in the service of the world.

The present situation demands that churches which engage in social service shall have a ministry trained in the technique of such work. A desire to help is no guarantee of ability to help. Good people do not always have good sense. The mistakes of an idealist are sometimes even more dangerous than those of a reactionary. If the churches are to engage in any form of social service, they should take advantage of scientific training which schools of civics and social administration make possible. Especially should candidates for the ministry be given training of this sort. The study of ancient languages, important as it may be, does not fit men to deal with charities, the family, recreations, reforms. Religion has outgrown its philological stage and is rapidly outgrowing its theological stage. If the church is to have any significance in social welfare, it must see to it that its influences are properly applied. This is true not only of churches in America, but of that enormous extension of helpfulness which we call the "missionary movement." The days of mere proselytism among the heathen have long passed, if indeed they ever in any true sense existed. The missionary movement is civilization carrying its religious, moral, and social ideals to nations which it is transforming with its industrialism, finance, and militarism. No other religion than its own can bear the weight of western civilization. Schools and hospitals, agriculture and athletics, social settlements and the emancipation of women, and relief of starving millions and the care of children are now involved in the missionary project. The leaders in such work should be given training rather than be left to the menace of the trial and failure method.

Such training is made possible by the present status of social agencies. Scientific methods which are the outcome of wide experiment are at the disposition of the church. That they sometimes are different from those which the churches have attempted to follow in similar work is probable. But no theological conservatism or ecclesiastical exclusiveness can make inefficient methods efficient. Good intentions are no substitute for good technique. For the churches to fail to take advantage of the wealth of the new social methodology would be as inexcusable as for them to ignore medical discoveries in the hospitals which they maintain. Men do not go to a hospital to be ill under Baptist or Presbyterian auspices. They go because the church whose name the hospital bears has been wise enough to see that the Christian spirit of ministra-

tion must appropriate the best medical methods. The same is true of dispensaries, charities, recreations, libraries, and every other type of social activity which a church undertakes. To do a good act ignorantly is to risk doing it dangerously.

The present development of social agencies makes it unnecessary for the churches to carry on many community operations which formerly they alone were fitted to direct. Trained and specialized leadership can do these things much better than amateur altruists. True, some good people are not always satisfied with efficiency. They want dramatic effect. As they demand tears in repentance, they want thrills in good works. There is a pleasurable sense of usefulness in giving out free bread and coffee, which is quite lacking in the systematic, unsentimental work of the Associated Charities. Card catalogues and records however, are more efficient than the uncorrelated work of many churches. Chicago once became a haven of the hobos because a charming woman all but crippled organized charity by her appeal to the sentimentality of Chicago churches. Relieved from temptation to adopt this type of agency, churches can now leave to intelligent leadership the service which admittedly must be professional if it is to be efficient.

But such delegation of duty to the new agencies does not apply that the churches lack opportunities for social service. In them are ready at hand groups which can inaugurate social activities and institutions which the community is not ready to establish, but which later it may take over. We are coming to see that a community should do things for itself rather than expect them to be done for it. But communities are often amorphous, shot through with local antipathies and jealousies. In such cases the churches are always present to be the nuclei of worthy undertakings. They illustrate the usual law that group organization preceded community action. In the field of initial experiment, the churches are not rivals or even competitors of other social agencies. They represent such organized altruism as many a community possesses. Without them such altruism would be either dormant or without expression. That institutions started by the church should pass into more specialized hands is to be expected and, generally speaking, hastened. But a community must have altruistic citizens before it can have altruistic institutions. Communities without churches seldom establish social agencies.

When a community has efficient social agencies, the churches should co-operate rather than compete with them. Churches may well be represented on their boards of management and become sources of income. They will also be able to supplement organized activity in ways more personal and intimate than other institutions would find possible, but their main service will be in arousing intelligent interest in the activities of well-organized social agencies. Through such participation the churches have an opportunity to express the spirit of helpfulness more intelligently and more effectively than would otherwise be possible. The present development of social work thus serves to make the spirit of service within the churches more effective. Social agencies become the co-operative agencies of religious groups.

This delegation of certain forms of social service to well-ordered agencies serves to specialize the place of the church in the division of labor among social groups. Back of every institutional activity there lies some spiritual force, without which the institutions themselves would decline. Persons devoted to the details of administration put on the protective covering of unsentimental impersonality. It is fortunate that this is the case. No social worker could endure the constant experience of misery, sorrow,

and want without this instinctive protection. But somewhere, especially in moments of consecration, in even the most unsentimental profession there is emotional incentive and the education of attitudes. Despite all declarations to the contrary, humanity is more than its instincts and its bodies. Behaviorism is only a half-truth. We believe in justice and kindness and the worth of our fellow-men. Any institution which can produce people of good will is indispensable if society is to grow better. The church is this sort of institution *par excellence*. Possessed now of trustworthy means for expressing good will in society, it can safely stimulate sympathy and sacrificial social mindedness.

But good will itself demands a basis. I cannot see why the strong should care for the weak, or the fortunate care for the unfortunate, unless there be some fundamental reason for this violation of the law of the survival of the physically fittest to survive. In humanity there must be something even more fit than strength, else our care for the weak and for the diseased, the depressed and the dependent, may be only a weakening of the race itself. Regard for human welfare implies that human welfare is worth preserving. It is true that economic arguments are made for personnel work and other methods of breaking down the impersonal relationships between employer and employe, but observation convinces me that in many cases employers who plead only economic efficiency for their enlightened policies are sheep in wolves' clothing. They really believe that such policies are not only "good business," but just. Respect for the human element in industry is grounded in the belief that the human element has value in itself. Protestations to the contrary are a form of benevolent hypocrisy intended for the consumption of stockholders.

The church can be counted on to develop and advance this basis for the correct social attitude. It grounds its belief in justice and good will in its belief in God. No one can be so blind as to fail to see that this conception is tremendously dynamic. Furthermore, it is a preservative of enthusiasm. Cynicism and "hard boiled" professionalism always has beset those whose vocation is the amelioration of human sin and stupidity. The church, if not the only, is certainly the chief agency for lifting social duty with its self-sacrifice from professional routine into human brotherhood. It is indeed more blessed to give than to receive when one feels the urge of divine love.

Thus the relationship between social agencies and the church is reciprocal. Just as the church can furnish the men and women of good will and keep the fires of altruism burning by religious conviction, social agencies can serve the church even beyond acting as its agents. Indeed they are already giving the church a conception of the content and the limitations of moral judgments. Our new knowledge of the blight resting upon ill-born, ill-nourished, and physically unfit children is certain to modify or make intelligible the church's conception of sin. To believe that the human race is doomed because of Adam's sin may be a round-about way of organizing atavism and evolution, but it is more intelligent to believe in the backward pull of inherited, outgrown good. The more we know about pedigrees, the better we understand morality. Good lunches and good teeth make for good temper in children. Case study in mental hygiene, housing, the rescue of children from bad surroundings, and similar activities are all uniting to induce a conception of morality which is less concerned with the Garden of Eden than with the town and the environment in which one lives. The prevention of tuberculosis and syphilis is quite as much a duty as the maintenance of church-going. In other words, our growing understanding of actual human life is making it plain that

sin and righteousness, forgiveness, and regeneration cannot be reduced to theological algebra.

Thus, regarded as institutions having a distinct place in the life of a community, the churches and social agencies both render and receive mutual aid. It would be a pity if any rivalry should grow up between them. The growing sweep of social work is vastly greater than anything the church can ever undertake or should ever undertake. This fact itself, however, makes clear the social function of the church. It, no more than the school, will be replaced by specialized agencies of society. It will continue its manifold ministration to human needs, but its primary function is educational rather than directive or administrative. It must conform its teachings and practices to the actual facts which social experiment furnishes; but, relieved from the pressure of innumerable social duties, the church can more effectively devote itself to its own task of producing men and women of faith and good will, and of training them in the art of co-operative living. It can thus become the manual training-school of social service rather than its exclusive agent. It may be that some of us may have to change our conception as to what the church is and even change our estimates of the ultimate value of human life, but such changes will be toward a better mutual understanding between institutions which seek to answer problems set by maladjustments in life. Institutions which seek to make men more brotherly by inculcating a faith in the God of love will furnish the material for a new society. Agencies for rendering social service effective will organize this material and train it for service. If both will heartily co-operate in the pursuit of fraternity, they can not only ameliorate human ills but set up social practices which shall evolve a more moral, more permanent, and more equitable social order. Upon such co-operation confidence may hopefully rest. For, recognizing that social service is a means rather than a goal, it will accustom our world to that attitude of mind and that social behavior which individuals and classes and nations must possess if ever mankind is to realize that it is more blessed to give justice than to fight for rights.

THE RELATION OF THE CHURCH TO SOCIAL WORKERS

Dr. Alice Saloman, Berlin, Germany

It is with great diffidence that I attempt to add a few words to the addresses which we have listened to tonight. It seems exceedingly presuming for a laywoman to speak after we have heard two men, who by their very calling, are entitled and privileged to deal with the subject of the day. Yet I feel that in a way the evening would remain incomplete if one of the social workers who is working outside the church did not present her ideas on the relation of the church and the social work of the present day.

I will not approach this subject in a general way. I would rather deal with it from one particular point of view. I will not inquire how far the social work is directly affected by the church, but will speak on the relation of the church to the social worker himself, to social workers as a body. I will try to point out what the social worker receives from the church and, let me say in all due humility, what he or she can give back to it. That means I will speak on the underlying principles of social work.

The question before me is therefore how it is possible for people of different nations, classes, professions, and creeds to meet here together in a unity of purpose, in a spirit of co-operation and mutual good will. What is there in social work which draws us

together and binds us all into a band of comrades and fellow workers? It would facilitate matters indeed if this question could be answered by a simple assertion that it is the church which brings us together, the religious inspiration, the consciousness that we are all children of the same Father.

It is doubtless the religious motive which first gave to mankind the conception of charity, of a love which seeketh not its own, of a love of God which must work itself out in acts for mankind. But we know that there are social workers who are attracted into social service by other impulses. There is, for instance, the patriotic, the national ideal which during the last years has brought thousands of workers into our ranks. It is an impulse of a most compelling nature, and through it many people have experienced a real passion for heroic service. Many of our community activities may be traced back to this patriotic ideal. We all want to improve the economic conditions, the health, and the education of the less-developed members of our community, because in this way we raise the whole standard of our nation. Then again, there is the humanitarian impulse. We see work done purely and exclusively out of human sympathy, out of a sense for justice toward those who are oppressed and suffering. Or we see social workers who are prompted by the solidarity of class, of a group, of a trade; a feeling which was widely spread among the guilds during former centuries and which has come to new life within the trade unions, the friendly societies, and other co-operative movements of today.

It would be possible to go much farther into these different impulses and to describe their peculiar features. Yet are we not more concerned in finding one which is the link between them all? Should we not better turn and look for those elements in these various channels of work which are common to us all and see if there is one fundamental principle of inspiration which underlies all our efforts, it matters not what the medium for expression?

What is common to us all? It seems to me to be the social ideal, the conviction, the faith, even, that mutual aid is the law of life, that the essence of life does not rest with ourselves but that it can be realized only in our relations with other human beings. We can never make our life something real, something complete, unless we make it overflow with sympathy, friendship, love, and action, unless we pass over the threshold which separates the "I" from the "you." It has been said, and it is certainly true, that either we live to do something for others, to achieve something for them, or we are not alive at all; we merely exist.

Surely this is the principle in which we all believe, the social workers connected with the church as those working through other channels and through other bodies. We are united in feeling the individual's responsibility for mankind, united in the conviction that men cannot live by hatred, that they can live only by love; not by fighting, but by helping each other. We are united in the conviction that all progress of civilization has been brought about by man's increasing capacities for co-operation. This is where the spiritual side of the problem comes in, and this brings me back to the relation of social work and the church.

We have heard several speakers at this conference speak of the pernicious philosophy which for a generation or two has held humanity in chains, which has directed its abilities only toward material ends, toward selfishness, toward a struggle of all with all, of that individualism which is at the bottom of all the distress, of all the agonies, of all the horrors through which our generation was doomed to live.

This, then, is the underlying principle of our work,—that we as social workers of the world are united in our attitude against this philosophy of individualism. We must overcome it. We must lead to victory the social ideal. We must realize it as far as we can in our own actions and try to make it the principle which rules our work. Social work is not merely a phase of life, a field of work, a profession like others; it is a conception of life which must conquer individualism, which alone can reconstruct the world.

It was the most pathetic, the most dismal period in human history which made a doctrine of a merciless struggle between individuals, which made people believe that a better equipped race would be the result of such struggles. Instead of it, the result which was achieved was competition between individuals, antagonism between classes, between employers and employees, between town and country, between races and creeds, and ultimately the most terrible war amongst the nations. The results of this doctrine of individualism have been engraved with letters of blood and fire in the history of the human race. And here we stand full of reverent thoughts and mourn for the millions of lives which were sacrificed. We mourn not only, each of us, for the soldiers of our country, on our side, but for all the soldiers of all countries, on both sides; not only for those whom we know but for all the unknown soldiers. We know that we have to atone for their deaths, we who are still of the world, which belonged to them as well; we who still see the light of the sun, which was taken from them just at the age when they loved life most. We are pledged and bound to make the world a better place to live in for future generations, a place in which the doctrine of the struggle for life and the survival of the fittest will be replaced by the law, by the gospel, of mutual aid.

As social workers we are united in the faith that the world cannot be redeemed, that it cannot be freed, from all its present distress until the ideal of solidarity is accepted by all, until those who are strong renounce climbing to the top of a ladder, the steps of which are made of those whom they have trodden down and crushed during their ascent; until those who are strong will be willing to bear the burdens for the weak. Truly, there is no blessing which one of us can own as long as not all the others have their share in it. Truly, none of us is safe as long as not all are safe. There is no poverty, no distress, no disease even, which does not avenge itself on those who shirk to relieve it.

Carlyle has told us in one of his books the story of an Irish widow, who lived with her children in Scotland in the greatest poverty. He relates how she went to her neighbors and to all sorts of institutions and applied for help. "I am your sister, you must help me," she said. But they refused her because she was a stranger. All her applications remained without result. They repudiated her sisterhood, but she proved it after all. She contracted typhoid fever and many people within the neighborhood caught it from her, and seventeen of them died. "She was their sister; they could not get away from the fact." Surely this proves that no one is safe as long as not all are safe. The service for the weak and heavy-laden, for the least amongst our brothers, is not a sentimental ideal, but a law of life on which, in the end, even self-preservation depends.

This brings me back to my original departure. This is where the church comes in. It is religion which first gave to mankind the wonderful wisdom which expressed this fundamental truth, this law of life, long before science discovered it. It is a law which was not only applicable at a certain time long ago, under certain primitive conditions of a simple rural population, but which will forever constitute the basis of human

relationships. Some of the social workers of the day accept these ideas directly as the teaching of the church. There are others who do not consciously trace their ideals back to their original source, but this wisdom, this law of life, must be present in all of us if we are to accomplish the work which is entrusted to us.

How are we to realize this our ideal; how are we to idealize our realities which remain so far behind it? I have heard during these days a most illuminating address, which dealt with the solution of conflicts and which advised us to rely more on science than on emotions. There is truth in that statement. Science can lead us very far. It was just the realization that we need science, that a good heart does not mean good work, which made us organize the schools for social workers. But science is not the last word. With all science, with all knowledge, with standards and methods, our will is not set to motion, not brought into action. This can alone be achieved by the emotion of the ideal.

Let me wind up with a message from Germany, which refers to this problem. We have during the last years completely changed our form of government, our social order, our institutions and laws. In doing this we have learned our lesson. No exterior changes, no new structure is sufficient in itself. This has led us into a religious revival. We have realized what Tolstoy expressed as the final result of all his mental and spiritual struggles, what is the essence of his last book bearing the title, *The Light that Shines Out of Darkness*. He has therein expressed the gist of his conception of life in a few words: "Only if something is accomplished within the soul, the world can be changed."

This is the underlying principle of social work. There is our wonderful opportunity; there is our enormous responsibility. This is where we, the social workers, must help the churches to accomplish something within the human heart. How are we to do it? We must do it by teaching the new-old gospel of mutual aid to the children of our nations, by bringing them up and educating them in the methods, in the spirit of co-operation. We must impress it on others, on all with whom we have relations of work or neighborhood or friendship, by the very conduct of our life, by the nature and character of our work, by the way in which we render our services, not as a profession, but as a privilege; not because we like our job, but because the spirit leads us.

We know that we can only do this by the grace of God, as those who, being poor, yet make many rich; as those possessing nothing, yet having all things. We can only accomplish something within the human soul if we begin within ourselves.

THE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY AND TRAINING FOR SOCIAL WORK

THE SEMINARY VIEW OF TRAINING FOR SOCIAL WORK

Rev. William J. Kerby, Catholic University, Washington

All great social interests create schools. By means of them traditions are handed down, ideals are stated, equipment for defense and propaganda is perfected, and the ordinary instruments are furnished by which adjustments to changing life are effected. Law, medicine, music, art, drama, engineering, socialism, religion, charity, and industry furnish apt illustration in the creation of schools. The theological seminary appears then as the agency by which the clergy are formed for their religious work in the world.

Speaking for my own church alone, as other speakers will represent theirs, I note that we have a total of sixty-nine theological seminaries in the United States. Our standard course rests on traditions which were very slightly modified in a general regulation issued in 1920. Four years are devoted to the seminary course proper. It includes dogmatic and moral theology, with many subdivisions, Holy Scripture, church history, canon law, liturgy, sacred eloquence, including training in the preparation of sermons, music, and practical aspects of the ministry indicated by the term "pastoral theology." Preceding this theological course, two years are devoted to philosophical and natural sciences. The latter include geology, physics, botany, biology and chemistry. Preceding this two-year period, we require the ordinary cultural college course represented by the A.B. degree.

Over and above these scholastic requirements the theological seminary devotes a fairly large amount of time to the personal spiritual training of the seminarian. The practices of daily meditation, of spiritual conferences, of annual retreats, and related phases of spiritual life receive systematic attention for reasons to be stated in a moment. In this way the years in the seminary are organized and crowded. In fact, regular courses of reading in spiritual, cultural, and biographical lines are conducted during the time of taking meals. In this way fields are covered which might not otherwise be reached. The result of all of this is a volume of tradition and a rigidity of curriculum that makes it somewhat difficult either to introduce innovations in courses or to undertake substitutions of courses or to make any new demand on the time of the seminarian. The limits placed in this way upon the introduction of new interests into the seminary are indicated by limitations of time and energy rather than by any preference. In fact the pressure of the seminary course reaches so far as to create a tendency to keep seminarians together during the summer vacation, except for a few weeks. We meet the impulse although it is not always carried out. Sometimes a summer camp is established near the water where a lot of healthy outdoor exercises may be had and a fair amount of work may be done privately by the theological students rather than in classes.

The first principle that guides seminary life is that of personal sanctification. The seminary aims fundamentally to produce a type of personal spiritual life in the student. He is led to know, recognize, and adjust himself to ultimate spiritual realities. These spiritual truths are looked upon as internal, personal and transforming. All seminary ideals, the disposition of time, the forms of discipline, and the constructive suggestions offered spring out of this primary aim of personal sanctification of the individual student.

The second principle is that of isolation. The student is isolated from ordinary social contacts in order that his spiritual formation may proceed with the least distraction or obstruction. The seminary course is, more or less isolated from current life largely for the same reason. The seminary itself is physically isolated by being located preferably in the country or suburbs. In this way command of environment, and control of atmosphere and of relations permit the student of good will to gain an enriching spiritual experience that would otherwise be impossible to him.

The third principle that governs the seminary might be called ecclesiastical cultural. This principle discourages specialization during the theological course. It does not forbid it but it does discourage it as a general practice. The seminary aims to convey a rounded ecclesiastical culture in order that the young priest may, to quote the familiar phrase "*sentire cum ecclesia*." Hence a wide range of ecclesiastical studies

is presented. Students of exceptional ability are encouraged to specialize under private direction in the seminary. But this is optional.

A fourth principle, as I see it, relates to spiritual values in life. The historical and actual rôle of the church as a spiritual regenerating power is insisted upon. Spiritual truth is clothed with a certain authority that tends to fix one's judgment in beholding the relations between religion and life. Perhaps Paul Bourget expressed this thought when he said in one of his novels, "unless you live as you think, you will think as you live." The seminary impresses upon the student certain ways of thinking spiritually to which life should be adapted. He looks out upon life from that standpoint.

This isolation of the student and of his thinking from ordinary life does not break contacts so much as it places them under a certain point of view. This is conspicuous throughout the entire course of moral theology, which includes far reaching treatises on justice, charity, the nature and sanctions of rights, the relations of environment to sin, the nature and functions of the state in relation to justice, and duties in all stations of life whatsoever. The whole development of casuistry results from the effort to relate the simplicities of principle to the complexities of life.

Granting this isolated, traditional, ecclesiastical character of the seminary, we recognize that it must nevertheless face the new factors of thought and life. We note a vast increase in information about social conditions and relations; new insight into social causes of distress, injustice, poverty, sickness, and death; new phases of social conscience awakened by the dreadful contrasts of life, new impulses stirring, new and definite standards of human rights formulated, and above all the new challenge to the church to show its power to deal with conditions through its primary rôle of inspiration, and its secondary rôle of strengthening every hand raised to hasten the coming of the day of justice.

This process and its forms of challenge become extremely imposing, and they gain immense authority from the extent and quality of organized social work.

I take no time to interpret our traditional practices into new terminology. The confessional, for instance, is case work of a high order. The effective modern case-worker tends to become a kind of confessor for those who trust in her. Nor do I take up the extent to which our traditional teaching concerning social justice, the rights of the poor, and the obligations of the rich contains an effective message for today. I wish simply to describe the manner as I see it in which the new elements in thought and aspiration penetrate our seminaries.

The method is to a great extent informal and personal. The general cultural purposes of the seminary exclude specialization. It is expected that the average young priest will in the course of his ministry come into contact with conditions and problems. If he brings sympathy and intelligence, the process of specializing in social work starts there. He will be called upon to adapt his theological and spiritual training to the facts of life as he meets them.

Young priests who express a desire or show an aptitude for further training either go to Europe to study or come to our own university here or go to a school of philanthropy for the technical courses offered there. Attendance at all kinds of conferences in social work furthers the training of the priest who follows his aptitude for specializing in the field. While we have, I think, too few highly qualified priests in the field, that is perhaps a lesser evil than having too many. One of my professors in Louvain said

to me while I was a student there that America would never be a strong military power because it was impossible to get below the rank of colonel in the American army. If all of the members of the army of social workers were colonels, the poor would fare badly. We do need imperatively in our priests sympathetic understanding of the field of social work, great respect for the achievements there, and a freedom from intolerance or prejudice in respect of it. Furthermore, we look for the development of laymen and laywomen in the field, but this is beyond the present question. My first point is, then, specialized preparation for social work as a form of graduate activity after ordination.

I note next that the social work point of view is carried into the faculty by individual professors who occupy the traditional chairs in the seminary. I cannot recall a single faculty wherein we may not find one or more who have this adapted social vision and who exercise a wholesome influence in the faculty and upon the student body by giving to the appeal of social work a certain welcome authority. When it is possible, this type of professor gradually selects a group of students who wish to do extra work along sociological lines. In this way classes in economics, sociology, and social psychology are formed and much valuable work is done. As an illustration I might mention Dr. Ryan who was for many years professor of moral theology in Saint Paul Seminary before he came to the Catholic University.

In the next phase of this process we find it customary to invite specialists in the field of social work to lecture regularly or occasionally to the entire student body. This arrangement does very much in presenting the general point of view of social work, as it bears on the theological courses on the one hand, and upon life on the other. The department of sociology in our university, for instance, has been asked to conduct a three-hour course for a year in sociology as an organic part of the theological course in one seminary.

This method of introducing specialists to lecture has been developed in recent years by a new arrangement. The Bureau of Social Action of the National Catholic Welfare Council carries a list of lecturers, both lay and clerical, who enjoy general or special authority in the field of social work. This bureau sends out to all of our theological seminaries a list of lecture topics and of lecturers available. The seminary selects topics and lecturers as it wishes and the lectures are furnished without cost.

When the seminary is in or very near a large city, groups of students are formed by volunteers. They devote one afternoon a week to the visiting of hospitals, prisons, institutions, and agencies for the threefold purpose of observation, service, and training. These societies enjoy very great prestige in the seminary and they are much encouraged. They are left free to invite lecturers who may interpret their experience and work to them.

I think that the development on the whole is promising. It is slow perhaps, as so many social readjustments are slow. But the methods that I have outlined are natural, quiet, and uncontroversial. They are found generally in our seminaries and their development promises definite fruit.

While it has taken much time to say these things and they appear to be important, it is necessary to note that in an examination of the reports of the last ten annual seminary meetings, I found only three papers urging the development that I have been describing. This shows how far ahead of formal definition, the quiet ordinary processes of adjustment advance.

THE SEMINARY VIEW OF TRAINING FOR SOCIAL WORK

Dr. Shailer Mathews, Dean, Divinity School, University of Chicago

I have listened to this illuminating paper of Dr. Kerby's with deep interest. It is only thirty years since the seminaries with which I am acquainted have seriously undertaken to put social training into their curricula. Unless I am mistaken, our distinguished friend, Graham Taylor, was the first professor of Christian sociology in America. In consequence there has followed a very considerable elaboration of the curricula of the seminaries.

Protestant schools may be roughly classified as those strictly under denominational control and intended primarily and exclusively for ministers of the denomination; and in the second place those schools associated with universities whose business is the general forwarding of the church. Because my acquaintance is more particularly with the latter I suppose my remarks may not be altogether representative of the entire body of seminaries.

First of all, we are training ministers to be leaders of churches. They are not simply preachers, or pastors, but leaders of churches; and the church, the local body, becomes a subject of organization and operation. In a certain sense, we are training men in the ministry to become social engineers. They are increasingly being taught to work through the organization of their church members. In so doing we naturally are changing very markedly the emphasis in the theological curricula. Hebrew, I think, is not required for a degree in any university divinity school. We do not require Greek for our D.B. degree at the University of Chicago. There is opportunity for the study of Hebrew and Greek (the faculties in these departments are rather large) but the emphasis of training has quite shifted from grammar and exegesis. I suppose the majority of the men who are now going into the ministry, except in certain exceptional cases, know very little Greek and less Hebrew. In the place of that particular, strictly academic, work, based upon knowledge of the original languages, there is coming a study of the Christian religion in its history as originating and recorded in the Old and New Testaments, and with church history; and further the study of social science and educational science, not simply as addenda to an existing curriculum, but as actually formative elements in this curriculum. I suppose no departments have grown so rapidly recently as those dealing with religious education and the general social operation of the church. Seminaries independent of universities are one after another putting in courses in these fields, and those connected with universities are utilizing the entire sociological and educational faculties of the university.

There has grown up recently a new vocation, that of religious education. By that I mean something very similar to the training put up in teachers' colleges, normal schools, and schools of education, based on social life itself. Social psychology figures largely in it, and the practice of organization is an essential part of it as a sort of project teaching. One institution after another is appointing officers who, for the sake of a better name, we may call directors of vocational training, whose business it is to see that these men who are to be ministers really work in the field. They put the students into fields and study them there and train them in the organization of the church in social service. They are organizing all sorts of community interests. For example, we have a class in play for all students, and, as a very considerable portion of our students are married—which seems, Mr. Chairman, to be a condition which it is impossible to

overcome in our Protestant schools—we have the amusing and very interesting experience of seeing theological students and their wives being taught the principles of community recreation. Sometimes I have seen even members of the faculty engaged in chasing one another around chairs.

I have a great belief in the swimming pool and in basket ball, and similar means of grace, but I do not think any of us regard them as anything more than forms of expression. They are means of organizing and interesting real folks in Christian activity. It is this to which I would particularly call your attention. As you know, all reforms would be easy if it were not for folks. In our seminaries we are trying to give our men not only technique which comes from study and practical work in various fields, settlements, churches, Sunday schools, charity organization societies, and recreation, but to make them feel that the church as an organized group of men and women of good will has primary importance in the production of still other men and women of good will. Of course we must have technique. We must have men who know how to be sensible as well as good. But what these seminaries are attempting is to produce leaders of social groups which can serve as the nuclei of good will and a great confidence in the God of love as well as in a God of law. We shall be able to work at all reforms with such a faith in God if Christian people in the churches can be led to make the sacrifices which democracy enjoins. If it is more blessed to give than it is to receive, most people are ready to let other folks have the larger blessing. Unless we can in some way produce leaders to help furnish society with men and women possessed with a sacrificial social-mindedness, all reforms are going to be academic rather than effective.

To train men, then, to be leaders of churches, to give them a sort of manual training in social service, to fill them with the conviction that churches are not institutions for merely upholding things as they are, and that God is something more than the personification of permanent social values, a sort of transcendental Uncle Sam, this is the mission of the seminary. Its curriculum should and can meet its need.

THE SOCIOLOGICAL TRAINING OF MINISTERS AS VIEWED BY THE PROFESSIONAL SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK

Jeffrey R. Brackett, Former Director, School of Social Work, Boston

There is an association of training schools for social work; but, so far as I know, it has never expressed itself upon the subject matter before us. There is a large and growing association of American professional social workers, but I feel sure that it has not spoken on this matter. What I say is merely my own personal view, but it is one which I think is shared by many social workers.

The pith of the matter seems to me to be this, What does the social worker want the minister to be? Answer that, and we shall have answered the next question because we will want the seminary to teach the things which will make the minister that which we want him to be. But, first a word of distinction between doing social service and being a social worker. The so-called "professional social workers" are engaged in an honorable and useful calling. Distinguish the professional social workers from other persons who are doing social service with a social mind, and the whole situation clears itself. Doing social service with a social mind is the indispensable

duty of every religious person. Which do you want the minister to be? Do you want him on the one hand to be a sanctified social worker, or, on the other, a socially minded minister? I have the answer for myself ready. I want the minister to be a socially minded minister, not a kind of sanctified social worker. And I want it for two reasons. The first is because I want all social workers to be sanctified human beings and the second is because I want the minister as a specialist to do his job so well that he won't have time to be doing the work of the social worker.

All honorable activities of life can be used for the building of character, but the minister is to be, we assume, a *specialist in the use of religion* for the upbuilding of character and the development of ideals, for better persons and a better society.

What is the relation of the socially minded minister to social work? Here I think we come to a border line where it is difficult to put our fences across. What I am going to say now is rather in the nature of a confession of the difficulties, and yet I am going to be optimist enough to think we can see a way through. If the minister is to be a specialist in the use of religion for the upbuilding of character and ideals, then what do we want him to get in the theological school? That is not an easy proposition. A great social worker said, "I know one thing you should teach in the school of social work, and that is the best in English literature." She desired that for the purpose of illustrating the social mind and character development. But that should be had in college, by all, as preparation for life. Take farming. Some of our rural friends would have us feel that they want the country minister of the future to be an all-round handy man and a farmer. I do not. I want my minister in the country to belong to the Grange, as I do, to have his garden and orchard and keep chickens, but not because he is a minister but because he is a human being in the country. I want my minister in the country to believe that country people are just as much human beings, with vital spiritual needs, as are the dwellers in the city. The difficulty is in the border-line work.

Ten years ago we were thinking a good deal, and helpfully, in terms of economics. Lately we have been thinking about psychiatry and trying to determine whether we are all high-grade morons or what. But I believe that in these coming years we are going to stress a new aspect of psychology, and that it is going to take us back more and more to the wisest and kindest of workers, to Jesus of Nazareth. Here is a wonderful opportunity of working out a study in the theological schools of human behavior in the light of the religious life. That is what I believe the social worker should ask the theological schools to do. The minister will doubtless be a sort of handy man around the community house, but he should stand forth as a great specialist in this world in the development of spiritual life and conduct, in the development of ideals, through religion.

So I make a plea that the student in the theological school shall learn to be this great specialist in the things of the spirit. My other plea is that the word specialization means inevitably co-ordination and co-operation. If there is one thing I have learned in my life with regret it is that ministers do not co-operate more with social-workers and social workers with ministers. If we are going to have specialists, our specialists must work together. So my last word is the hope that the real social worker is a specialist, and that the minister is a specialist; and that they and the doctor, the lawyer, the judge, and all other socialized specialists will work together.

THE SOCIAL TRAINING OF RABBIS

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After these addresses by Father Kerby, Dean Mathews, and Dr. Brackett I feel a very real sense of embarrassment. These men represent institutions long established and with a splendid record of service; the institution I have the honor to represent is really an infant in your midst. The Jewish Institute of Religion was founded by Dr. Stephen S. Wise just a year ago and opened its doors for the first session in October, 1922. Though the institution itself is young the curriculum and program we have developed is derived from many years of our own experience and many consultations with experts. As a result of our experience in the Free Synagogue of New York and of conferences with other congregations and leaders of religious and social thought, we have decided to make social service one of the departments of study and practice in the Jewish Institute of Religion. The Social Service Department is co-ordinated with all other departments and the courses included are required for every student preparing for the rabbinate.

A number of reasons have urged us to incorporate the Department of Social Service in the curriculum and to require these courses of all students. First, the faculty and the executive council of the institute both believe that the minister today is expected to function in four ways—as a pastor, as a preacher, as a religious educator, and also as a social worker or leader in community service. This is especially true in the smaller communities where there are no highly trained social workers. If the minister is to be equipped for leadership in community service it is necessary to prepare him as carefully for social work as for preaching or for work in the field of religious education. Therefore we have extended our program to include research, religious education, and community service.

The second reason is this: We find all over America that our churches and synagogues alike are endeavoring to reconstruct themselves and to re-establish themselves as social agencies. The synagogue in the beginning was a social institution, and so, I understand, was the church. It was a place in which people gathered not only for worship but for communal activities. We have lost our power and prestige as social agencies chiefly because social work during the last twenty-five years has become a scientific procedure and the synagogue and the church have failed to follow. We now realize that in order to retrieve our position in the social field it is necessary for us to train ourselves and to become as far as possible experts. The hospital is a medical center for community service, the school is an educational center for community service; the church and the synagogue, in our judgment, should be religious centers for community service. The church and the synagogue must be brought into closer contact with society and must learn to serve society more directly and efficiently than they have done during the past one-quarter of a century.

The third reason must be evident to everyone today. Religion has a social meaning and a social message. The center of religion, the very soul of religion, is communion—communion with the Oversoul, communion with God. When this central religious experience is translated into the accents of the intellect it becomes a creed; when it seeks to embody itself in forms of beauty it becomes symbols and ceremonies; when it endeavors to express itself in conduct it becomes service. Service, in other

words, is just as legitimate and just as necessary an expression of the religious spirit as is the repetition of creeds or the observances of ceremonies. This interpretation of religion is not new; it is very old: "What doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, to love mercy and to walk reverently with thy God." This message of Micah is the burden of all great religious teachers in Israel, from Amos, who denounced the social corruption in Samaria down to Jesus of Nazareth who drove the money-changers out of the Temple in Jerusalem and by this act sealed his own death warrant.

The time allotted me is too short to describe the courses we have included in the Social Service Department. They include the following: First, the history of the synagogue and social service, in order that the men may learn the origin and development of the synagogue, the social activities associated with it in the course of the centuries, and the different ways in which the synagogue and the church are endeavoring to recreate themselves as social institutions. Second, the history of social legislation in Israel, which outlines for the men the ways in which Israel has endeavored through legislation to meet the social needs from century to century. Third, the causes of distress and groups in need of service. Some of our men come to us believing that the sole cause of distress is personal depravity; some come believing that the sole cause is social maladjustment. They do not know that we have outgrown both these theories and that the causes of distress are found in different circles of life, sometimes in the circle of the individual, sometimes in the circle of the family, sometimes in the home, sometimes in the neighborhood, sometimes in occupational life, and often in the larger circle of social organization. We do not begin with a study of institutions or even of organizations, as we once did in social service. We begin with groups in need and then study the organizations and institutions that have come into being to serve them. Fourth, the principles of community organization, so that the minister may understand the elementary social enterprises and the most effective way in which to organize social groups and social forces. Fifth, the critical study of social programs, which includes the study of the social ideals of the ancient world, the Middle Ages, and our own day, stressing the social programs of the church and the different industrial and political groups. The sixth course includes studies of social problems in current social life.

What results do we hope to attain? We hope, for one thing, that the men who graduate from the Jewish Institute of Religion will have an adequate understanding of what Dr. Southard has called the Kingdom of Evil. For centuries we have been preaching the Kingdom of God. The time has come to realize that the Kingdom of God can advance only as the conditions that make up the Kingdom of Evil are changed and corrected. Another thing we hope is that our graduates will be enabled to speak with some degree of authority. Authority is derived from two things, knowledge and experience. These two things our men must have. They must get them through their study and discussion in the classroom and through their service in the field which will be carefully directed and supervised. Much damage has been done religion and the ministry by preachers who speak without knowledge and without experience and whose sermons, therefore, are irresponsible endeavors to deal with social questions.

Last of all and most of all we hope for another thing. During the last fifteen or twenty years we have been trying to socialize religion. We have reached the hour when we must undertake to religionize our social life. This means that we must work out in social practice all those great principles and ideals common to your faith and mine;

the principle of freedom, not the freedom which liberates the body but that which enfranchises the soul; the principle of the sanctity of human life, which means that life must be allowed to develop its highest powers in every man and woman; the principle that the resources of the earth are not the possession of a minority of men but belong to all humankind and are to be utilized not for the purpose of enriching a few but for the purpose of serving all; the principle that it is the function of our economic life not to create profits but to serve society, and that the first charge upon industry and commerce and finance is not dividends but adequate maintenance of every man, woman, and child upon a decent self-supporting, self-reliant, and self-respecting level of life. The organic laws of social life are not the laws of economics but the laws of ethics. This is the platform upon which we stand.

This year I invited a Christian colleague to preach in my pulpit. He said he would be glad to do so and to speak upon "What the Jew and the Christian Have in Common." He divided his address into three parts: "When I consider our doctrines," he said, "I find the Jew and the Christian are far apart. When I consider our ceremonies I find we are near together. When I consider our social ideals I find that we both stand upon the same platform." This to me is the final reason for introducing social service into the seminaries. It means the development of a common program to which you and I and all groups can dedicate ourselves. May God speed the time when this common program will become yours and mine, and the program of all ministers in America.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR PRACTICAL SOCIAL WORK AND FOR DIRECTED READING DURING THE PERIOD OF SEMINARY TRAINING

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The relation of the seminary to training for social work has just been discussed from the viewpoint of the theological faculty and that of the practical social worker. Let us now consider it from the position of the student in the seminary who perhaps has listened to this discussion and asks what practical opportunities for directed reading are open to him while in the seminary. To the man who has only three years in which to prepare himself for his ministry, three years heavily crowded with abstruse academic subjects, it is not a question of theory, but rather what actual provision the seminary has seen fit to make.

We shall remember throughout our discussion that in giving the theological students social training we do not expect nor desire to make them finished social workers. We desire rather to give them a keen understanding of normal and abnormal social life and such a knowledge of the difficulty of social problems both among families and groups that they will not attempt to do social work themselves. That is, we desire to give them so great an understanding of the urgency and complexity of common social ills that they will neither ignore them nor think they can patch them up in an amateurish fashion. We want them to seek the co-operation of those trained social workers and organizations which can help them. Only when such assistance cannot be secured, or when the clergyman intends to be a specialist in a certain type of work such as that among

immigrants, or in courts and prisons, should he be expected to know the technical detail of social work.

The types of training which a student might expect to receive in the seminary would include three general courses of value to every pastor, and perhaps other courses for specialists: first, the organization of the normal parish, which should acquaint the student with the social life of normal groups in the community in order to enable him to carry on intelligently the usual social activities of the normal city or town parish; e.g. guilds, recreational activities for the young, the friendly social side of congregational life, and other common parish house activities; second, social diagnosis and survey methods, because the pastor, who is necessarily a leader in many community activities, should be familiar with the complex social organization of modern life, understanding how to size up his community, evaluate its social forces, identify such disruptive elements as bad housing, low wages, poor working conditions, inadequate recreational facilities, etc., and recognize the constructive forces which can be utilized to upbuild the group; third, methods of social case work. Finally, but by no means least, the theological student might properly expect to receive some insight into the theory and method of social case work as they relate to individuals and families, in order better to understand the fundamental maladjustments which take him into the homes of the poor and underprivileged to minister relief, and which bring people to his study seeking advice or to the confessional as penitents. Understanding social case-work methods, it is hoped that the pastor will recognize that the trained social worker can help him in his pastoral work.

So much, we venture to suggest, may the average theological student properly expect to learn about during his theological training. Even the specialist, who is looking forward to a certain type of church work, may ask some guidance. In the ideal seminary, provision should therefore be made for students to study the kinds of social work needed in congested urban centers, and in industrial, rural, and immigrant communities, to learn something about the institutional parish, religious and social work in custodial institutions of various kinds, rescue work, court work, and that among seamen.

These are ideals. What actually do we find? To ascertain the facts I have made inquiries from some thirty-five seminaries, representing the best institutions in the chief communities in this country. I shall give the results of what they have reported concerning directed reading and field work.

Practically every seminary reports some kind of directed reading in social problems in the departments of sociology, ethics, or pastoral care. The majority of these courses are given by some members of the seminary faculty. In many cases, however, as in Cambridge Theological School and Yale Divinity School, this work is done at the university with which the seminary is affiliated, the whole department of sociology being open to the theological students. This sounds very encouraging until upon critical examination one realizes that actually very little attention is given to the social preparation of the students. The courses provided are usually electives, limited to the abstract principles of sociology, economics, or political economy, with little or no application to the practical problems which a pastor encounters in his work and with no first-hand field investigation. In those few cases where the seminary does not provide directed reading in social subjects the eager student who knows the ropes need but look to the schools of social work, the social-service board of his own church, or the universities

to find ample suggestions. But practical experience, under competent direction, is needed to make even well-planned reading or lecture courses graphic and fruitful.

Turning therefore to the question of what opportunities for field experience in social problems are open to seminarians, we must first remember that the location of the seminary in the open country, small town, or city seems to condition quite radically the experimental fields in which the men might work. Immigrant communities or seamen's work cannot well be studied first hand in a small Kentucky town, nor can rural life in New York or Chicago. On the whole, the seminaries located in the larger cities offer opportunities for widely varied social work under good leadership that the school in the small town seems to lack. New York, Boston, Chicago, and St. Louis have abundant advantages. This apparent handicap confronting the school in a small town or open country may however be capitalized as at Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Connecticut, where they specialize in rural sociology.

However, regardless of location, the field for experimental studies is always at hand. The seminary cannot get away from people and groups of people. Human problems crowd about them. The laboratory for social studies may profitably be found even in the internal life of the school, among the students and their families. With trained leadership the men may learn to recognize the significance for society of their own personal problems, and in this laboratory learn universally valid principles. In fact, the greatest problem in preparing for social work is that of arousing ourselves from the dream world in which we live and opening our eyes to the ever present, nearby-human problems which result from the contact of people in society. The theological student who passes immediately from the pleasant college course to the quiet seminary halls seems especially liable to live in an unreal world until upon his graduation, or, long years after, he comes into brutal contact with the facts of life and sees human conditions as they actually are.

What does our study of the thirty-five seminaries reveal concerning their use of their special opportunities to supplement reading with field work? They fall into two classes.

Those of the first class, including most of the seminaries studied, give no serious consideration to the thought of providing their men a practical, as distinguished from a theoretical, knowledge of social subjects. They content themselves with a few elective courses which have to compete for consideration with the other academic subjects. The attitude of the faculties in a few such schools was that if the men were especially interested in such subjects there could be no objection as long as it did not interfere with the "more important" elements in the curriculum. This apathy arises from the heavy academic, theological schedules required of students for the ministry in most churches, completely filling the three brief seminary years and really demanding more time; from the fact that, as in Roman Catholic seminaries, the men lead a semimonastic life under rigid discipline; and also from the fact that in most Protestant seminaries the men find it necessary to earn money for their expenses by taking spare-time, remunerative work provided by student pastorates, Sunday-school teaching, and club work, which is primarily regarded as a source of income rather than a definite field for experience. The net result is that those men who are blind to the social obligations which may be incumbent upon them as pastors, remain blind; others do work which does not interest them enough to command their attention to its social implications; and only a minority realize how invaluable such experiences might be. Too many are the men,

who, upon entering their life-work, recall with regret the wasted fields for directed study when in the seminary. Such a condition cannot be otherwise when the seminaries give their students no credit for their practical work or even attempt to direct it. The most that they learn is a little about the clubs, guilds, and Sunday schools of the normal parish.

Pioneer work of an exemplary character has been inaugurated by a few outstanding theological schools where there is full recognition that theirs is the responsibility to arouse the social conscience of the men and to give them not theory only but also practical field training. Union Theological Seminary, the Boston University School of Theology, the University of Chicago Divinity School, the Garrett Biblical Institute, Berkeley Divinity School, and Auburn Theological Seminary, together with some on the Pacific coast, provide practical field work and give the men credit for it toward their graduation. In a few cases, the field work is required of all the students. We can distinguish four general methods by which the field work is related to the curriculum.

The most common method is to provide lecture courses on such subjects as social-survey methods and case work, with which are connected field excursions for observations of practical work. For example, the course *Intensive Study of Religion as a Corrective in Character Failure*, is provided in the Philadelphia Divinity School. The object of this course is to guide the student in the application of religion as a constructive and transforming force to individual lives. First, the students will be shown the workings of the municipal court, and typical cases of delinquency, dependency, and failure will be studied. Then to each student will be assigned some case, which, under the personal guidance of the instructor, he will study closely, endeavoring to bring the cure to bear in such form as the diagnosis suggests. The following course is provided at the divinity school of the University of Chicago: "*Social Pathology*—pathological conditions and processes in modern society, the social factors involved in malnutrition, physical defectiveness, feeble-mindedness, insanity, undirected play and commercial recreation, alcoholism, prostitution, poverty, vagrancy, juvenile and adult delinquency, inspection trips, survey assignments, and attendance at clinics." The Boston University School of Religious Education and Social Service offers a course entitled "*Urban Sociology*." After describing the course, which is designed to acquaint the student with the sociological aspects of the modern city, to introduce him to the various relationships existing between agencies co-operating for city redemption, and to familiarize him with the working programs of various types of city churches, it suggests the following field work: "One weekly assignment of laboratory work in connection with an approved city church or social institution may be undertaken. The aim of the assignment is that the student shall have the best available opportunity to acquire first-hand knowledge and practical experience of social institutional work in a field of his major interest."

The project method of field work, our second type, is best illustrated by the arrangement made at Union Theological Seminary in New York. In addition to many courses in all phases of social science there is required a year of field work under the field-work director. The men are expected to devote nine hours a week to this field work. The director assigns to each student a special group of people, usually a boy's club, in a settlement or institutional parish. The student is expected to lead its activities, study it intensively, know each boy's home life, playmates, school life, and the general background in which he lives. In addition to this he meets his field-work

director in a general conference once a week, when the men bring forward the difficult problems raised by the work, and again for a personal conference. This case method, or project method, gives the men an invaluable, concrete experience of an essential social unit to which they may relate their future studies. In order to be able to command the men's time during this year, the seminary pays each student \$400 for his services and in turn is reimbursed partly or wholly by the church or settlement served. The significant elements in this method of field work are that, practical work is required of all the men and receives credit, it is under a competent field director, and the students learn by doing. Ample courses in social diagnosis, industrial problems, the relation of the church to the community, and the methods of the institutional parish make the curriculum most valuable.

A slight modification of the same project method gives us our third type of field work well illustrated by the arrangement in the Boston University School of Theology. Here the field experience is not only among boys but is gained through whatever outside work, such as student pastorates and settlement work, the men normally undertake. The seminarian is made to study his chosen field in a scientific manner under the field director and to bring his results to the social laboratory where they are analyzed by the class and constructive suggestions received. This method has the advantage of relating the men to the varied communities into which their outside work calls them. Down-town parishes, rural industrial towns, large manufacturing centers, the open country, and immigrant neighborhoods offer widely diverse fields for experimentation. When men are preparing for a special type of work, care is taken to see that they have experience in that field. The long list of lecture courses with required field work, including social case work, social statistics and research, survey methodology, neighborhood and community work, Americanization work, etc., offers facilities for great specialization.

The utilization of the vacation period has not been adequately developed, except at a few places such as Auburn Theological Seminary, New York. Here it is their opinion that "the best method of giving the men practical experience consists in eight months of intensive, though not exclusive, pursuit of seminary studies and four months of intensive and exclusive study of social conditions in various fields of social activity." In carrying out this method the men are given an opportunity for directed study of institutions in New York during the summer. The utilization of the vacation period is especially desirable when studying rural work. A number of churches, the Presbyterian Church for example, make a definite effort to get the men into rural experiment stations where they may have an opportunity under trained leaders to make intensive investigations. More such opportunities should be provided, not alone for the rural field, but also for work among immigrants, down-town groups, industrial communities, etc. When these field studies can be related to courses in schools for social work, the vacation may be most profitably employed without detriment to the strictly theological curriculum.

We inquired as to the feasibility of requiring field work. Social problems are always with us. We need but see them clearly to begin to learn about them. Directed social thinking is possible in any environment, provided there is adequate leadership. When asked whether it was practicable to require social work as part of the seminary curriculum, twelve of the deans believed that it was. The experiences of those who

have tried it cannot be unique. If others can be made to realize how all-important the work is, they would find it possible to incorporate it in the curriculum.

It would be interesting at this point to know to what extent the seminaries have succeeded in offering experience in those particular courses suggested above as desirable for all students. In the thirty-five replies received to the questionnaire, twenty-five said they offered experience in practical parish work; seventeen in survey methods; seventeen in practical survey of the field of social work; and only nine offered work in family case methods. Rural social work was feasible in seventeen schools, recreational activities in fifteen, settlement-house work in thirteen, city institutions thirteen, immigrant communities eleven, work in courts and prisons ten, rescue work in six, and medical social service in but two. Most of these activities were carried on during the seminary period and only a few during the vacation.

SUMMARY OF REPLIES FROM THIRTY-FIVE SEMINARIES CONCERNING PROVISIONS FOR PRACTICAL SOCIAL WORK AND FOR DIRECTED READING DURING SEMINARY TRAINING

1. Provision for directed reading, 33; no provision, 2.

2. Kinds of practical social work available to the students:

General survey of field of social work.....	17
Directed family case work.....	7
Settlement house work.....	13
Recreational work.....	15
Industrial welfare.....	9
Medical social service.....	2
City institution.....	13
Courts and prisons.....	10
Immigrant communities.....	11
Rescue work.....	6
Rural social work.....	17
Social-survey methods.....	17
Ordinary parish house work.....	25

3. Compensation to the students financially; out of twenty-one replies fourteen said yes, five no.

4. Requirement of work as part of seminary course; of twenty-two replies twelve said it was required, ten no.

5. Credit toward graduation given by fourteen.

In the study of social case work, which, though very important, has been greatly overlooked, it may be suggested that there is ample opportunity to give the men a thorough grounding in the subject not only by the consideration of actual case records in the classroom but by attending the work-a-day case conferences of a convenient social institution, followed by the investigation of a few cases themselves.

The seminary may stimulate further work, first, by giving credit for lecture and reading courses and for field work; or, better, by requiring such work as part of the curriculum. Union Theological Seminary and the divinity schools of the University of Chicago and Boston University are examples of success; second, by placing a director of field work in charge of the men's field activities; third, by co-operating with

general church authorities, schools of social work, and social agencies to give the men field training; fourth, by placing the men in good social institutions for experience during the vacations; fifth, by encouraging them to take a fourth year in which to do special work at a regular social work school, or in a model social institution; sixth, by providing for those who desire to specialize along certain lines the proper opportunities and direction.

In conclusion, let us remember that the opportunity for observing social life is ever present; that it is the duty of the seminaries to open the eyes of their students to the social significance of their ministry; and that, except for those who are specializing, we do not expect the men to go as far in these studies as would be necessary for the trained social worker, and yet at the same time we wish them to go far enough to be intelligent, socially minded pastors, who can recognize when they need to turn to the many social agencies in the community for assistance.

HOW THE CHURCH MAY RELATE ITSELF TO THE SOCIAL WORK OF THE COMMUNITY

*Frank J. Bruno, General Secretary, Family Welfare Association,
Minneapolis, presiding*

Social work has a unique relationship to the church. Like so many other forms of adjustments between individuals, it grew out of church activities. At the present time it has developed rapidly and, whether consciously or not, it has done so independently of the church. In the meantime, the church as the repository of the desire of any generation to serve finds itself cut off from the most important of all forms of service by this separate development. Efforts have been made in various communities to bridge this gap, and the luncheon this noon is called to discuss those methods and to point out their probable development.

We do not wish to discuss whether the church should do social work or not, or the place of the church in that very important function of creating public opinion looking toward reform. We should limit ourselves strictly to a discussion of the way in which the church and social work may use each other to their mutual advantage.

THE RELATION OF THE PASTOR

*Rev. Julius C. H. Sauber, Secretary, Social Service Commission, Protestant
Episcopal Church, Pittsburgh*

The relation of a pastor of a church to the social work of a community can be such as to bring reciprocal and increasing benefit to the pastor, his congregation, and to whatever agency his interest and inclination may lead him. As the pastor of a congregation he stands potentially as much more than himself, for he represents the financial and material resources of his congregation as well as a possible group of workers. The pastor is the key to whatever volume of good there may be stored within the group which he represents. No other means leads so directly into the group life of any religious congregation.

The particular things which a pastor might do are determined by his personality, his interests, his experience, and his position. He may be on boards and committees to raise funds or to determine procedure. He may be an active volunteer worker, or

he may be a specialist in some department of any of the agencies. With this type of co-operation both the churches and agencies are already acquainted.

The uninterested pastor requires consideration. To enlist his attention obviously is a matter of salesmanship. Selling is a matter of reciprocity. It is the commercial edition of friend-making. To secure his interest, the agency should be interested in him and his problems. The agency which is most likely to help him to solve his problems is the one most likely to engage his interest, it being remembered that the human need is the big motive always. When the interest of the pastor is engaged, other things may follow, or they may not. The probabilities are that they will. One of the best ways to get a thing is to ask for it with directness and earnestness. The directness of the request will show the how, when, where, and why. And these reasons are mostly determined by the local circumstances and conditions.

The relations which have existed between churches and agencies in the past have usually been most cordial and have produced good results. It is very seldom that such relations have not continued to grow provided that denominationalism and professionalism have been overlooked and the human element has been kept in the center of vision. It is the common experience that once a pastor's interest is engaged it seldom is lost. He soon understands that "cases" are persons, that "B.I." has no secret meaning, and that the third person is the recipient of all the good that results from the partnership of interest and effort.

The churches are becoming increasingly aware of their obligations to the community. That soon there may be a collective vision for all religious bodies which will induce united action in the affairs of the community is the hope of not a few persons. Already many of the denominations have social-service commissions which are endeavoring to establish similar committees in each parish. Such committees will relate their church group to the community. It is to be seen that some time must pass before widespread activity will take place. There must be time for spreading and digesting that information. The churches are organizations of people. That the required point of view will come is without question. Many of the church summer schools and conferences have a place for social welfare in their courses. Also the newer organizations for young people are built on the idea of service. In the work of spreading information the welfare organizations have their opportunity to bring their representatives before the church groups.

This opportunity indicates one of the greatest needs of this present time. Is not the great social problem the need of a socialized public opinion? Is it not now time for a clear understanding of the conditions of human living and the contrasting possible standards? The possible standards are the ideal. Could not the churches undertake a program of informing the general public with regard to social programs? A program of public meetings for such a purpose would most certainly receive the support of social agencies. Viewed from many angles this seems to be the next best step in co-operation.

A word with regard to the extended use of the interested pastor. Every pastor represents not only his own personal energy, the resources of his congregation in money and possible workers, the dignity of his denominational persuasion, but also something far greater. Behind him, his denomination, and his congregation are the reasons for their being. This reason for their being where and what they are is some great conviction that has in it vitality, motive, dynamic and therapeutic power. It is religion as a power.

Is there room in the work of social agencies for the religious element? Care must be taken lest the churches seem to be welcome for only the material aid and the interest they can bring. Cannot the pastor be welcome for his religious contribution? Can he not be made use of as one who can alter the inner spirit of "the case"? The cautions which spring to mind very nearly overawe the suggestion, but still there remains that possible plane of co-operation where case work and pastoral care together see, recognize, and care for the inner factors which if cared for might prevent many cases becoming repetitions. This is to suggest merely that the pastor be equipped to be and expected to be a specialist, and that the place of a pastor as a specialist in case work be a matter of special investigation.

RELATION OF THE CHURCH TO SOCIAL AGENCIES

Dr. Worth M. Tippy, Federal Council of Churches, New York City

The churches have a vital place in all forms of social service. In the matter of social case work and reconstruction of families they should be held accountable as an agency for the spiritual reconstruction of individuals. In this field they should work with accuracy and experience. The local church is also inevitably a neighborhood center of importance, with rapidly developing leisure-time activities. The church has a vital place in the redemption of delinquents and therefore in a co-operation represented by the juvenile court and the psychopathic clinic.

The development of scientific social work is so rapid that the churches are not prepared to function properly in the co-operation, and it is impossible that they should function properly, even in their sphere of spiritual reconstruction, unless they understand social work.

The churches therefore face the problem of developing trained social workers. It is not necessary, as a rule, that they themselves should train workers, for they can reach out to the schools of social work and trained persons who are already engaged in the social service of communities. Every strong church having a staff should have such a worker, responsible for the education and organization of the church and for its contact with community agencies. Every federation of churches in a community should likewise have an experienced person or persons whose function it is to work at the problem of the organization of all the churches and to make the contacts between the churches and the juvenile court and the psychopathic clinic and the social agencies. I think also that the denominations should take on competent specialists, especially in child-care, delinquency, leisure time and sex education.

I believe strongly in the community-wide agency and I would develop trained service in the church, primarily to relate the church with its specialized function to the co-operation which is at work in the community. I do think that where a local church has a competent social worker, he might well take care of the church's case work, but in strictest co-operation and harmony with the central registration bureau and the common community agencies of the community. Such decentralization is desirable if the work decentralized can be done thoroughly and in strict co-operation.

Speaking of the relationship of the social workers to the churches, social workers are really doing religious work in that they have entered into the struggle for human life and are aiming first of all at character. The problems which they face are difficult and oftentimes in their mass depressing. Social workers therefore need a fountain of

spiritual refreshment in their own souls, which shall constantly replenish their courage, faith, development, and singleness of purpose. I wish that every service of public worship in the churches might contribute to the inspiration and strengthening of those who attend, so that the social worker could count upon what he needs when he goes to church. I suggest this to the pastors as a matter for serious consideration.

I wish also that social workers were more keenly alive to how much the church needs them for its own awakening and better organization for community work. It would be worth while, I am sure, for any social worker to devote a certain amount of his time to a church of his own faith or to some other church, not for what he would get out of it in inspiration, but for what he can do in helping the pastor and membership to understand the social movement, and in bringing the church more effectively into social action.

HOW CAN THE MINISTER CO-OPERATE WITH THE SOCIAL WORKER?

Arthur E. Holt, Secretary Congregational Education Society, Boston.

First, the minister can join with the social worker in reducing to a minimum the social anarchy which reigns in the average modern community because of the competitive drive of a multitude of voluntary religious and social agencies. A friend of mine recently enumerated sixty-two agencies which were being projected across the country in an uncorrelated way for the salvation of American youth. Take a community which I know. We once had one church, and then by a process of competitive drift we acquired five. Then the Young Men's Christian Association came in and organized the boys away from the churches. The Boy Scouts came in and organized the boys away from the Young Men's Christian Association. The Camp Fire Girls came in and organized the girls unto itself. Then the Girl Scouts came in and entered into competition with the Camp Fire Girls. Then the Young Women's Christian Association came and offered, if the girls would join the Girl Reserves, to organize them back to the churches. Two or three other organizations have entered into the competition, and just at present one of the community organizations which heads out of New York City is surveying the community with the purpose of putting up a clubhouse and making itself the center of life for the Boy Scouts and similar organizations. Our community is like a divorce court—the plaintiff for separation always wins. It is a standard of life which is being betrayed. Most of these organizations are competing for the support of the same group of young people. As a result, the organizations make membership possible on the easiest terms.

From one of the more recent attempts to organize the young people of our community I received the following report. I asked the young girl who attended as a delegate to tell me what was done at the meeting.

"First," she said, "we sang songs, then the leader of the meeting had us all stand up in our chairs. We put one finger up on top of our heads and all spun around singing:

I'm a little prairie flower
Growing wilder every hour,
No one ever cultivated me
I'm as wild as I can be.

"What did you do then?" I said. "Oh we were told to go home and put some life in our home churches," she replied.

Now the cure for all this is not a new organization but the realization on the part of all organizations, religious and social, that their mission in the community is not to organize members unto themselves but to help set up a standard of life for the people of that community; that they fail whenever they call attention to themselves at the expense of that standard; that some of them must bear witness to the standard by withdrawing from the community altogether; that all will have succeeded only when they have brought the whole community under the discipline of an ideal. The minister has his real chance in promoting a co-operative rather than a decisive religion and both social worker and religious leader can help to substitute public-mindedness for organization-mindedness and professional jealousy.

Second, the minister can join the social worker in knowing the community. The symbol of social conversion on the part of the modern minister is his willingness to join in a community survey. There are four bodies of facts which we should know about every community.

We need to know who the people are and where they live. Every minister and social worker ought to know this much about all the people of the community or at least to have access to such a body of well-organized information. I believe that the time is coming when the churches must place at the beginning of their annual program a population survey and that they will give to this as scrupulous attention as they now give to the taking up of the collection on Sunday morning. We need to know how the people live. Such a survey deals with the standards of living and the methods by which people make their living. It takes account of housing, sanitation, and education. Such a survey ought to be taken at least every ten years. We need to know in addition to these rather superficial things that more important fact about the inner life of the people. We need to know what people are thinking about. We need to know what is on their minds. For not until you get into this realm have you reached the most important field in which the church operates. After all the surveys of the big industries had been taken, Whiting Williams invaded the steel mills and the coal mines and then wrote his book *What's on the Worker's Mind*. He had penetrated a new realm and discovered a rich gold mine. His discoveries in the psychology of the industrial workers revealed material which was intensely important from the standpoint of the moral teacher and the religious leader. May I prophesy that it is in this realm that the great social surveys will be taken in the future?

Third, the minister can join with social workers in a new attempt to minister to the minds of folks and especially to the minds of the distressed. Here I think church and social worker are preparing for war or co-operation. I am not altogether sure which it is to be.

Mr. Stockton Raymond, general secretary of the Family Welfare Society of Boston, said not long ago: "Social work has passed through three stages. First, there was the stage of investigation. Then, beginning with 1915, there was the emphasis placed on treatment. Now, it is placed on the motive and the understanding of people." Now when you have entered the realm of motive and the understanding of people, you have entered the realm where you are perpetually dealing with motive in its socialized and organized phases; namely, with religion. I say it is not at all certain whether the new point of contact between religion and the social worker means war or co-operation. A friend of mine, who is very much interested in the contribution which he believes religion can make to the cure of the distressed mind, called the other day on a leading

psychiatrist who repelled an offer of co-operation with these words: "My work as a psychiatrist is to help rid society of a sense of guilt. It is a scientific task, and I want the church and the ministers to keep out of my field." It is pretty hard to look upon that statement except in the light of what in Washington would be called "a severance of diplomatic relations," which might possibly lead to unpleasant consequences. I trust that it is not going to be the attitude of the vast majority of social workers in this realm.

May I suggest that the churches have resources of helpfulness in their ministry to minds distressed. They have first, a philosophy of life which gives comfort and encouragement and strength; second, a means of re-education through suggestion; viz., prayer, which is probably the best of all methods of psychiatry; third, a fellowship of socially minded people. I think it is also pertinent to say that these resources of helpfulness the church alone can use with the largest effectiveness, and that there will be economy in calling upon the church to use them.

The last speaker has suggested that the church withdraw from this field. Most of the discussions as to whether or not the church should withdraw from this field seem to me to lose sight of a very important fact. The psychiatrist is studying individual cases of mental disturbance inside of an area in which the church has been standardizing the minds of men with a wholesome belief in one God, who does things in an orderly way and who has a loving purpose for men. Have any of our psychiatrists ever faced the problem of ministering to the mind distressed in a land where the assumption of all people is that the universe is freakish and petulant in its central purpose toward men, and that the world is full of demons who can take possession of the human spirit. If the churches were all removed you would not get absence of religion, you would get an inrushing tide of base superstition. The clairvoyant, the performer on the ouija board, and the fortune-teller would thrive. There would be a recourse to all those devices by which the human spirit seeks a solution for the great mysteries of life. Individual case work is necessary, but have we ever considered what case work would be if Christianity, which is the main line of defense against superstition, should give way. I am certainly willing to admit that the church needs to learn from the social worker a more skillful technique in dealing with individuals. But this is not the place for the social worker to bow the minister out of the field with a "thank you for past services." It is rather a place for a new and finer type of co-operation.

Fourth, the minister can join with the social worker in writing into the conscience platform of the American Christians some planks which are of vital significance. Many churches are open to the criticism that although they make people conscientious, they make them conscientious about petty issues. The real question is, about what are the churches making the people conscientious. Mark Twain tells the story of an inspired Yankee who found a religious fanatic sitting by the side of the road. The fanatic was waving back and forth in the name of his religion and accomplishing nothing. The ingenious Yankee fitted up a set of straps and braces whereby the man in his waving back and forth was compelled to run a sewing machine, and he made a useful citizen of him. This story rather crudely illustrates a truth about the greatness of our religion. In its best days the dynamic of its great motives has always been linked to worth-while tasks. The Hebrews knew how to locate their moral traffic cops at the main crossings of the world's highways and not in the back alleys.

The question which we face at the present time is the question as to whether or not we can make the people conscientious about the great vital issues of human welfare. These issues none know better than the social worker. His technical skill and his knowledge of community life can add to the sense of divine urge which the minister brings, that necessary quality which makes religion a constructive power for the undergirding of the social order.

RELATING THE CHURCH TO SOCIAL WORK

Floyd Van Keuren, formerly Secretary, Family Welfare Society, Columbus, Ohio

One difficulty in relating the church to social work has its roots in history. The church was the pioneer in general social activities. It was the mother of all social agencies. It was the original associated charities. Its priest as medicine man was the primitive board of health. It initiated, and, for many generations, was the sole administrator of hospitals, schools, and universities. In fact, social case work itself is only a new name for an old service, an ever developing service, which found effective and beautiful expression in the intimate pastoral activities of such devoted ministers, priests, and pastors as the beloved Bishop Bienvenu in *Les Misérables*.

With the growing magnitude and complexity of social relationships, and the increased interest in social service, the church has been relieved of many social activities in which it had been a vigorous pioneer. The innumerable community organizations which have arisen for the carrying on of specialized activities have raised a difficult problem for the church. Shall she be indifferent to these developing social forces? Shall she compete with them by continuing co-lateral community activities? Or shall she co-operate to the fullest extent by finding her own special sphere of work and making her own special contribution?

This choice may be easy in theory, but it is exceedingly difficult in practice. In far mission fields, and at home in rural and urban neighborhoods overlooked and untouched by non-church social agencies, the church has been forced to give manifold social service in hospital, school, and parish house, pioneering here as she has pioneered in history. But many church leaders rightly feel that technical social service for the community at large, such as health, general education, recreation, and rehabilitative case work, which includes the question of material relief and standards of living, should ultimately be undertaken by the community itself, either through its public or private specialized agencies. The church has a definite responsibility for pioneer and demonstration service. But, in the long run, the church which does not develop community responsibility for these community services, and which does not gladly relinquish them to the community when the time is ripe, is a disintegrating and anti-social force in the community.

The question of the church's specialized social service to its own members is not under discussion. Necessarily the church, like the home, has its own private social activities as a means of expressing and preserving the unity of the group. In the church these services are religious education, various kinds of recreation chiefly with a social emphasis, and the intimate social services which are possible between those who know each other well and are in a sense part of the same family. But these services, whether educational, recreational, or even relating to health, are "pastoral" and are only indirectly related to the community.

The church certainly has great opportunity, and equally great responsibility, for awakening and preserving in the community socially intelligent public opinion. It should develop and inspire social leaders and workers, whose enthusiasm would find expression not merely in financial contributions to social work, but in personal service on directorates and committees, or in more technical service as trained volunteers and paid workers, or simply as socially enthusiastic citizens. These things, of course, the church should do. But, doing them, it has still left undone what seems to me to be its great and special social function.

What then is the special and technical place of the church, other than as a pioneer or as a source of inspiration and leadership, in the social order of the community? The only way by which a logical answer can be arrived at is on the definite premise that the church, whatever it may be theologically, is, in its relation to the community, a social agency. Like each of the community's social agencies, it has a specific and, in a sense, limited function. This special function of the church is so splendid, and of such supreme necessity, that, among all the social agencies of the community, the church has the most glorious challenge.

A family social worker sat in a dejected-looking room, racking her brain over the well-known problem of what-to-do-next for the spineless woman before her. There were plenty of possibilities if the woman would only co-operate. But she wouldn't. And no treatment had been able to put backbone into her. One clue, however, had not been followed, the happy memory of a church connection in the woman's youth. The case worker sought the co-operation of a neighboring pastor of the woman's denomination, and asked his church to contribute to the woman an understanding woman friend, who, through the contacts of continuing friendship, could silently and naturally infect this woman with faith and courage. The pastor caught the idea and put it up to a group of his women. These women discussed it, passed some resolutions, and sent a basket of food. This story does not do justice to the church as a whole. In many places such an absurd result could not have happened. Neither is the story a criticism of the clergy, many of whom are so encumbered with details that they are not able to give that intensive pastoral service which is one of the chief glories of their profession. The story does illustrate two things: First, the trend of recent social thought, and, second, the special function of the church in social work.

Religion as a rehabilitative force is now on the social worker's mind. Long ago we learned that model tenements alone do not make model families, and that man can never live by bread alone. And in trying to discover why economic and material treatment alone accomplished so little, we have learned that however great may be the value of outward physical conditions, the real field of the rehabilitative process, whether of the individual or the neighborhood, is within. Beneath the visible standards of living there is the human life itself. And in discovering that economic dependency is not dependency at all, but is isolation from economic resources, we have learned that most human maladjustments are isolations from life-giving forces and resources. Thus we find in our clients isolation from the commercial and industrial world, isolation from health resources, and, in mental difficulties, lack of contact with those mental associations and inhibitions which sensation usually awakens in the normal mind.

In attempting to re-establish contacts, we have learned that contact is not mere propinquity nor physical touch. It is a living connection between the individual personality on the one hand and the source of power and resource of expression on the other. It is organic, like the grafting of a branch or a bone. It is accomplished only when

circulation actually begins. This circulation between the personality and the environment, this alternating flow of give and take, of service and return, of inspiration and expression, of social charge and discharge, is the thing by which personality develops and life keeps normal. Social case work is simply the attempt to restore the circulation.

Activities, rather than things, therefore become the chief emphasis of the social worker. He thinks in terms of work, of education, of play, and of love. The simplest affection of a client for a social worker is frequently the beginning of a widening circle of interests and contacts. The despairing question, What's the use? is answered by, Do it for my sake. Little things thus accomplished for the visitor's sake, a room kept in order, dishes washed, children cared for, lead to a consciousness of power and of a living contact with life.

But there is one contact in the art of social relationship which is fundamental, a conscious contact with a divine Father. This is the greatest of all social contacts. For as one becomes increasingly conscious of give and take, of service and return, between himself and the finest in love and the greatest in power, sleeping aspirations are awakened, weak wills are strengthened, new forces are aroused, and the isolation which is perhaps fundamental to all isolations is destroyed. This contact, too, is organic, and is grown into gradually. It begins with the simplest forms to which the patient can respond, and leads slowly into a larger response. This then suggests the special function of the church as a social agency—the developing of a vital worship contact in maladjusted human lives. By concentrating on this endeavor, the church will not only relate itself constructively and continuously to social work but will become the greatest social force in the community.

This function of the church means vastly more than the supplying of friendly visitors, even the best friendly visitors, important as this service is. It means a kind of specialized friendly visiting. It means trained, though probably volunteer, workers, skilled in accomplishing the definite service of developing the worship contact. One ought to be able to get this special service from a church as one gets a special health service from a visiting-nurse society. The church certainly has the resources for giving such service. Its symbolic and sacramental services, its prayers and worship, are tangible expressions of spiritual contact with a loving Father. Its fellowship and communion offer facilities for the expanding consciousness of this divine contact. But these resources are available for the maladjusted only in an accidental and casual way. From the point of view of community service these resources are latent and immobilized.

The mobilizing of these resources is the exceedingly difficult task which confronts the church in the field of social work. The technique and methods of such spiritual case work must still be developed. Probably it will consist in the creation of a corps of socially trained and available men and women, whose vision is broad and whose religion is so vital and infectious that, by contact with them, weak souls may catch a personal glimpse of God. It will undoubtedly mean the keeping of personal-service records of these workers, showing how they have responded to crises in their own lives, and how constructively they have served others.

When this time comes, when every parish shall have an available group of sane, enthusiastic, socially trained, worship-inspired, spiritual case workers, classified as to ability with different types of cases, then the church will be fulfilling the great function which other special agencies and the community as a whole expect of it—the practical social service of bringing individual men into living contact with God.

RELATION OF THE CHURCH MEMBERS

*Homer W. Borst, Executive Secretary, Community Fund
Indianapolis*

A concrete example will probably be a helpful contribution to this discussion. One church in our city has, among other people the following in regular attendance; the chairman of our recent two-million-dollar children's hospital campaign; the president of the Public Health Nursing Association; the chairman of the Parent and Teachers' Council; the chairman of the Health Committee of the Chamber of Commerce; the chairman of the Council of the Columbia Conserve Company, which is an industry with a very forward-looking social policy; the former director of the vocational work in the public schools; the director of attendance in the public schools; the secretary of the Family Welfare Society; the secretary of the Indiana Tuberculosis Association; and a district superintendent of the Family Welfare Society. The pastor is chairman of the advisory committee of the City Hospital Social Service Department, chairman of the state committee on Social Legislation and a member of the Rotary Club.

It is at once evident that if this church is of any inspiration and service to these individuals, among many others who attend, it cannot fail indirectly to make a considerable contribution to social work. As I have observed this church, it is very evident that there is no sense of separateness from the social service organization of the city. In spite of the fact that this church has very little if any activities in social service fields, it is not difficult to view the organization under the concept of a social agency.

It is quite evident of course, that the same people are, to a degree, under one phase of organization, the social agencies of the city, and, under another phase, the churches of the city. That relationship is fully realized in this church and may be illustrated in this way. Many pastors are heard to complain that their pulpits have become to a considerable degree a bulletin board for other agencies and movements. The pulpit of this church is not merely a bulletin board for the social agencies of the city but it is an integral part of their educational equipment, humanly as well as materially.

A note of identity of interest is present in the messages which are delivered to the congregation of this church in respect to the problems and opportunities presented in the work of the social agencies of the city. Is there anything in the general attitude of the church and its minister which has brought about this situation? I think there are two points to be understood.

This church is tolerant of the view that morals have a naturalistic basis. The question of authority in church life is one of the pressing, present-day problems. Is religion a source of moral concepts or is social experience? Are moral concepts absolute or relative? To what degree may science modify moral concepts and religious beliefs of the church? The fact that this particular church exhibits an open-mindedness in respect to these problems and a philosophy concerning them which appeals to people of the social-work type of mind has probably had a great deal to do with the development of moral and social enthusiasms among the congregation, and served to bring into the church a group of people who already possess those enthusiasms and wish them to be further cultivated.

The second point is this. This church illustrates an admirable vicariousness in respect to its institutional program. This church is ready and willing to put its institutional strength at the service of every good movement, and, whenever greater effectiveness can thus be secured, keep that institutional aspect decidedly in the background.

When social-work tasks in the community can better be performed by social agencies, the thought that some social-work institution may grow in popularity and strength, rather than the church organization, has nothing to do with the decision. The decision is made on the basis of the knowledge of the community need and of a plan which will interest the most people in behalf of its solution. This situation may in some sense appeal as rather more nearly ideal than can be achieved in many places. It occurs to me that in some cases the development of social work agencies may be accomplished, and at the same time the institutional activities of the church multiplied.

For example, Boy Scout troupes are now being organized very largely in connection with the churches in our city, and constitute an activity which at once accomplishes the desired work for boys and strengthens the Boy Scout organization and the individual churches as well. Case-working agencies may, it seems to me, take advantage of certain potential capacity for moral leadership on the part of the minister and individual church members, and if the practice of seeking such service from the churches is consistently carried out, the interest of church groups may be strengthened both in relation to their own church affiliation and in relation to the work of the agency involved.

The church will do well, it seems to me, to recognize the unifying strength of social agencies. It will be some time before churches agree in respect to their religious beliefs, but the day seems not far away when churches may unite on a community-wide program, based soundly on scientific information on one hand, and moral and spiritual ideals on the other which shall be free from the divisive factors of religious beliefs and possess the remarkable strength made possible through the union of the high-minded people of the community.

Finally, the question as to what extent a church should itself engage in social work activities may well be left, under conditions such as I have described, to the judgment of the church in conference with the other churches and the social agencies of the city. One of the dangers of the modern church from the standpoint of religious teaching is often described as nominalism. The corresponding danger in respect to the social program might be described by the word institutionalism.

The chief virtue of a church seems to me to be the cultivation of religious and social idealism. If that can be made the paramount consideration with all others secondary, there will be no danger of activities creeping into a church program merely because they are a part of a set plan, as contrasted with activities undertaken because under church auspices they will best serve the social needs of the community.

SOCIAL WORK UNDER CHURCH AUSPICES AND SOCIAL WORK UNDER COMMUNITY AUSPICES, FROM THE STANDPOINT OF THE URBAN COMMUNITY

Rev. Gaylord S. White, Secretary, Union Settlement, New York

Three questions in the discussion of this subject might profitably be: Can a church function as an inclusive community organization? What is an ideal program for a church in relation to the agencies of the community? In order to fulfill its social mission, must the church engage in technical social work?

The first of these questions is really fundamental to the whole discussion. I can well remember the early days of the institutional church and with what enthusiasm

the idea was hailed. Here was a conception of the church ministering to the whole man, to his physical needs, his intellectual needs, and his spiritual needs. To those who were so keen about the institutional church it seemed almost as if the last word had been said and as if the church was now about to fulfill its social mission. The old idea expressed by a prominent representative and quoted by Dr. Josiah Strong—"The Church has no business with a man's dirty face, nor his empty stomach, nor his naked back; the church has just one business with a man, and that is to save his immortal soul"—all this the institutional church was going to change. Its aim was to spiritualize, to Christianize all life. But a reaction has set in and some people are raising questions about the finality of the institutional church and about some of its policies.

We may distinguish three types of policy in churches carrying on social activities: first, there is the church that deliberately uses its social features as a bait to draw people within the range of its religious influence and then tries to proselytize them. I think we can hold only one opinion about this policy and that not a very complimentary one; second, there is the church that confines the use of its social features to its own members. Although it is carrying on social work, it is not trying to serve the community as a whole. Its aim is to provide social and recreational features in order to center all of the interests of its young people during their spare time in the wholesome surroundings of the church; third, there is the church that sets out to minister to the community as a whole, to render whatever service it can to human needs, through its social facilities and by other means, with the sole motive of service, honestly disclaiming any intent to proselytize. It is organized around the principle of good will. It seeks to express the spirit of Him who "came not to be ministered unto but to minister."

Perhaps the question about which there is the most difference of opinion is the question whether a church in a mixed community, representing many people of other faiths, ought really to adopt this third policy; in other words, can a Christian church, being primarily a propagandist institution, serve the social and intellectual needs of people of other faiths without tending to weaken the hold of their own church upon them, if not in many cases to detach them from their old connections. With these introductory remarks the question is thrown open for discussion.

Robert A. Woods, Head Resident, South End House, Boston

We often refer to the shortcomings of the church in relation to social work. I suggest that we greatly need a more downright approach on the part of social work to religion.

The marked and general development of technique in all branches of social work is gratifying and full of promise for the future. The multiplication of its literature of working principles and methods is one of the most notable facts in its progress. But we must remember a familiar passage in the thirteenth chapter of first Corinthians, which F. W. Robertson translated: "Knowledge puffeth up; love buildeth up." Social work has served to emphasize the elements of strength and mind in love; but it has become actually shy of the motives of heart and soul which originally made it.

The history of social work as a modern enterprise dates back to the Wesleyan revival in the eighteenth century, which began in a little group of Oxford students, who

met regularly for two inseparable and definitely outlined purposes—prayer and service. It was this simple plan, expressing itself in visits to the poor, the sick, and the prisoner, that called out the scorn of their fellow-students, who finally dubbed the little group “method-ists,”—today a name of glory to millions around the world.

For a vital relationship between social work and the higher life of the spirit, in terms of the present, there is need of method. The local church should have a guild analogous to the Wesleyan class meeting, made up of those who in any way are devoting themselves as citizens with other citizens to the service of the community. This guild should have to do not with questions of practical procedure, but with the broader meanings and higher inspirations of social work. The pastor should be its leader, as one not deeply involved in philanthropic or civic activities, but understanding and interpreting their bearing upon the moral and spiritual life of each and all concerned. Many new opportunities would come to him in this way as shepherd of souls and as prophetic leader of his people. But he would need, and would rightly call for, the responsible and spirited participation of all social workers who could find themselves at home within this form of religious fellowship.

It would be hoped that such a group would be formed in each of the different churches in a given community. The members of all the groups would then, under constantly renewed motives, go out to join freely together in common service. The only suggestion of different religious points of view should come in the emulation which might arise among the different church groups to see which could most fully lose itself in disinterested service to the general good.¹

Meanwhile, and continuously, does it not seem clear that every organized group of social workers, the staff of every agency, every form of alliance and federation among agencies should from time to time have meetings devoted distinctively to their broad and long outlook, to their appropriate impulse of the enthusiasm of humanity, to their available spontaneous common expression of faith, hope, and love?

Rev. Anna Garlin Spencer, Teachers' College, New York

In answer to the question Can the church be a community center? I should say no, not in an urban community. In a city of size there is a division of churches along denominational lines which makes the unity of social effort under any one church impossible.

Effort should be made by all denominations to abolish the cut-throat competition of sects, which now leaves the religious life so futile in many places. And social work of a large and specific kind, in an emergency or for good government or any special reform, which all the churches can help together, may be and often is the best way of uniting religious idealism as well as of getting a big social job accomplished.

The community center, however, in the settlement or similar method, must be obviously separated from denominational divisions if it is to function as a unifying influence.

Membership in a church should, however, always mean a pledge to engage in social work to the extent of time and ability. And to the end of finding what field

¹I have since read a passage containing a very similar suggestion in *The Life of the Spirit and the Life of Today*, by Evelyn Underhill (E. P. Dutton & Company, New York).

of work the individual member might or should engage in, the church calendar, at the beginning of the church year, should always contain a list of social enterprises carried on in the location with a place for the name of anyone wishing to help in any specific line, their residence, the hours of volunteer work, or sum of money such member of the church might give, and any other facts that would lead toward an efficient organization of the whole church membership for social service.

In case any vital social need was not being met in the community the social service list should name that lack and ask for recruits for an initiatory work for its supply. The churches furnish a large section of trained workers and most of the volunteer helpers in all social effort. The church calendar should help to prevent duplication, all volunteers rushing to one sort of work, and should also aid in organizing volunteer work in a system of real aid to salaried workers all along the line.

This plan has been followed with success in some churches. The main point is to declare that social work is due from all church members in so far as they can render it, and that in order for such service to be efficient it must be organized in some definite fashion of individual choice and pledge of a specified amount and kind of work, and under the direction of a competent social service committee in every church.

Then the church as a whole must aim to inspire, to secure and to help train leadership in every social field. To this end every large division of social service should be represented in turn, in special church meetings organized for the purpose by the social service committee, in order that a wide and intelligent interest may be gained for all important fields of social work throughout the entire membership.

Again, there is a special field in which the individual church or the denominational fellowship has a special duty; one that can be performed by the religious body better than by other agencies. Of this far more should be made by all church relationship. I look upon the church as an extension of the family rather than as an arm of the body politic or a commanding phase of the community life.

As an extension of the family the church stands committed to all manner of work for its own young and its own old members. Every church should make a place where young men and women can meet in congenial association to ends of social relationship that may well lead to marriage and the founding of new homes. For its own young people first, and also where there is opportunity for the young men and women who are strangers in the city, brought there for wage-earning or salaried service. The churches should be the one great center for the best social life of small groups, as nearly of the individual church connection as may be gathered. No one coming from a far-away home should fail to find such a welcoming help to the right sort of acquaintance with those nearest his or her own family, national, or racial background.

Again it must be insisted that the aged of any church membership or connection should never be without the ministrations of their nearest church relationship. To enter a public institution of relief and care should never be the lot of anyone who has been a faithful member of a church body. To need aid in social readjustment and find no fellow member of a church to give that aid is a shame to the fellowship.

These personal services the church should give freely, intelligently, and in full social affiliation with community agencies to all of its household of faith.

In addition, since, as Dr. Rauschenbusch has well said, "the social gospel is now orthodox," every church should be a powerhouse for generating the spirit that makes all eager to serve and help every other member of the whole human family.

Rev. Canon S. Glover Dunseath, M.A., Secretary, Board of Social Service, Diocese of Newark, New Jersey

At the very beginning may I call your attention to two problems which have suggested themselves during the presentation of the previous addresses? The word "church" I take it, is used in its largest collective sense, meaning all organized religious bodies. That includes the Jewish Church, and yet practically all the speakers have called our attention to the work of the Christian Church in social work. We have had called to our minds the difficulties which enter into the problem through denominational antagonisms, and we have forgotten the large place that the church could fill in a united effort in behalf of social work. But we must keep in mind at the same time, that the Jewish Church in many sections of our country is making a tremendous contribution along this line.

The second problem which I want to present to you briefly is that which was suggested by the speaker who said that he felt the church ought not to engage in scientific social work or to employ scientifically trained social workers. Unfortunately there seems to be quite a general agreement on the part of social workers in support of this idea. It is my firm conviction, a conviction based on considerable experience, that the church cannot fulfill its full duty to a community unless it prepares itself to attack the social problems of that community in a scientific way and by the employment of workers who have been trained in the best scientific social methods.

I base this idea on an experience we have had in connection with the work of the Church Mission of Help of the Diocese of Newark. The Church Mission of Help is an agency of the Episcopal Church which works for wayward and delinquent girls and unmarried mothers. In our own diocese our workers have been trained in the New York School of Social Work and in a training school conducted by the Church Mission of Help in New York. They have studied thoroughly the technique of case work. Only such workers are employed. That work was started five years ago in the Diocese of Newark. In three years it had carried on so efficiently the task which it had undertaken that the Commissioner of Child Hygiene of the state, Dr. Julius Levy, asked the Church Mission of Help to become the responsible agency for all cases of wayward and delinquent girls and unmarried mothers in the state of New Jersey. Here is an example of a church organization carrying on a sacramental as well as a social piece of work, so commending itself by its efficiency and thoroughness as to warrant the approval of public commissioner.

I might cite other examples, but this will suffice to strengthen my argument, that if the church is to make its full contribution to the prevention and healing of society's wounds, it must do it in the most modern way, using the most modern methods, and through the agency of scientifically trained workers.

John C. Gebhart, Director, Social Welfare, Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, New York

Since the chairman has very wisely limited all speakers to five minutes, I will confine my remarks to the three specific questions set down on the program.

The answer to the first question—Can the church function as an inclusive community service?—is greatly simplified because our discussion is to be confined to the church

in an urban community. Now, in many rural districts the church, with the possible exception of the public schools, is the one inclusive community agency. This fact was brought very forcibly to my attention several years ago when I had the privilege of spending my vacation in an inland country district in Nova Scotia. I daresay that every family within a radius of ten miles belonged to this little Presbyterian church. The community itself was also very simple. All were of the same general religious faith, practically all were either of English or Scotch stock, and all were of about the same social and economic status. In other words there were few social divisions within the group, and because they were all of the same religious faith and tradition the church served as a common bond of interest through which the community found expression, not only for its religious life but for its social and recreational life as well.

Of course, this is a situation which seldom if ever confronts the church in a large city. The city church is likely to be placed in a district composed of groups of people sharply divided as to race, language, and tradition. Moreover, the population in most large cities is constantly shifting and the whole character of a population may be completely changed in ten or fifteen years. I believe it is impossible, therefore, for a church in an urban community to function as an inclusive community organization.

The third question is a vital one, and I can hardly do it justice in the few minutes left me. I believe that the city church generally ought not to attempt technical social work. Most churches are not likely to secure trained social workers of the highest grade or to be able to provide the sort of supervision which should go with the administration of a technical social service. But a much more serious difficulty encountered by a church attempting to provide a technical service for a given community lies in the charge of proselytizing, which churches of other faiths are likely to encounter. That these charges are often unfounded hardly alters the case, for the suspicion and ill will which is thus aroused will militate against any effective neighborhood work.

In a community health program, with which I have been associated in New York City, I have met this very difficulty. I was responsible for establishing the first dental clinic in any parochial school in New York City. But it was only after I had been able to convince the parish priest that ours was a non-sectarian organization and that we had no intention of conducting Bible classes that the priest gave his consent. We have now the finest co-operation possible from this group.

I have also had considerable experience with a neighborhood organization which furnishes an admirable example of what local churches can do through that type of organization. More than twenty local organizations including public schools, hospital social service departments, the local offices of Henry Street Nursing Organization, and the Charity Organization Society, as well as local churches both Protestant and Catholic, have contributed both time and money for a community dental clinic. The chairman of this organization last year was a local Protestant minister and serving on the board with him were local Roman Catholic priests. The local church in a complex community can, I believe, therefore render its best service, not by attempting itself to provide a technical service for the community, but by taking its part in a joint neighborhood service which will make no distinction as to race or creed.

SOCIAL WORK UNDER CHURCH AUSPICES AND SOCIAL WORK UNDER COMMUNITY AUSPICES, FROM THE STAND- POINT OF THE RURAL COMMUNITY

*Edmund de S. Brunner, Director of Town and Country Survey, Committee
on Social and Religious Surveys, New York*

In the early days of our country the church (and there were hardly any churches then which were not rural) was the center of the community. It, and very often the community hall and school or academy, stood on the village common. There was the closest feeling of co-operation between these institutions. As time went on, and civilization became more complex, the church made an effort to keep pace with the geographical development of the country, but the New England ideals of community organization did not spread beyond the area settled by the early Pilgrims. In the last fifteen years there has been an increased call to the country church to undertake this thing and that. Many have felt that the church was in the position of the newsboy asked by a distinguished gentleman who was hurrying for a trolley to change a ten-dollar bill. The newsy replied, "I can't do it, sir, but I thanks you for the compliment." At present there are a few more than 101,000 country churches in America, and more and more they are not only receiving suggestions but, according to their abilities and the needs of their communities, they are once again acting either as useful social servants for the whole community or as spiritual dynamos for furnishing the inspiration for all good things.

*Marjorie Patten, Chief Field Worker, Committee on Social and Religious
Surveys, New York*

At a great revival meeting recently held in the Middle West, Dr. Warren H. Wilson astounded the congregation one evening by turning the church pulpit over on its side and placing on it a De Laval cream separator, following this action by a demonstration of what could be done with it. Some of the pious sisters and elders were overcome by this sacrilege, but it happened that that meeting resulted in the greatest religious revival ever held in that part of the country. At last the farmer and the farmers' church joined hands, understood each other, and came to the realization that they as friends had a common problem, and set out to solve it together.

So we found a little community church of Davis, California, pressing forward to success in the belief that "The work of the Kingdom is all one job." Under that slogan this church has been influential in carrying a sewerage project to completion, has organized a bus association, has encouraged better farming, business, government, and education, and by tying to it all the interests at work in the community has become the hub of a perfect wheel whose spokes are people with the best leadership from all the various walks of life. Indeed here, by the decision of the local people, the church has taken over the Young Men's Christian Association and community service work.

It is often the pragmatic test which determines the contribution of the church in the social and economic field. There are many allies which the city church has that are denied to the country. Where social agencies are at work in rural communities, they are almost always in prosperous districts which need them least. So the country church must often be something more than just a spiritual reservoir.

When the pastor of the Centerton, Arkansas, circuit found his people had the blues because of an apple crop failure, he set out to cure them before he even thought of reorganizing his broken-down churches which had long been neglected, ill supported and laxly sustained. He worked hand in hand with the county farm bureau agent, talked crop diversification, and co-operative marketing. "If God's House is to prosper," he said, "the soil must be kept fertile, the flocks and herds built up, and the farm home made contented and happy." He took a survey of the entire parish and visited in homes where a pastor had never been, and when he carried the information gathered, as to the resources of the community, from farm to farm, people began to realize that after all, perhaps, they weren't so poor as they had thought. They took new courage, and by the time the pastor began the reorganization of his churches he found his people ready to follow wherever he would lead.

In many cases the church is the only organized body in a country community. Its duty therefore is to minister not only to the souls of its people but also to their bodies and minds. There are two little colored churches in southwest Texas, Lone Oak and Monthalia, which could teach the value of community service to a great many parishes wherever located, black or white. They were abandoned three years ago. Seventy per cent of the people were ex-slaves or descendants of ex-slaves, and they were little more free than in Civil War days, owing old debts, discouraged, and lacking in ambition. Then Rev. John R. Sullivan Edmondson came to these parishes and preached the gospel of "Eat what you raise, raise what you eat." He helped them to help themselves. Two small farms were purchased and special days were set apart when all the farmers worked the land and later shared the harvest. Farm ownership was encouraged. The church buildings were open daily for classes where old or young might come and learn English, arithmetic, etc. During the epidemic of influenza the buildings became hospitals and first-aid headquarters, and the pastor and his wife were the doctor and nurse throughout the countryside wherever colored families were found. The pastor later taught meat curing, canning, and preserving of fruits, organized farm clubs, encouraged men to save and start bank accounts, and, through helping these people to help themselves, lifted these two cotton-field neighborhoods to better conditions of citizenship and independence, and gave them their first hope of a future, free and self-respecting.

A Methodist Episcopal church circuit in Larned, Kansas, has succeeded in solving a serious state problem, that of ministering to migrants. When the town suddenly acquired a large temporary population, attracted by the promise of work during the harvesting season, an urgent letter was sent out by the Kansas State Agricultural College to pastors and county agents, advising co-operation in caring for the social and religious needs of the strangers. The county agent and the pastor of the Larned circuit presented the case to the mayor, the business and farmers' organization, and the churches. The town appointed a committee and the county agent's office was furnished as a welfare room for harvest hands, with an attendant, telephone, tables, chairs, stationery, games, and reading matter. The services of the county nurse were included. At night this room served as a dormitory. The pastor spent all the time he could spare arranging programs and conducting meetings in which his rural churches took part. Home ties were renewed. Home and church life was brought to the harvest workers, and during the three harvest Sundays the first year there were 316 men present at six services. Thus did this farming community of 3,170 inhabitants welcome the stranger

within its gates. The entire story of the Larned circuit is one intimately associated with the land and tells of united effort to serve.

The little Methodist Episcopal church at Roseglan, Pennsylvania, holds an annual rural-life institute, and includes in its program, discussions on better homes, farms, schools, churches, etc., in which state, county, and local speakers take part. The pastor beside preaching the farmer's gospel preaches also the mill man's gospel in the iron town of Duncannon, and has done more than any agency or any of the seven churches in this wretchedly over-churched community to answer the question of the young people, Where shall we go and what shall we do? The poolrooms were answering the question long before this pastor's coming, but their answer has grown much, much fainter; indeed it is scarcely heard today in Duncannon.

Along with other agencies progressing with the changing times the country church has become responsible not only for furthering economic development but for enriching the life of the community by offering recreational, social, intellectual, and cultural advantages, and for seeking to place at the service of all its people its entire equipment and its best leadership.

The Congregational church at Collbran, Colorado, which ministers to a great area, by the institution of the larger parish plan holds regular lecture courses. There are lectures in vocational guidance by doctor, nurse, agriculturalist, lawyer, etc. There are educational moving pictures shown every other week for grade-school children. Road building has been aided and here, too, the inquirer finds close co-operation between the church and farm bureau.

Nearly every community-minded church owns or has the use of moving picture or stereopticon equipment, and the greatest care possible is being taken in the selection of films. In the matter of selecting plays for amateur production, not so much care is taken unfortunately. Yet plays are invariably given and succeed always in getting people together, which is something. Only here and there, however, have churches taken advantage of the available rich fund of material dealing with religious drama. One of the members of the Middle Octorara, Pennsylvania, church wrote a pageant recently which was so successful that it was repeated in several communities nearby.

Music is another community organizer. Centerton has a seventeen-piece Sunday school orchestra that has not only made the village known as a musical center but has probably done more to break down town and country barriers than any other organization, since it is in demand for all sorts of community affairs throughout the countryside. Centerton has also a chorus of fifty voices, and both orchestra and chorus are trained and under efficient experienced leadership.

The community houses of Collbran, Colorado, and Parma, Idaho, have radio equipment where absorbed groups gather to "listen in." Not only are they hearing the best that this country has to offer but they are coming to the realization that they can have the advantages of the outside world even though they remain at home.

Cimarron, New Mexico, has a cowboy church which is the only Protestant organization within an area of 2,000 square miles. The people attending it are of all denominations and none. There are no organizations connected with it excepting the Ladies' Aid, yet when any event takes place, the entire community is on hand. It is as if the church had lassoed the entire village.

The church at Bingham Canyon, Utah, has, through its Boy Scout program, revolutionized the boy life of this greatest copper camp in the world and by providing an

every-day-in-the-year program has interested not only adults but foreign children, and all the boys and girls in service, not only in the church but throughout the canyon.

The Spencer, Iowa, church has a swimming pool, gymnasium, and reading-room and gameroom, and the Lincoln Boys' Club activities are managed by a physical director on full time. At Dayton, Indiana, the church bell serves as the village fire bell and the Boy Scouts act as the village fire department. At first some of Dayton's citizens did not approve of the church bell being used for this purpose, but one night one of the elder's homes got on fire and the scouts saved it. Since then the church has been open day and night in order that the bell may be rung when necessary.

A Methodist Episcopal church at Roosevelt, Oklahoma, has a restroom for the country women who come from far off to trade.

San Gabriel, California, has a Mexican Presbyterian mission where an employment bureau serves its people, most of whom are seasonal laborers in the fruit groves. Through this agency the pastor has placed over one thousand men in permanent positions. Also at this mission and settlement house close by, dental and medical clinics are regularly held, and a salvage room furnishes clothing for the poor at a nominal cost.

In an Indiana town a church survey disclosed the fact that there was an unusually small number of children between the ages of one and five compared with the average that there should have been for a community of that size. The survey also discovered on the church records that there had been rather a large number of funerals of children between the ages of one and five. An investigation was started. The church called in the state board of health. The wells of the community were analyzed. It was discovered that a fungus growth appeared in these wells in the summer time which caused dysentery among smaller children. The wells were cleaned up, not by the church, but because of the church. This is obeying the command of the Master to "heal the sick" just as much as by building hospitals.

Perhaps the best example of the all-around social contribution of a country church is found in a community in a far-western county, the name of which we have promised not to divulge until the experiment has completed its fifth year. It has now run four. The community is located in a very prosperous county, which is blest with more social agencies organized on a county basis and with paid executives than any other county in America, so far as we have been able to find out. The population of the community is made up of rich fruit-growers, Mexican farm laborers, and some oil workers. The hamlet at the center serves the needs of these groups. Four years ago there was dissension between town and country, between the absentee oil capitalists and the rest of the community, and the social life was torn by many cliques. There was a weak chamber of commerce, a church, an exclusive woman's club, and an organization of young men whose purpose was "to raise hell," and in that aim they succeeded. There was no provision for garbage disposal; there were open wells, and the sanitary conditions were deplorable. The only church had been organized a decade previously as a protest against the purchase of a moving picture machine by the town church three miles away, to which most of the church members belonged. In this community today there is a community council in which each organization is represented on an equal basis, and which co-ordinates all social work. The council was organized by the church, and by unanimous vote the pastor was made its executive. He has brought in these agencies which were needed, all of which had previously passed this place by on the

other side. A health clinic was established at the church. Boys, girls, and young people were organized with a full program of recreation, vocational guidance, religious education. Garbage disposal was agitated and effected. The state board of health was brought in and the rural slums and other health menaces were cleaned up, the farm owners in some instances erecting model houses for the married hands. The chamber of commerce healed the breach between town and country and between oil interests and the community, and the church has prospered greatly.

Two years ago, when surveying the churches of three New England counties, I found a pastor who still held "a regular religious service every Sunday morning with no other activities excepting those of the Sunday school"; another pastor said to me when I asked him what provision he made for the meetings of his young people, "No, sister, we have no clubrooms, we have a basement and I prefer to have it called a basement"; another replied regarding the social activity carried on in his church, "We want no hi jinks in this church." This pastor had a church membership of thirty-seven and he was unable to tell how many of them were under twenty-one years of age.

What a far cry it was from these churches to those other churches serving their entire communities, neglecting no phase of the community's life, co-operating with agencies already at work for the common good, and taking the place of these agencies where they have not yet become active. The progressive country church in America is saying to the open country today, "We are here," and in a friendly spirit the church and community leaders are working together in the knowledge that "to do all to the glory of God includes the raising of hogs, the shipping of wheat, and a host of other things."

SOCIAL AGENCIES CO-OPERATING WITH THE RURAL CHURCH

Royal Clyde Agne, Director, War Service, National Headquarters American Red Cross, Washington

Reversing logic and chronology, let us take several hasty journeys to five or six rural communities in Muskingum County, Ohio, that demonstrate some adventures in co-operation between the social agencies and the church.

Out on Virginia Ridge in the open country, the environment of which is emphasized in the name, one organization using the public-health nurse of another organization went to a third organization to establish classes in home care of the sick. They met at a school house and received a great deal of their moral support from community leaders interested in still a fifth organization. At the end of their course of lessons, sixteen women, all housewives, most of them never having graduated from a public school, received real diplomas with the real pride of a graduate. The exercises were conducted in dignified fashion in a church. After commencement, what? This group of women adopted the most significant term of "Community Builders" and have been promoting good roads, health, better farming, improved schools, finer social life, and all of the elements which enter into a happy rural community.

In another community of a thousand population, an appendix industrially, geographically, and socially of a neighboring city, there were complicated social problems, and the two social agencies in that community were disheartened. A large number of the population found its employment, its social life, and its religious life in the city and

had little interest in the place in which they lived. There were city problems but no city help, for the neighboring city drew its boundaries and would not extend service beyond them. The ruling boards of the local school and church were inclined to be conservative. There was a mass meeting of the citizenry in a desperate effort to be master of the situation. Out of this meeting and other similar meetings were developed a social-work council, meeting monthly to promote and supervise needed programs. As a consequence boys' and girls' agricultural clubs thrived, a Boy Scout troop grew to be most popular, a summer vacation-school appealed to the children heretofore wasting their time in vacant lots and buildings, and a poor district where seventy people resided was befriended in a very helpful way. Along with this the school and the church became centrally stimulating agencies. The pastor and the superintendent of the school stepped into the leadership hand in hand, and the community began to hold its head high with pride.

In still another community, almost inaccessible five months of the year, with a population barely 150, two churches struggling from Sunday to Sunday, no resident pastor, no high school facilities, the spirit of co-operation also awakened. The community through some of its leaders insisted on a high school. This was established and the high school principal brought a vision of possibilities to the community. A community building worth \$6,000, but actually costing less than \$3,000, was the tangible evidence of co-operation. Some of the conservative leaders had come to scoff, but they remained to work. Today a program of weekly features entertains and informs this community, and the spirit of Rural Dale has conquered inaccessibility to strike hands, with the most progressive communities of Ohio.

In Nashport, through a period of years, perhaps by force of necessity, but not by that alone, five churches have been brought together under one roof. They have not federated but they have amalgamated. There is one congregation and one pastor. In this accomplishment the church too was central, for it had reached out into the community through the community betterment association that brought into its fold all of the interests of the various groups in the township. It did not destroy these groups, but it appealed to them to join their strength with other groups in order to make Licking Township a very worth-while place.

Then in another section, a very hilly section and on the top of one of the highest hills, stands Grange Hall, which is a monument to co-operative effort. This model of comfort and convenience, central in geographical location, beckons all the churches of the township to unite in services and social meetings; calls to all of the schools to hold their union exercises; and opens its doors to all other helpful community groups. Here on this hill is a shrine built in memory of the boys of the township who served in the world war, and dedicated to community service.

We shall not stop in the Frazeysburg community, except to take a glimpse at their fine community recreation hall, the acme of co-operation in that community; or in White Cottage, to tread their co-operative sidewalks; or in Norwich where the young and energetic principal of the high school, fairly breathing community co-operation, inspired the other groups of the town until the whole neighborhood has awakened to new life and some interesting tasks. Nor shall we go into some five or six other interesting communities where co-operation has been leavening community life. We shall take a final journey into a community of some fifteen hundred people, five hundred of whom are under twenty-one years of age. In this community forty-one definitely

organized associations, with president, vice-president, secretary, and treasurer were meeting weekly, monthly, or annually, while the town itself harbored some very serious social problems. It is an interesting comment upon meetings in such places to say that at the gatherings of an organization devoted to child welfare the chief consideration was given to the poor benighted children of India or China or of the islands of the sea, while the actual children of the community were allowed simply to grow up. However, this community got a vision of co-operative work, and a splendid system of recreation was inaugurated, with the clergymen of the town in charge of Saturday-afternoon baseball, tennis, and the town library, while the women's club sponsored recreation for the children, and the postmaster looked after horseshoe-pitching. This little city has not gone far in its work, but it has at least taken its first step or two toward community interest.

So much for the achievements of these respective communities. They appear insignificant when placed over against large projects of the urban community, but in their own setting of rural background, in a hilly section of Ohio, these beginnings in co-operative enterprises are indeed significant. This was an average county with 142 one-room schools, a census of 7,279 children of school age, and an actual enrollment of 5,954. Only one-third of its total teaching staff was resident in the community where it taught. The church life was taken care of through 131 rural churches, 51 of which were in the open country. About one-fourth of all of the churches had resident ministers. Only 9 of them had full-time ministers, while the other churches divided the time of the ministers into halves or quarters. The population of the one city of the county during the last three decades had shown increases of 12 per cent, 19 per cent, and 5.5 per cent respectively. During these same three decades the decrease in the rural population was 1.8 per cent, 6 per cent, 3.6 per cent, respectively. Most of the 27 county-wide agencies had projected themselves into the 35 distinct communities developing units of their respective organizations. There are 25 Women's Christian Temperance Union branches; 24 granges, some 30 farm bureau committees—each community a replica of the county itself. Some of the basic opinions held rather jointly by leaders of a number of these county-wide organizations follow.

Some Guideposts.—First, for successful team work, it is necessary to find and work for objectives in which everybody ought to be more or less concerned. We recognize that not everybody is interested in Presbyterianism or Shakespeare or the latest stitch in embroidery. But there are certain common interests with which everybody is frequently compelled to be concerned, regardless of his place of living. These common interests are health, education, morals, recreation, and communication by telephone, mail, transportation over good roads, etc. In one of these communities there was a group exclusively of women. They called themselves a "community club." Their chief occupation was needlework. This group thought it very strange that the men of the community would not attend their open meetings. It was very plain however to the men that this group had never settled anything of community interest except who was the best cake-baker.

Second, these county leaders recognized the inter-relationship of all of these community interests. Recreation, health, better farming, better schools, good roads, and telephones are only facets of the same prism of community life.

Again it was felt that organizational programs with objectives for the individual groups should keep in close harmony with the larger objectives of the program of the

entire community. Like the fingers of the hand should be the individual programs, giving aid in some small or large way in fulfilling a service to the whole community. It seems a selfish thing for an organization to promote its program with the sole objective of promoting itself. A tennis court may be a fine medium for increasing denominational church membership, but I am sure that no one wants to promote a denominational tennis court for that end, in these days. In one community a church held a very enviable position as far as location and opportunity were concerned. It was the only church in a large community. The leaders of the church were conservative and so the program from the community angle was limited. It was interesting however to find there a group of children meeting one evening a week under this limitation, that if they came into the church auditorium for a prayer meeting, they could go to the basement afterwards for a play hour. "Pray a while, then play a while," was the slogan, and the leader of the group said with pride, "You ought to hear those children pray."

Finally the leaders of these respective county-wide groups reasoned that each organization should recognize its own specialization as well as its own limitation. Each group specializes in certain skills. It should concentrate on these specializations. In one community an organization was discovered whose functions and training were entirely athletic and recreational, appealing to men on the basis of filing war claims with the government. There may be something athletic in the latter but not considerable recreation. A little later this group realized that there was in the community a specialized organization to handle these war claims and that its own job was athletics and recreation. It then tried to fit a public-health program into its scheme in spite of three existing health agencies. In some communities there are groups endeavoring to be omnibuses, picking up all sorts of things which they think should be done and in the end leaving many of them poorly done and not a little friction with the other agencies whose jurisdictions they have invaded.

These then were the outstanding guides that helped a county with twentieth-seven county-wide agencies, seventeen of which were definitely interested in welfare, to start a program of successful county-wide team work. Let us turn now to a rapid survey of some methods used to secure county-wide co-operation.

Practicing Co-operation.—One of the most hopeful means by which county-wide team work was secured was through a county rural-service council. Twenty agencies were represented in this council, including the motor club, good roads club, farm bureau, boys' and girls' clubs, Boy Scouts, school, ministerial association, grange, Young Women's Christian Association, public-health association, welfare organization, women's federated clubs, Red Cross, etc. The meetings were presided over by the chairman, and county-wide plans were discussed as well as specific projects for particular communities. A community study was a composite case history. The possibilities of such a council are of course obvious.

Annual county conferences were held. These conferences were a replica of the National Conference of Social Work. The total attendance at the first one-day conference was about 400, representing every community and organization of the county. The chief appeal to these people was that they were to talk about "Our Problems." A second conference brought out a total attendance of 1,044 in all of the sessions for the two days. It might be added that the total expense of the last conference was but \$80, since many of the speakers came as representatives of state and national welfare organizations. To secure the attendance at this conference, some 1,200 individual

letters were sent out by the respective agencies to their respective constituents. Each agency was represented by its very best speakers, who could express for the organization the contribution and the co-operation of the particular organization in a county-wide scheme. Community music and community recreation were very popular features of these conferences.

In the third place, and perhaps the chief phase of interpreting some basic principles to the county, was an extensive and intensive informational program on community interests. Twenty libraries of fifty selected books each were secured from the state library. Additional books were placed with these libraries from other sources and the libraries routed through the county. Pamphlets from university extension departments, health organizations, and child-welfare associations were received in large quantities to distribute with discretion through the county. There was an interchange of speakers of reputation secured by county groups and presented before ready-made audiences, even of other organizations. Two speakers on social hygiene were brought in by the Red Cross chapter and within one week addressed forty-one different groups meeting under other auspices. There were community institutes sponsored by the grange, farm bureau, Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Red Cross, and the church, and in every instance general community matters were given place on the program along with special group interests. There were pilgrimages from one community to another, which made for interchange of ideas and observations. Through the county teachers institute and the county normal school, courses of lectures by the school and the teacher serving the community were given. Exhibits and demonstrations of recreation and health were held. At the county fair an entire wing of the administration building was turned over to the county council to put on a co-operative program of rural service. Nine agencies co-operated in this project. There were models of community church buildings, one taken from this county itself; school exhibits; weighing and measuring of children of pre-school age; child-welfare exhibits; demonstrations of the home care of the sick; first aid; and supervised recreation by a qualified recreation leader. Heretofore at the county fair, organizations had competed in programs of weighing the same babies on the same day, etc. These same agencies had come a long way when they decided to pool their programs and their interests at the county fair. Perhaps the best informational program was put on through a series of moving pictures during 150 successive nights. From eight to twenty reels of films were secured the first of each month. Special interests were featured during the month; for example, during April, boys' and girls' agricultural clubs; May, rural schools; June, good roads; July health; etc., through the summer. Besides special feature films on each program, there was a travelog, a comedy, and a general film relating to rural life. There was always community singing and talks related to the special feature of the program. The same program was given in as many as twenty-six different communities during each month. The monthly attendance averaged about 4,500. The cost of a film program per month averaged about \$25, since the comedy was the only film for which there was a rental charge. We discovered almost a limitless field of attractive films. We manufactured our own electric current and lighted the hall, where necessary. We used one-room school houses, grange halls, town halls, and churches. During the first month only three churches were open to us, but the popularity and interest in the programs grew until during the last month sixteen different churches in the county welcomed the moving picture program. With all of these educational features it was the

hope of the council not to do things for a community, rather to stimulate these communities, to advise with them, but to allow them to plan and perform their work in their own way. Progress perhaps would be slow but more permanent.

In this entire program the church was recognized as a social force. It was included in all the plans and the carrying-out of projects. The right kind of church ought to be the central force in the affairs of any community. It should be the socializer, stabilizer, and standardizer. Frequently the church provides the only leadership of the community. It is looked to for the interpretation of human relationships. We would not wish the church exclusively to build roads or to build roads exclusively. Rather do we want the church to preach the social and economic value of good roads and to give moral and financial support to the good-roads movement. Particularly is it the mission of the church to make the road of life easier to all of the people of the community.

This in brief is the outline of a county-wide attempt of social agencies to co-operate with the rural churches. To many of us associated with it, it seemed tremendously worth while.

THE COUNTRY CHURCH IN COMMUNITY SERVICE

Paul L. Vogt, Superintendent of Rural Work, Methodist Episcopal Church, Philadelphia

The very rapid expansion of the program of the country church during recent years has raised questions again as to just what is the function of the church in the rural-life movement.

It has been noted that there are a large number of organizations actively engaged in one form or another of rural service. The greatest group of these is centered round special economic interests, and experience has demonstrated that special interests can best be conserved through organizations created for each specific objective. There are certainly more universal interests that have their expression in more general organizations, such as the governmental, educational, and religious. Certain functions are generally admitted to belong properly to each of the general agencies representative of these interests, such as the state, the school, and the church. For example, the police power is a function of the state, civic education belongs to the school, the conservation of the knowledge of man's relation to a divinity, the belief in the immortality of the soul, and the religious phases of man's relation to man is accepted as the function of the church. Beyond these fundamental functions, however, there is a vast territory of uncharted interests in which the different agencies are finding a field for service and in which there is some overlapping and uncertainty as to the obligations of the different agencies concerned.

So far as economic interests are concerned, it is believed that their conservation belongs primarily to other agencies than the church. Where county agricultural agents, farm bureaus, or other organizations exist, the business of the church is to give its moral support to their activities and to open the way to the largest contact with the people. Where such agencies do not exist, the church has the obligation of assuming leadership in bringing better agriculture and better economic relations between the farmer and other groups. The minister of the Gospel, who, in the absence of other agencies, can lead in road improvement, live stock, or crop improvement, or in bettering market facilities, is rendering a real service.

Health conservation seems to be passing under the control of the state although at least two of the largest religious denominations in America have very definite programs of hospital provision under religious auspices. If this program is accepted and pursued aggressively, it carries with it logically the necessity of providing for rural health conservation as well. A committee representing the board of bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church recently approved a recommendation for the establishment of a rural health nursing service, either in connection with the great central hospitals or independently of them. There are many who believe that health conservation under religious auspices is justifiable and that the health program of the church should be greatly expanded.

The most pressing question at present is as to the agency that should conserve the social and recreational life of the community. In some places the schools are providing buildings and equipment for this service, and are providing finances out of public funds for its support. In others, private agencies are attempting to make provision for social and recreational life. Everywhere, except in the smallest communities, commercial interests have capitalized the demand for social and recreational life by providing moving pictures, poolrooms, and other facilities. The church, because of its vital interest in the moral welfare of the community, is now almost universally accepting the principle that it should look after the recreational welfare of the young people and, already in response to this belief, new church buildings have been erected that have playrooms, provision for moving pictures and for every phase of community, social, and recreational need.

The church is correct in its assumption that to it belongs the task of making such provision. The building for rendering such service can be better located when under the auspices of the church than when attached to other agencies. The argument that the school is the only democratic agency is not sound, because the financial support is determined by the will of the majority while the support of the church is voluntary. The principle followed is to pay what one can, and if you are not able to pay anything, the facilities of the building are open to all anyway. The fact that overchurching and religious differences prevent leadership on the part of the churches is not an argument against the principle, but is an unfortunate condition preventing church leadership. It justifies the school or other agencies in undertaking community, social, and recreational service on the same ground that the church is justified in providing public education or agricultural leadership when other agencies are not prepared to render the service belonging to them.

Leaders in rural-life movements outside of the church are sometimes inclined to be critical of what the church is doing, or, rather, not doing. They forget that repeated experience has shown that the great bulk of financial support for philanthropic activities comes from church members and that the spirit of service and interest in public welfare is fostered by the Christian church. The expanding program of the church in taking over activities, formerly carried on by private agencies outside the church, is simply the transfer of funds from private agencies to boards functioning within the organization of the church. The tried experience of private agencies is conserved and expanded by the church as it organizes itself for the larger service in rural life. The beginnings made in this expanding program of the church are destined to make a rapid advance in the years to come; and the church will again assume in rural life the position of leadership it once held.

PERSONAL RELIGION AND PROGRESS THROUGH
SOCIAL WORK

On Sunday morning services under the auspices of the National Conference of Social Work were held in the following churches of various creeds and denominations. The sermon theme was Personal Religion and Progress through Social Work.

Baptist, First, Dr. John M. Moore.

Congregational, First, Dr. Graham Taylor.

Disciples of Christ, Vermont Avenue, Rev. Carl Barnett.

Episcopal, Ascension, Dr. Hugh Birkhead.

Friends, Miss Margaret Curtis.

Hebrew Congregation (Saturday) Dr. Abraham Cronbach; (Friday evening) Dr. Solomon Lowenstein.

Lutheran, Luther Place Memorial, Dr. Howard R. Gold.

Methodist, Foundry, Dr. Worth M. Tippy.

Presbyterian, New York Ave., Rev. F. Ernest Johnson.

Roman Catholic, St. Patrick's, Monsignor C. F. Thomas.

Unitarian, Dr. Samuel McChord Crothers.

Abstracts of those sermons which were submitted in written form are published, as follows:

Rev. John M. Moore, Marcy Avenue Baptist Church, Brooklyn

As a church man and a minister I have come to speak to you this morning as one who believes in personal religion and conversion and worship and prayer, and who, at the same time, rejoices exceedingly in the far reaching ministry of the great social agencies which are represented in Washington today by thousands of utterly devoted men and women who are giving themselves for God and humanity in a spirit of Christ-like devotion. My Text is Jesus' reply to Nicodemus in John 3:3, "Except a man be born again, he cannot see the Kingdom of God."

This great word of Jesus is not so much a declaration of the terms of personal salvation as it is a simple statement of spiritual law, that only those who have the illuminating touch of the Divine upon their lives can see, can grasp, can apprehend, and can appreciate the implications, the demands, and the glories of the kingdom of God.

In returning to the kingdom of hope and gospel, we shall remove a stumbling-block from the way of our splendid allies who are fighting evil through the great social agencies. Their impatience with a church that puts doctrine above doing, and rites above righteousness, and ceremonies above service, and preparation for death above the loyal life, is understandable and even excusable. Their protest is akin to that of Jesus, who spoke with vehement scorn of those who were exact in petty details and neglectful of great realities, who tithed mint and anise and cummin and omitted justice and mercy and faithfulness. This is our part, men and women of the churches, in breaking down the wall of partition that is dividing Christians today over the social question. Go back to Christ and learn the way of the Lord more perfectly! "Thy Kingdom come" means that the kingdom of selfishness, and exploitation, and graft, and race hatreds, and fierce nationalisms, and war, and poverty, and hunger must go. A follower of Christ cannot worship the god of things as they are.

How did Jesus propose to effect the changing of the world into the kingdom of God? The answer is to be found throughout his teaching, perhaps nowhere more sharply and incisively than in an easily overlooked, almost casual, statement in his elucidation of the parable of the tares. In explaining this parable to the disciples, he says, "The good seed—these are the children of the kingdom." His proposal is to sow the world not with Bibles, nor institutions, nor laws, but with folks of a particular type. The kind of folks he has in mind he describes fully in the Sermon on the Mount. The children of the kingdom are poor in spirit, penitent, teachable, dead in earnest about goodness, merciful, pure in heart, and peace-makers. Their righteousness is not of law but of love. They care nothing for publicity in religious service, but everything for reality. When they pray, they put first the Father's name and kingdom and will. They recognize the irrepressible conflict between the two philosophies of life for which God and gold stand, and they choose God. They are therefore free from wearing anxiety. They seek first the kingdom of God, knowing that in a righteous social order all of God's children will have enough of the things that are needed for the good life. One can sum it up in three distinctive characteristics: the children of the kingdom trust God as their Father; they respect every human personality, recognizing in every other man a brother; and they sacrifice personal advantage for the common good. With such men and women sown freely as good seed, the coming of the kingdom is assured. Without them all our social schemes are hopeless.

Do not think, however, that I am falling back on the individualism of the old evangelism. It is not true, at least in the commonly accepted sense of the word, that if we get people converted, social conditions will right themselves. They must be converted in Jesus' sense of the word, "Except ye be converted and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom." This is just another way of saying "Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom." And it means very much more than an earnest desire to go to Heaven after death. It means more than a joyous, mystical experience of God; it means more than the observance of an external moral code. It means a new direction for the whole current of life's motives and actions; it means a new estimate of the possibilities that are resident in every human life; it means a willingness to accord to every personality the rights and privileges one demands for himself. Except a man be socialized, he cannot participate in the supreme social adventure and achievement of the kingdom of God. The children of the kingdom are those whose imaginations have been captured by the fair vision of a new earth wherein dwells goodness; their minds are open to all its implications, their wills are subject to its laws; and they go out from the church in which they come together for worship and inspiration and instruction, not only to introduce a new spirit and atmosphere and mental and moral attitude, but also to create those industrial and political and international agencies and institutions through which the spirit of good will may effectively function.

And still a major question remains unanswered. Whence come these socialized individuals who are sown as the good seed of the kingdom to produce the fruitage of a new social order? When William Booth was asked where he expected to get the preachers for the great evangelizing agency which he was creating, he is said to have pointed to the saloons and brothels of London and said, "I shall find them there!" And the Salvation Army is an abiding monument to the faith of its founder in the unplumbed depth and unrevealed resources of ordinary human life touched by the spirit

of God. This was the faith of Jesus. Publicans and fishermen became his apostles. Babes in culture grasped what the wise and prudent missed. "No man knoweth the Father but the Son," he said, and he added significantly "and they to whom the Son shall reveal Him." He claimed to have found an acquaintance with God more intimate and profound than the greatest of the prophets had known, and to be able to lead common men and women into this transforming knowledge.

And this brings us back again to the simple scientific statement of our great spiritual law, "Except a man be born from above, he cannot see the kingdom of God." It requires the knowledge of God that Jesus had to give meaning and value to the life of man.

That is a revealing judgment which the Epistle of Hebrews passes on the secret of Moses' success as a revolutionary leader: "He endured as seeing him who is invisible." Remember that he is talking about a great social reformer, a labor leader, a political revolutionist, the builder of a nation. Philanthropy was not enough, patriotism was not enough, Utopian idealism was not enough; Moses needed God, and was able to bear with patience and build for all time because there was added to his social idealism and human sympathy the fear and the fellowship of the invisible God.

Professor Graham Taylor, Warden, The Commons, Chicago

The interdependence of the people's religious and social interests is happily recognized both by the churches of Washington and the National Conference of Social Work in having all its representatives speak at these Sunday services on "Personal Religion and Progress Through Social Work."

It is another recognition of the fact that life and religion are alike, both consisting of the relationships they involve. No human life can be conceived as normal, or even possible, if unrelated with kindred, schoolmates, playmates, neighbors, work-a-day associates, and fellow-citizens. Religion itself is the relation of the one soul to Father God and fellow-men. All else—Bibles, creeds, sacraments, and churches—are means to that end, the great scaffolding within which is rising the greater structure.

Religious relationships Godward and manward, though presently real, are predominantly potential. Social relations are considered as actually existing, although also as ideally possible. Each loses when its potential and actual elements are less closely related. Social conditions and relations become sordid, artificial, and meaningless without such ideals; such a spiritual atmosphere and horizon as religion creates. Religion without its visions, dreams, and hopes becomes a formality and a deadly routine—the "letter that killeth." Yet without such a base-line and earthly rootage as a social survey discloses, religion becomes visionary, vague, and a prolific source of vagaries. So the progress of each one of us, or of all of us together, involves the closest relationship between the actual and the potential. The pace of progress depends upon the action and reaction between the religious and the social consciousness and resources of the people.

During the past fifty years this progress has been registered by the National Conference of Social Work in the printed proceedings of its reports and discussions. On its freest and broadest platform in all the world representatives of Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish religious faiths, representatives of scientific, ethical, sociological, and economic schools of thought and methods of action, representatives of different races,

parties, and classes—conservatives and progressives, radicals and reactionaries—meet, mingle freely, and exchange values frankly.

At three points our contemporary, religious, and social consciousness registers the progress of personal religion and public welfare in identifying the soul with the self, the parish with the community, and catholicity with international relations. This progress, developing slowly at first, has made rapid advances during the past decade. Lone voices crying as in a wilderness have become a great chorus. Solitary pioneers led the way in which a great rank and file have followed. The by-ways of the social spirit have become the highways of the people. Social service has become Church Work, for which ministers and members are being inspired and trained.

I. The soul and the self have become identified in the increasing consciousness of the unity of personality. Soul is not anything one has, but all one is and can become in body, mind, and spirit. From the discovery of the social sources of personality, the consciousness of its unity has been born anew. Their study of child psychology has led such investigators as Professor Royce, of Harvard, and J. Mark Baldwin, of Johns Hopkins University to conclude that, "The child gets his material for the personality sense from persons around him by imitation, so that his growing sense of self is constantly behind his growing sense of others," and that "A man is a social outcome rather than a social unit." With the poet's prophetic vision, Alfred Tennyson long anticipated these scientific conclusions of the psychologists, in showing "the baby new to earth and sky" rounding out "to a separate mind" as "his tender palm is pressed against the circle of the breast" he finds "I am not what I see and other than the things I touch."

This derivation of the very consciousness of self from our consciousness of others lays the lower-most layer of the foundation of the social structure in the sense of indebtedness which everyone of us should have for what we have received from all others. Nothing is so destructive of personal religious experience and of the influence of the church as the conception of religion as too narrow to cover all of one's life, or all of the world and of the age in which one lives. Mrs. Humphrey Ward lets us hear her agnostic hero, "Robert Elsmere," murmur to himself, "They have cornered off religion into a little corner called the spiritual, past which the great world rushes unheeding and unheeded by."

It is for this very reason that so many workingmen disclaim the influence of religion upon their lives and their hopes. When, on the free floor of Chicago Commons, they were asked what they thought religion to be, with common consent they replied, "Religion is authority superimposed upon the many by the few for the benefit of the few." But when confronted with the idea of religion as the ideal of relationship Godward and manward, gradually being realized in personal experience and in the history of the race, they found no objection to it, except that they had not heard it preached or seen it practiced.

That this social conception of the religion of relationship need not lessen the weight of "the burden of the soul" is attested by what Cardinal Manning is said to have remarked concerning the London journalist and social reformer, William T. Stead, "He cares more for his fellow-men than anyone I know." May it not be true also that in promoting the common welfare in so many more ways than ever, more people really care for more of their fellows than ever before?

II. That the local parish is coming to be more and more identified with the local community, and the church as a whole with movements for the common welfare, is another waymark of progress in personal religion and in social advance. The luminous analogy which Professor William J. Kerby drew between the social settlement and the church parish and their reciprocal value to each other applies also to the relation between the parish and the community. Like the settlement, the parish should stand in the community for brotherhood against class distinction, for spiritual values against dependence upon material advantage, for the inclusion of the universal in the particular and the particular in the universal, and for the message of personal salvation in working to save the community.

The relation of many parishes to their local communities is coming to be closer than that of an analogy. Without blending or blurring the distinctive identity and functions of either, the church is seeking to build the community up out of itself rather than to build itself up out of the community. Thus only may the churches make impossible the intolerable paradox of a community of Christians which is not a Christian community.

III. The third and most prophetic waymark of religious and social progress is the more and more insistent and persistent implication of the friendliest and most co-operative international relations as inherent in the profession of faith in "the holy catholic church, the communion of saints."

As surely as catholicity of spirit and the co-operative federation of churches prevail, not only must sectarian prejudice and religious intolerance be proscribed, but racial antagonism, narrow patriotism, and international warfare must be forsaken and disavowed as inconsistent with the fundamental faith and the ultimate purpose of all churches, and therefore anti-Christian and irreligious. If so, how much longer can any nation of Christendom fail to answer to the roll call in the "parliament of man, the federation of the world?"

As in the very diverse constituency of this great conference on national and international social work, so in the no more diversified spheres of religious faith and action, the only and all sufficient common denominator may prove to be the self-sacrificial spirit inspiring human service.

*Rev. Howard R. Gold, Lutheran Church of the Holy Trinity,
New Rochelle, New York*

"I am come that they might have life and that they might have it more abundantly," is Christ's purpose of his mission to men. The same, is still the best statement of the purpose of the Christian's life. The abundant life is one that first finds the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and then adds thereto from the other good things provided for man.

There must be constant guarding against indifference toward an adequate, comfortable human life for all men. The Christ who restored wearied nerves, opened blind eyes, enjoyed the comforts of well-supplied homes, entered into the joys of the marriage feast, and loved the care-free children, has a real concern for the human life of man.

The theme "Personal Religion and Progress through Social Work" is timely because there is need of both personal religion and social work. Any lack of appreciation of either factor in progress toward a better state of living, which Christ calls "the

Kingdom of God," comes from an inadequate understanding of the great Advocate of both. He summed up the whole matter thus: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment, and the second is like unto it; thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

Man's relationship to God may be pure and righteous altogether, but man's inhumanity to man makes countless thousands lose their hold both on God and man. Too much reliance is placed on the seed and not sufficient attention given to the soil. And as we deal with the spiritual lives of the young so we treat them physically.

In Chicago, students from the University counted in a section of the stock yards the number of babies under a year old. Then they counted an equal number in a section along the lake front. Near the stock yards the houses were small and huddled together; there were no yards, and the streets were dirty; fresh air and sunshine alike were often denied the infants. Their care by ill-trained or negligent mothers was indifferent. Along the lake there were wide streets, yards, fresh air, sunshine in the houses, and intelligent care. It was found that seven babies died in the stock yard region to one that died near the lake front.

Anyone who would earnestly emulate Christ, and spend his little day in bringing about a more abundant life, must do so in laboring for both personal and social regeneration. The Master's "well done" is spoken to those whose love for him led them to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, and visit the imprisoned, while to those who observed it in part but neglected the weightier matters of the law he said, "These things ye should have done and not have left the other undone."

Happily we can turn to men whose personal piety was their inspiration for an effective, practical social religion. One always turns from viewing the life of Pastor Wichern, the father of the Inner Mission, with renewed enthusiasm for social work. His summons to the Church, (in 1849) is still the call for a militant, serving religion.

Equally fascinating is the life of Pastor Oberlin, in the Vosges Mountains in Alsace-Lorraine, a century and a half ago. Called to a half destitute, uneducated people, in the mountains he accomplished a piece of genuine Christian social work that remains to this day unsurpassed in character, if surpassed in volume.

This disciple of Luther, who made barren hills bloom and yield fruit, and during the ominous days of the French Revolution remained with his people, had a real genius for walking with God and for working with his neighbor. Whenever a religious genius like that is harnessed to modern tasks, there is no difficulty in understanding the close alliance between personal religion and social work.

Since so much in social regeneration depends on the complete change of human nature, the social worker should hail with satisfaction the co-operation of the agency or individual which stresses this needed change. "You cannot change human nature," is a common expression, but all the while human natures are changed. Many a modern Paul is halted on his way to destroy, and transformed into a social and spiritual builder. This change often is so complete that the most adverse circumstances cannot shake the regenerated man from his high resolve. If only meager crops result from the best seed when no attention is given to the soil, it is still more certain that a bad seed will not bring good fruit. But we have learned to change the nature of the tree. A Luther Burbank accomplishes marvelous results. Even an average gardener may graft a twig and turn a worthless sapling into a blushing ox heart.

Until the social worker has wrought a change for the individual that goes deeper than his environment, until he has aroused a spiritual awakening that sets him aflame with a desire for fuller self-development, in which the spirit of God is the active agent, the task is but partially done. For him also is the word of Jesus, "these things ye should have done and not have left the other undone."

Personal religion and social work are not in conflict.

Both have divine sanction and are reflected in the best experiences of men. It is a mutual misfortune that there is not a closer fellowship between those whose main energy goes into either line of endeavor. There is no denying that one's personal relation with God grows richer as one seeks to realize God's kingdom among men. Also, the more one seeks to do so, the greater is the need felt of that relationship.

The way, lying immediately ahead, toward a more abundant life for all can best be traveled if the religious forces and social workers keep in step, and there is reason to expect that they will.

Many individuals and many groups are pressing for an order of things that gives a better indication that the purpose of God is actually carried out. There may be considerable difficulty; some may start on wild courses; and others may run tangents and be lost to usefulness.

In these next steps for a better world, personal religion and social effort are indispensable and inseparable. The preacher will demand personal righteousness and social justice alike. The worker will seek increasing spiritual power and apply himself fearlessly. The times demand a personal purification which comes from much fellowship with God, and a service which emulates the Christ of Galilee.

Dr. Abraham Cronbach, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati

One does not realize, unless one has long been in contact with social workers, what a complete revolution has occurred in ideas of benevolence. When Galileo said that the earth moved around the sun, or when Darwin said that man descended from some lower type of animal, the thoughts expressed were not more revolutionary than are the thoughts which are common this morning to the thousands of social workers who are visiting this city. Helping the poor means to us something vastly different from what it meant to our grandparents or even to our parents. Giving bread to the hungry, clothes to the unclad, and shelter to the outcasts, so long extolled as cardinal in the ethics of our own as well as of other religions, can, under circumstances which we now understand, be not a virtue but a sin.

The gist of the new charity is putting people where they belong, with reference to work. It begins with the children, yes, with the unborn child. The new charity scorns to hand out pennies to the ragged woebegone little ones that one meets begging in the poorest neighborhoods of the large cities. But it is immensely concerned that every child shall be well born and well reared. The new charity is ready with millions for child clinics and infant dispensaries, playgrounds, schools, clubs, medical and mental inspection, and special training. The new charity has not a cent for "Christmas toys for the kiddies." But it has treasures of devotion, if not of money, for the abolition of child labor, one of the most prolific causes of adult incompetence. The new

charity finds it impossible to grow sentimental over buying a suit of clothes for a poor lad. But it waxes mighty in its concern that environment be suitable, that homes rather than institutions be cherished, and that where there must be institutions, bad methods shall go.

Recently I visited the Jewish Psychopathic Institute in Cincinnati. This clinic is founded upon the proposition that the feeble-minded and certain types of the mentally deranged do not belong to the class of those who cannot and never will work. That clinic is taking children out of asylums for the feeble-minded and is making competent income-earners of them. We Jews may well be proud that our own people in Cincinnati are the soul of this beneficent enterprise.

The new charity is also concerned with the adult. It has not one cent for crippled beggars, but it has mountains of treasure, at least it wishes it had, for rehabilitation schools and for industrial safety laws and for social insurance propaganda. The new charity sends no philanthropic baskets to poor widows, but it is tireless in its efforts to make the world so safe and hygienic that there will be fewer widows and to secure life insurance and pension provision so that the care of widows with children shall be adequate, dignified, and just. The new charity does not send old clothes to deserted wives, but it sends the law after shirking husbands and is studying the psychic and environmental causes of desertion. A charity society of the progressive type, tired of sending groceries into a home from which the father repeatedly deserted, sent to the home a cooking and housekeeping teacher. Presently the man stopped deserting. His home became attractive enough to hold him.

The new charity has not one word of praise for bread lines and soup kitchens. We need not bread lines and soup kitchens but an enlightened and timely policy for the prevention of unemployment, for reducing unavoidable unemployment to a minimum and for utilizing such periods of unemployment for recuperation or education. In other words, prepare for prospective work so long as work itself is not available. Suitable municipal lodging houses, meanwhile, should make distinction between the unemployed and the unemployable.

"Until we get social insurance or old-age pensions, we must see to it that our homes for the aged and incurable are properly and humanely conducted," says the new charity. The normal thing would be for each family to care for its own aged. The story is told of an old man who had for years dragged out a miserable existence on the so-called charity of his neighborhood. Finally an expert social worker took hold of his case. Not a cent was handed to the poor old man, but the expert began inquiring who were the man's relatives. It was difficult and even expensive to get that information, and yet the expert believed such information essential. Eventually the worker traced some remote relatives of the old man in Canada. Return mail brought the astonishing information that the old man had been missing from home for years. A large bequest had been left him. Lawyers had been scouring the world to discover the legatées whereabouts. A tithe of the money given the old man in doles would have earlier put him where he could spend his days in comfort and composure.

The new charity has outlawed liquor. The new charity is struggling mightily to outlaw war. The social workers are pacifists, without any exception that has ever come to my attention. The new charity is not only solicitous that everybody shall work but that work be interesting and stimulating. It strives that everybody should be placed where he or she shall do the highest and ablest work for which he or she is

qualified. It knows what the old charity overlooked, that "man liveth not by bread alone."

The new charity is indeed alert to the many and varied moral factors that enter into our economic problems. What a sin to give a man a dime when the thing that he needs is not a dime but an ideal! Not a few of those who are homeless and foodless would be provided for and happy if only an ideal of duty could supplant, in their souls, the preference for loafing. Not only the mendicant but the rich likewise need ideals, and the proclamation of those ideals represents the new charity at its noblest. If profiteering and exploitation would vanish, untold stretches of misery would vanish. Toward the creation of this higher righteousness and the application of this higher wisdom should our means and efforts go. That is the new charity and the true charity, not almsgiving, not dropping the coin into the beggar's hat.

A charity organisation in one of our large cities once took as its campaign slogan the phrase "Your money and your life." The old charity, the harmful, the unthinking, the inexpert, the superficial, even though well-intentioned, deserves neither our money nor our life. But our money and our life should go unstintedly, lovingly, devotedly, and consecratedly to that new and true charity which is finding such magnificent expression this week in this, the foremost city of our land.

*Rev. F. Ernest Johnson, Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America,
New York*

The churches of all denominations are still divided on the question how far the church should participate in social work. On the one hand there are those who want the church to take everything possible, in the way of social service, under its wing. If a thing is good, they argue, why should it not be done by the church, thus exalting religion in the life of the community? "Is your church a community church?" Thus runs the familiar challenge—"If not, why not?" I consider this effort on the part of a church to absorb community functions indiscriminately as positively detrimental both to the church and to the community. Of course if a local church actually ministers to an entire physical and civic community, it may well call itself a "community church," and there is scarcely any limit to the services that it may perform if the will of the community is back of it. But a church that is but one of several in a community can miss its way badly by trying to be a social center when it is not, and may spoil a lot of good social work by trying to function where it is not equipped to function. A wise social worker who is also a loyal church member once said to me: "If your churches are not careful they will be running social service bargain counters instead of conducting a real ministry."

On the other hand, those who want the church to keep quite aloof from social problems are still further removed from the scriptural basis of the church's ministry. The popular distinction between the spiritual and the social is a modern heresy. It is not in the New Testament. The supreme reality of religious experience is found in fellowship; it is social achievement. That form of religion which consists in privately negotiating one's own salvation is without scriptural sanction and is well known by its unlovely fruits. It has allowed people of undoubtedly genuine attainments in personal piety to practice doubtful business ethics, to drive hard bargains, to make corrupt political affiliations, to own stock in anti-social enterprises, and to take divi-

dends that are made by keeping human beings working long hours at low pay. Christian experience is individual in that it demands the alignment of the individual human will with a spiritual purpose, but its content is social; it is found in fellowship, not the limited fellowship of a "family church," but a fellowship to which no child of God is an alien.

Hence the pulpit and the church school have a primary concern with every social problem and every social endeavor. No limit may be properly set to the church's task of moral diagnosis and educational ministry. Nor can the issue be avoided by confining the pulpit to general principles and forbidding it to take up particular situations. The sins of men and the sins of society are not abstractions to be talked about in generalities. The prophets never dealt with them that way. They uncovered the evil deed and said "Thou art the man!" The church can minister to industry or to politics only by applying its message concretely and locally.

The churches in America are at last reaching the point where they are ready to participate in politics if such action is necessary to establish the principle that missionary obligations rest upon governments as well as upon the people who live under them, and that not even the most powerful and favored nation can live unto itself. Likewise, the churches are pressing closer and closer to those areas in industry and commerce that have too long been guarded as a secular domain.

In the last two or three years, a persistent effort has been made by the representatives of certain great business interests to discredit the attempts of the churches to perform this kind of ministry. Most unscrupulous things have been done in high places. Money has been spent freely to check the church's social ministry and to bring its efforts into disrepute. Yet where that ministry combines courage, wisdom, fairness, and insistent goodwill, it is steadily making its way against every hostile influence.

Monsignor C. F. Thomas, St. Patrick's Church, Washington

I have been asked and delegated to preach today on the subject, *Personal Religion and Progress Through Social Work*, or to get as near to that subject as I can. I must confess that I may misinterpret the subject. If it means that we must get religion and expect progress through social work, I cannot preach on it. For it suggests that social work is a religion. That I cannot admit.

The National Conference of Social Work is holding here in Washington a convention to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of their efforts. I admire the enthusiasm of the workers, I applaud their endeavors and I admit the great success that has attended their good will and work. But I am compelled to see in the movements a great lack of soul and vital principle.

The lack of soul and vital principle consists in the absence of the supernatural and divine which the Catholic Church was set up by Jesus Christ to promulgate and to propagate.

Social work is one of the forces which have been set in motion to reform the world. Many agencies have for the past three centuries been set in motion to remedy existing conditions. But they all start from the wrong foundation. They seem to think they can remedy without attention to the supernatural and divine.

The church which Christ established has always maintained that He is the all-sufficient standard and the absolute pattern of human life. Time and space do not condition Him. Every generation must find in Him the type which fulfills its highest aspirations, inspires its deepest devotion, and satisfies its innermost needs. Of His fullness must all centuries receive. He must be the source and fount of all that is purest and noblest in civilization.

The Catholic Church insists, as it has always insisted, that no reforming of the world can take place unless His principles are applied to civic, social, and individual life. What this church promulgated and taught, obtained from the fourth to the sixteenth century, and really succeeded in producing a civilization which, notwithstanding its deficiencies conferred blessings on society and governments.

It is the custom of the present generation to discount the practical influence of Catholic teachings and principles. But this church has had centuries of experience; and there is no poverty and no distress which she has not anticipated and has not offered a remedy. Her experience and her wisdom are factors which we cannot today afford to neglect.

Unless social workers take into consideration and endeavor to apply her councils and put into their work the principles and motives she enjoins, the future will hold out no hope.

What I find in present social work and workers is the absence of the supernatural. They are always appealing to the human and natural. They do not understand human nature and its tendencies. Only the divine and the supernatural, which the church was established to proclaim and to propagate, can save the world from its present deplorable condition. We are all convinced of what Hilliare Belloc, in his book on Europe and the Faith, has said: "We have reached a state of society which cannot endure, and a dissolution of standards, a melting of the spiritual framework, such that the body politic fails. Men everywhere feel that an attempt to continue down this endless and ever darkening road is like piling debt upon debt. We go further and further from a settlement. Our various forms of knowledge diverge more and more. Authority, the very principle of life, loses its meaning, and this awful edifice of civilization which is our inheritance, and which is still our trust, trembles and threatens to crash down. It is clearly insecure. It may fall in any moment." Social work is appealing only to the natural and human. It must look higher, and appeal to the supernatural and divine.

Social work must be influenced by religion; and by the religion, the establishment of the Son of God incarnate. Social work cannot be a religion. If it relies on being accepted as such, it will eventually fail. It must be the handmaid of religion, and that must be the religion of Him, whom the God above sent into the world as a proof of His divine love to redeem the world not only from its sins, but also from its human aberrations.

Rev. Samuel McChord Crothers, First Parish Church, Cambridge

In the consideration of social work we may deal with the work itself or with the workers. The conference meeting in Washington has been dealing exhaustively with the manifold aspects of the work. On this Sunday morning I wish to speak of what

seems to me essential to the successful social workers. I shall take as my text the words of Paul, "The Lord loveth a cheerful giver."

The Lord loveth a cheerful giver as so do we all. And we might go farther and say that it is only when he is cheerful that we tolerate him and are willing to accept his gifts. Particularly is this the case with one who gives us advice. When a person offers us a piece of his mind we suspect him of hostile intent. The history of the word gratuitous is enlightening. Its primary definition is "freely bestowed; costing nothing." Its secondary meaning is "uncalled for, as a gratuitous insult."

In a certain sense all real social service is "uncalled for." You give what you believe will be good for the person. The difficult thing is to get him to receive what is offered. There is a natural resentment against tactless benefactors or reformers. They must have a temperamental cheerfulness in order to be well received. Wordsworth speaks of "the deep power of joy." It is the power which opens the way to all. "Sad hearted men much overgone with care" may offer good advice, but their demeanor does not recommend it. Chaucer's Clerke of Oxenforde had the temperamental quality that was needed; "Gladly would he lerne and gladly teche." Even the wife of Bath would tolerate his didacticism when she saw how much he enjoyed himself.

This is not to say that we give a hearing only to those who, as the saying is, "look only on the bright side of things." The dark side must be faced; but we don't care for the mind that sheds new darkness upon what it looks upon. A defeatist is never so unwelcome as when the tide of battle is going against us. The facts are threatening enough, but why surrender to them so abjectly!

The leaders of forlorn hopes are never found among men with dismal minds. There must be a natural resiliency of temper which makes them enjoy desperate ventures. Ignatius Loyola, who had an uncanny skill in picking winners in the race for martyrdom, was always on the lookout for high spirited young men with a keen zest for life. When he heard that a young Spaniard, Francis Xavier, was astonishing Paris by his gayety, he spared no pains to convert him. He was just the man he was looking for. He wanted someone to go through shipwrecks and famines and persecutions as one who rejoiced in tribulations.

The biographers of Xavier while narrating his unparelled sufferings, find the miraculous element in his constant good cheer. He set forth on the missionary enterprise from which he was never to return "light of heart and joyful in discourse." When others wept, we are told "the countenance of Xavier alone beamed with delight." On the overcrowded and fever stricken ship from Lisbon to Goa, Xavier, clothed in rags was the life of the company. When the soldiers gambled on the deck, he held the stakes for which they played in order that he might win them by his gay discourse from further excesses. He mingled freely with all classes and entered into their interests.

When he reached Goa he knew nothing of the language of the people whom he had come to convert, but swinging a handbell he went through the streets calling to repentance. Soon all the children of Goa were following this smiling John the Baptist. In a little while their parents were asking "what went he out for to see?" Their curiosity was excited and they were eager to know what this emaciated, barefooted stranger found in Goa to smile about. Then when he offered them baptism, they took it. How could they help it?

I think that a great deal of history is misconceived because historians being often of sedentary habits and being dependent on documents have not taken sufficient

account of the part which temperament plays in human affairs. They fix their attention on the policies for which a great man stands rather than upon the characteristics which induced other people to accept from him what they would reject from others. The great man is a leader of men, not a driver. A leader is one who has the power to induce other people to follow him.

What is the nature of that power? I think it may be best defined as the attraction of gravitation. It inheres in sheer bulk. It is the attraction which the greater has for the less. We are not drawn to one who is meagerly endowed with an excellent quality. We follow one who has enough and to spare.

What was it that made men follow Oliver Cromwell and take at his hand that which they would not receive from any of his contemporaries? Most of the historians of the period give little hint of this attractive power. I cannot find it in the reports of the long, rambling speeches that are preserved. But a chance remark of Richard Baxter throws light upon the man. After describing an interview with him he says, "He was a man of sanguine complexion, naturally of such vivacity, hilarity, and alacrity, as another man hath when he hath taken a cup too much."

There you have it! Oliver Cromwell had what other men of his party had, but he had something more. He had the puritan conscience, plus an unusual amount of vivacity, hilarity, and alacrity. So long as stout Oliver lived, the Commonwealth survived. When right-minded, but neutral-tinted Richard Cromwell became Lord Protector, the Cromwellian charm was broken. Hilarity and vivacity and alacrity may be looked upon as gifts of nature rather than of grace. But they serve to make the higher gifts acceptable. The metallurgist in dealing with the refractory ores find that many of them will not fuse in the hottest furnace unless he introduces some substance which acts as a flux. Cheerfulness is such a flux which is necessary in dealing with refractory moral elements.

It is here that religion has its great place in the lives of those who give themselves to disinterested social service. They need those sources of joy which sustain them when the world they would improve is recalcitrant. That was a noble prayer in the seventy-seventh psalm "That Thy way may be known upon earth, Thy saving health among all nations." There is need for knowledge and skill, but it must be directed by those who have found for themselves the secret of "saving health."

THE HOME

CHANGES IN SOCIAL THOUGHT AND STANDARDS WHICH AFFECT THE FAMILY

Porter R. Lee, Director, School of Social Work, New York

The form of the family is largely determined by tradition, by law, by convention, and by religious sanction. All of these are the product of slowly maturing human experience and the instinctive reactions of human beings developing constantly throughout their history more definite forms of social control. An institution so founded, with the authority of the ages behind it, is not lightly to be modified. It is not my purpose to suggest what particular modifications in the form of the family are desirable. I wish rather to call attention to a phase of our responsibility which in our sound desire to conserve the best in our heritage from the past is too easily overlooked. I believe that in our effort to maintain the integrity of the family, we do not sufficiently consider the extent to which, under modern conditions of thought and life, its integrity is assailed by some of the traditions and sanctions which have safeguarded it in the past.

Let us take as our ideal for the family that it is based upon monogamous marriage, founded upon love between man and woman, and entered upon with an assumption in favor of permanence. This is an ideal to which perhaps every school of thought would subscribe. To consider whether changes should not be made in our present form of the family is not necessarily to challenge this ideal. But it may very well be to challenge the adequacy of some of our historical methods of safeguarding it.

We may well consider whether what we know of human nature today, and whether the experience and the attitudes of men in this present age do not give us some new factors to take into account whenever we try by legislation or otherwise to regulate the form of the family. We are not here seeking to set forth profound scientific or philosophic truth. We are attempting rather to probe the facts of daily life for the light they may throw upon the problem of maintaining under modern conditions an ideal of the family whose chief protection thus far has been tradition from the past.

Comradeship.—Let us begin with comradeship, a phase of human experience which must be studied chiefly in a succession of commonplace incidents. Married life means to most people at the present time permanent companionship, which at its best may become comradeship. Is comradeship in the present day, in marriage or elsewhere, easier to achieve than it formerly was or more difficult? In human experience does it become easier or more difficult for people to live together? When two persons undertake to live with each other they take their courage in their hands. As the days pass into weeks and the weeks into months and the months into years, their foibles, their weaknesses, their prejudices, and their sterling qualities as well stand out in bolder and bolder relief. Considered simply as a problem of getting along together, the selection of a housemate is almost wholly an experiment. Its success depends upon many factors, of which that almost intangible thing, compatibility, is among the most important.

Does this problem of the adjustment of personalities to each other grow more complicated? I think it does, and the reason is that the individual of today is more of an individual than he ever was before, and has developed a wider range of interests than his ancestors dreamed of. Consider what science, invention, and the spread of learning have added to the range of interests open to the human being of modern times. Reading, music, and recreation alone, with the varied ways in which we have made them accessible to the mass of mankind, represent constantly increasing opportunities for the development of individual interests.

This development of individual interests has at least two important implications. In the first place it means an increase in the number of outlets for self-expression open to the individual. It means many more ways in which he can become conscious of possession. It means more directions in which he can feel that he is making an investment of himself. The development of romantic music in the eighteenth century was more than a stage in musical history. It reflected a profound change in the development of individuality in men. A modern critic has said of classical and romantic music that when hearing the former one feels that he listens to music written for the human race; when hearing the latter he feels that he listens to a message to his own spirit.

In the second place this increase in individual interests means the development of a greater number of points of contact with other human beings. Here is its significance from the point of view of comradeship between those who undertake to live together. A widening range of interests may mean potentially the development of greater depth of feeling, certainly around some of them. Next to the possession of a deeply treasured interest, the richest experience one can have is the sharing of it with another personality to whom it means much the same. So far as this factor goes, modern marriage offers the opportunity of many more points at which the interests of man and woman can be dovetailed, and to that extent it offers the possibility of a richer, more permanent comradeship between them.

But this is only half the story. One may have in a wide range of interests the possibility of much greater penetration into another life, but he has also the possibility of many more points of incompatibility. If among one's greatest interests in life are co-operative marketing, baseball, the music of Chopin, steam-turbines, bridge, electric cooking appliances, and the novels of Joseph Conrad, one will ordinarily be able to develop the greatest degree of intimacy with a person who claims the same interests and attaches to them the same kind of values. On the other hand, for a person whose chief interests are those we have mentioned, life would be lacking a necessary element if lived with another who shared none of them, and would become intolerable with one who scoffed at them.

A wide range of interests, therefore, while it offers the possibility of richer companionship, carries also the danger of making companionship more difficult. Compatibility between persons of diverse interests is just as possible today as it ever was. There is no question, however, but that it is easier when one is free to choose his companions, knowing what manner of persons they are. To be forced to live with one whose interests are not known is putting a handicap upon the growth of comradeship.

Is the problem of comradeship easier or more difficult within marriage than outside? Easier beyond question because of the love interest in which our ideal marriage, at any rate, has its roots. But at this point modern experience presents a new complication. The interests of human beings whose correlation is so essential a factor

in comradeship tend to become crystalized later and later in life. The interests which go most deeply with human beings in the sense of possession are cultural, vocational, and avocational. To a large extent these interests in the form in which they persist through life are the product of maturity. Education, professional training, and the higher demands of skilled work tend to prolong the period of preparation. Many interests do not become fixed until the period of preparation is over, and one is more or less settled in the direction in which he wishes to go. Ordinarily the interests of mature years do not become crystalized until possibly the late twenties. This is the age, in other words, at which the nature of one's lasting comradeships are likely to be more firmly based. Young men and young women, however, do not and should not wait until the late twenties before they fall in love. And however much economic considerations may be driving us into late marriages, this tendency cannot but be deplored by those who believe both in the right of youth to love and in confining its deepest expression to the marriage relationship.

We may well believe that compatibility between man and wife is essential to family life. We may believe that marriage as an institution is so important to the welfare of society that men and women must be urged to achieve compatibility at whatever cost. We do ourselves a wrong, however, if we do not recognize that the growth of human comradeship is a bigger problem than it ever has been. The love of man and woman simplifies the problem, but marriage intensifies it, since comradeship may be more difficult of achievement on the part of those who feel themselves driven by circumstances to achieve it. We have taken as our ideal of the family the monogamous marriage, which is based upon love and entered upon with an assumption in favor of permanence. That ideal can be retained by the race only if it recognizes the increasing difficulty of attaining it in our present social arrangements and adapts its forms of legal, religious, and conventional sanction to that fact.

The new position of women.—In discussing the features of modern life which affect the future of the family, the record must include reference to the profound influence of the newer position of woman in society. Politically, economically, and socially woman in modern times has achieved a new status. Through education and experience she is qualifying for its responsibilities. The implications of this development for the family are profound. They have already been discussed before this conference, notably by Professor Tufts in 1915, and there is no lack of continuous thoughtful discussion of it elsewhere. It will suffice for this paper, therefore, merely to record the importance of the new status of woman in any consideration of the future of the family.

Authority.—Another characteristic of modern thought, which has a bearing upon family life, is its attitude toward authority. There is a widespread feeling that human beings in these times show an increasing disrespect for authority. Some writers will have us believe that disrespect for law, if not more widespread, is at least more conspicuous. It is suggested also that many of the older sanctions, religious and conventional, command a lesser degree of allegiance from the present generation than was true in the past. The growing independence of children of the present day, representing a relaxing of parental authority, is an illustration of the same thing. Certainly in the field of politics men have become increasingly restless under traditional forms of authority; autocratic governments are overturned completely, and representative governments have in recent years experienced more frequent changes in tenure.

If we turn from institutions claiming a measure of authority over groups of persons to the human being himself, what attitude toward authority shall we find? I am inclined to think that most human beings like authority. Men like to be led. They like to take cues from others. They like to find a doctrine formulated which they can follow. They like the security that comes with realizing that there is authoritative backing for that which they believe.

In order to reconcile these apparently paradoxical assumptions, suppose we analyze a bit the nature of authority. There is a kind of authority that goes with status. The president, the king, the priest, the teacher, the manager, the parent, and the policeman carry authority regardless of the qualifications of the person who holds the office. Whatever the source of such authority, it is recognized generally and traditionally receives respect. This is constituted authority, if we may spread a bit the strict meaning of this phrase. It is the authority of the office. An unworthy incumbent may lessen the respect accorded it, but cannot wholly destroy it. It is authority in which the subject not only acquiesces, but in many of the illustrations mentioned the authority is given as a result of his deliberate act.

Constituted authority, however, is not the only type which human beings follow. The guide, counselor, and friend is usually an authority, but he does not derive his authority from his status. Rather, he derives his status from his authority. Civilization has become so complex that no man can be an authority with respect to all matters that are vital in his life. In politics, in finance, in health, in recreation, in religion, in philosophy, and in his vocation he needs outside assistance. Anyone whose judgment in any one of these fields he respects may be to him an authority. Authority in this sense is not constituted. It is rather inherent in the wisdom and understanding of the individual. Inherent authority is the authority of experience and learning, leading to judgments which less experienced, less learned persons are willing to follow. Inherent authority is the authority of those whose lead we follow without any compulsion to do so.

I am inclined to believe that the growing disrespect for authority is disrespect for authority which is constituted but not inherent. Men are no less willing than they ever were to accept leadership, to be told what to do, but they are increasingly restless when advice or instructions come from persons who have only a constituted right to give them and no inherent authority with respect to them. Political dissatisfaction is not so much due to unwillingness to be controlled as it is unwillingness to be controlled by those who do not combine with the constituted right to control the inherent authority which makes the control wise.

What bearing has this upon the family? The family is a less formal organization than the state, the church, or an industry. Nevertheless, it is an organization, and within the family parents occupy the position of constituted authority. Happy is that family, in which the constituted authority of parents is also inherent, in which the respect of children may be gained not merely because children *must* obey their parents but because with regard to the important issues of life the judgment of parents has earned respect. Both tradition and law grant parents almost complete control over their children. Just now there is a deepening of interest in the whole subject of the relationship which should exist between parents and children, which goes far beyond the mere question of control.

It is none too soon for this interest to show itself. In the education of children there has been very little which fitted them for the art of parenthood. Most of the contributions toward home-making have been in terms of labor saving machinery, budgets, and mastery of the domestic arts. We have gone serenely along in the belief that the solidarity of the family group under the leadership of parents could be preserved on the old basis of parental control and such measure of companionship as an assortment of human beings could spontaneously achieve. In the meantime, more and more of us have been educated, deeper and deeper have sunk ideas of liberty and self-expression. All of which has been approved by our philosophers and deliberately fostered by our leaders. No one would claim that we have yet achieved an undue capacity for independent thought, but the result of the process of education and the result of our struggle for liberty have nevertheless tended toward independent thinking. Whatever else a desire for independent thinking and for the selection of one's own authorities may lead to, they have clear indications with regard to the organization of family life. If respect for parents is an important element in holding the family together, that respect must not only be accorded by children, but it must also be won by parents. It is not possible in this brief discussion to consider what this means in terms of the education of parents. We need only suggest that respect is ordinarily accorded those who one feels share one's own interests and to some extent have an authoritative judgment regarding them. The authority of a father over his son totters on its foundations when the son asks for assistance with his arithmetic lesson and is met by complete indifference. It totters only slightly less when he is met by cordial interest and abysmal arithmetical ignorance. The interests of childhood are not the interests of the adult or vice versa. Nevertheless, the two have points of contact, and authority in the household hinges very largely upon the success of the parents in making their leadership attractive at these points of contact.

It may be too much to expect that middle age or old age can ever wholly appreciate the point of view of youth, but we can no longer be content with a philosophy of family life which makes it one of the first responsibilities of parenthood to secure in the children the greatest measure of conformity with adult standards. The yearning for authoritative leadership on the part of youth can be satisfied only by authority which is inherent. The whole trend of our education, the whole atmosphere of modern life is toward the acceptance of inherent authority, and toward the distrust of any authority, however firmly constituted, which is not also inherent.

Respect for authority as bearing upon the family goes farther than the responsibilities of parenthood. Others than parents are exercising authority with regard to the form and functions of the family. The church, as it has always done, exerts a powerful influence upon the institution of the home. For the greater part of mankind the ceremony of the church is still the gateway through which family life is entered. Its interpretation of morality and its doctrines with regard to divorce largely determine both flexibility and permanence in the family. Like parents, the church is a constituted authority. Behind its doctrines is all the momentum of tradition and sanctity. It may well be, however, that with respect to the family the same tendency to insist that authority be inherent as well as constituted may in the long run affect its influence. No thoughtful person would urge that the influence of the church upon family life should be lessened, any more than one would urge that the influence of parents over their children should be lessened. Certainly this discussion points in no such direction. Its

significance is rather that parental authority and ecclesiastical authority both must seem to those whose respect they ask to rest not merely upon status but also upon a clear understanding of the facts of life and of human personality.

Sex.—This discussion cannot omit the effect which the present outspoken interest in sex is likely to have upon the family. This development has given many people a feeling of grave apprehension lest its consequences be entirely disastrous. It has given many others a faith that out of it will grow a saner attitude toward family life and a greater measure of security for the family ideal in which we believe. Neither apprehension nor faith alone is a completely satisfactory starting point for action if it is possible to put facts at their service. We are far from knowing the whole truth about sex. What we do know, whether revealed by experience or by philosophy or by science, is not enough to justify abandoning entirely either apprehension or faith in regard to the future.

Nevertheless we do know more about sex than any previous generation knew. Psychiatry, tentative as it is, the study which lies behind the movement for birth control, for a more righteous attitude toward illegitimacy, have taught us something. Traditional attitudes toward sex will not be continued unless they survive the honest appraisal of newer facts and judgments based upon those facts.

We know that the sexual instinct is among the most powerful in human nature. Of all human instincts it has been the most persistently kept under cover and the most rigidly disciplined. As a result it may be that it is, in proportion to its power, the least well understood; and if it is the least well understood, our attitude toward it may be the least intelligent.

What are some of our traditional attitudes toward sex? The belief is general that sex is essentially indecent. The common attitude is that even within marriage sexual relations between men and women are a concession to animal nature and justified only by biological necessity. From the most widely accepted moral point of view sexual intercourse is legitimate only when its purpose is procreation. Finally, our civilization has pinned its faith to a program for the control of the sexual impulse in which fear and repression and insistence upon self-control with no adequate appreciation of its cost are leading factors.

These are not new attitudes. It may well be that whatever success the human race has had in organizing its sexual nature is due to them. In practice, however, it is clear that they are being steadily relaxed. To many people the relaxing of these attitudes marks an inevitable tendency toward complete moral degeneration. It must be admitted that here and there a voice is raised in favor of the complete abandonment of all moral standards as the soundest social philosophy. As between no moral standards whatever and moral standards too rigid for present-day needs there could be no hesitation in making a choice. Better to trust blindly the experience of the race through the ages than to abandon it wholly in order to follow the impulse of the moment.

I do not believe that we are confined to these alternatives. I think, on the contrary, that an honest facing of facts gives good reason to believe that the relaxing of some of our traditional attitudes toward sex will mean a sounder moral standard for the future.

Certainly in many specific directions our practice does not conform to these traditional attitudes. The practice of birth control in spite of its being hedged about with legal restrictions has become widespread among persons whose moral standards cannot

be questioned. Moreover, the movement to modify the legal hindrances to voluntary parenthood grows in momentum, and its adherents are neither the unintelligent nor the immoral. Very slowly we are coming to have a different attitude toward illegitimacy. Illegitimacy as a social problem has in the thinking of the past been rooted in immorality. The traditional attitude toward women and children tainted with illegitimacy has been dictated by our traditional feeling of the essential indecency of sex; and modification of that attitude indicates a change in our thought about sex. Despite efforts to check it, divorce is increasing, and it is noticeable that the greatest increase is in divorces secured on the initiative of women. Current newspapers, magazines, and books indicate how widespread among the present generation is the discussion of sex.

All of these evidences of a change in our attitude toward sex may be interpreted as having sinister significance. This, however, is not a complete interpretation. Certainly the drive for sex education not only has the soundest of arguments behind it but to thousands of human beings for whom life has been complicated through ignorance, it suggests the possibility of a saner outlook upon existence for the newer generation, which an older generation achieved only after the most terrific struggle, if at all.

The current interest in sex cannot all be bad. If we have sufficient honesty and courage to face facts, we shall discover that however much good may be credited to our traditional safeguards around the subject of sex, they must be charged also with a considerable measure of evil. In common knowledge they have been responsible for no small measure of marital unhappiness. The family physician, the confessor, the guide, counsellor, and friend long preceded the psychiatrist in coming to a realization of the terrific problem of adjustment within married life which sex imposes. What has been a burden to be borne, it is reasonable to expect that sex education, psychiatry, and a saner attitude toward the biological nature of man may succeed in lightening. We are learning also through the revelations of psychiatry the terrific cost of our traditional program for the control of the sexual impulse. Repression and fear as a basis for the organization of one's self are a foundation of sand. How much of human unhappiness, how much of the sense of failure, how many of the antagonisms which lead to open strife among men are due to these repressions we do not know, but modern psychological science affords ample reason for seeing a cause-and-effect relationship between them.

Our traditional attitudes toward sex are based upon a conception of society in which marriage is the normal state for adult human beings, and no other conception of society would meet our highest ideals. The fact is, however, that marriage as the correlative of love between man and woman to some extent grows more difficult under modern conditions. Economic considerations tend more and more to lead to the postponement of marriage. No reliable statistics have been compiled as to the rate of increase of unmarried persons. The tendency, however, at certain points is distinctly noticeable. Professional life and the exigencies of far flung industrial organization make it necessary for more and more persons, both men and women, to establish themselves in new communities or to lead an almost nomadic existence. School teachers, social workers, nurses, traveling salesmen, and other business representatives, groups constantly growing in numbers, more and more find themselves living under circumstances which certainly do not simplify the question of finding a mate. To the extent to which neighborliness has declined in American city life the problem of developing acquaintances for newcomers is intensified. If acquaintance is difficult, marriage is still more difficult. There have always been human beings who have successfully

negotiated celibacy; but celibacy is not normal, and in the nature of things it never can be normal. An increase in celibacy may well be as grave a matter of social concern as an increase in sexual immorality. Once more we must recognize that the maintenance of an ideal is today a bigger problem for human beings than it ever was before.

From still another point of view the adequacy of our traditional attitudes toward sex may in the light of recent experience be challenged. There are differences of opinion as to the form which sex education should take. There is little disagreement as to its importance. The purpose of sex education must be either to teach youth the truth about sex as a natural function, as natural as any other biological function, or to teach him how to control his sex impulse, or both. If both, the validity of the arguments for control must be made as apparent to him as the truth about sex. But our traditional arguments for the control of the sex impulse are the product of ages when we did not know as nearly as we do now the truth about sex. Every other form of education, if it is good education, has for its purpose the development of some capacity in the boy or girl and the provision of opportunities for its use. In the case of sex education alone we endeavor to reveal to youth the truth about one of his most fundamental capacities, and we then tell him that only under certain restricted circumstances must it be used, and not for many years after he has come to understand it.

There are the soundest biological and ethical arguments for the control of the sex instinct, the reasonableness of which even youth may be expected to understand. We must recognize, however, that *we* cannot give him both knowledge of his sex nature and the reasons for its control, without *his* giving sex a place in his scheme of things. Under traditional moral standards sex outside of marriage has had no legitimate place in the scheme of things. So drastically has convention enforced this standard that even a normal consciousness of sex interest has meant for the conscientious person a feeling of guilt. The results of education in knowledge of sex and acceptance of standards of self-control inevitably mean for youth a consciousness of sex interest. If we believe in sex education, we must be ready to lift from youth this burden of guilt.

I am advocating neither free love nor sexual promiscuity. I am advocating an attitude toward sex that will uphold monogamous marriage. I am pleading for recognition of the formidable nature of the task of self-control and for recognition of the fact that to be conscious of a sex instinct which needs to be controlled need not in itself involve a feeling of moral guilt.

In the face of increasing marital unhappiness, of an understanding of the bad effects of the repression of the sex instinct, in the face of an increase in enforced celibacy, in the face of a widespread conviction that sex in some of its phases has never been adequately understood and not always sanely safeguarded, those of us who are interested in maintaining an ideal of family life would do well to consider whether our traditional attitudes toward sex do not need considerable modification if that ideal is to be safeguarded. I am not one of those who believe that sex is essentially indecent.

To regard the experience through which the richest of spiritual gifts comes to men and women, the gift of children, as indecent is in itself abhorrent to every fundamental sense of decency. I am not one of those who believe that indulgence of the sexual instinct is a concession to animal nature legitimate only when its purpose is procreation. Under the refining influence of the human spirit seeking its way upward, beauty has been found in every function of the human personality. If once we could free ourselves of the dead load of fear, we should find all of us, as indeed many of us have done already,

beauty in the sex relationship in and for itself. This is not an argument for the relaxing either of self or of social control. It is an argument rather for an honest search in the light of modern knowledge and modern thought for new bases of self-control which will preserve our ideal of family life. Sex is at the foundation of family life. Sex influences family life as long as it lasts. It must be admitted that we have made little effort to understand it. It has been accepted as a biological necessity. That it could have in the development of human beings any spiritual significance whatever, men have never been ready to admit. Another generation may find that a saner attitude toward sex within marriage, with implications that are spiritual as well as biological, has given them a saner attitude toward the whole problem of sex in human life, and a sounder basis for its control.

Summary.—One cannot consider the effect of changes in social thought and standards upon the family without considering the effect of those changes upon the whole range of human life. Throughout human history there has been a steadily maintained tendency toward the development of the human being to think and act for himself. The growth of scientific knowledge, the development of a wider and wider range of interests in life, and the tremendous spread of education have given him some of the equipment necessary for this responsibility. The equipment thus far has been inadequate, and it will continue so for a long time to come. Nevertheless, leadership by fiat and constituted authority alone is losing its hold upon men. This does not mean that men are losing their faith in ideals. The ideals of liberty, of religious experience, of service, and of family life are as sound as ever. Coming generations of men, however, are likely to ask of their leaders that the social arrangements designed to protect these ideals be adjusted to the facts of life and to the justifiable faith of the individual man in the inherent soundness of his own judgment.

SOCIAL WORK AS IT CONTRIBUTES TO THE STRENGTHENING OF FAMILY LIFE

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Social work has the distinction of having applied anew the art of discovery to the family. It has looked with fresh eyes upon an experience older than history and it has found therein significance and life.

There have been inquiries into the origin of the family. There have been studies of its anthropologic and its economic aspects. For generations upon generations men have discussed it, but they have discussed it as a social phenomenon. They have spoken of it as an institution, a definition wholly correct in that it implies social design instead of biologic accident, but a definition which is nevertheless a handicap. Under it the family has taken upon itself that character of fixity and finality with which we seem to endow the state and all other institutions. It has reared itself across the path of our thinking like a great edifice, permanent, changeless, and unchangeable, an abstraction, not a thing of life.

If it has not lived in thought, neither has it been conceived by those whose most intimate experience it is. Ask the member of a family for his philosophy of the family

and he will probably be at a loss for a reply. The family is so obvious, so universal, so much a part of himself, that it has never occurred to him to develop a point of view about it. And when he does begin to consider the question he realizes that the only even approximately accurate knowledge that he has is limited to that which concerns the family to which he belongs. Of a subject about which he thought he knew everything he discovers that he knows almost nothing. Beyond platitudes most people have no vital conception of what the family involves.

Social work is unique in the extent and the intimacy of its acquaintance with the life of the home. For fifty years it has been in the closest association with hundreds of thousands of families. It has known them at times of crisis and of strain. It has seen them pass through every vicissitude of fortune. It has witnessed the influence of the life of the neighborhood and of environmental conditions upon the life of the family. It has witnessed the influence of the life of the family upon the life of the individual, of parents upon children, of children upon parents, of parents upon each other, and of children upon each other. It has read the familiar story of marital infelicity. It has seen the influence upon the mother of the separation of her children from her. It has witnessed the effect upon the character of the father, and it has had abundant opportunity to do so; for when it came to the sticking point our predecessors did not show that great faith in the family for which posterity gives them credit. Whenever one is oppressed by the lament that the family is not the revered institution it once was, one should remember that however much the philanthropists of a half a century ago may have talked about the sanctity of the home, they were amazingly quick to lay destructive hands upon it. Their approved treatment of trouble in the family was the separation of its members. For the reconstruction of the individual they preferred the artificial grouping of the institution to the natural environment of the home. And so social work has been able to witness an experiment with a substitute for the family. It has seen the influence of institutional life upon the personality of the child. It has seen him in foster homes. It has seen the attempt to deal with the problem of the unmarried mother apart from her child. It has witnessed the effect upon the widow of the taking of her children from her. There is no phase of the life of the home in which social work has not shared.

Out of this vast experience social work has found a new appreciation of the family. It sees it as supremely the place for the culture of the individual. It sees it meeting his needs as no other institution of society can meet them. It sees it fulfilling the fundamental desire of every human being to possess and to be possessed, to be pre-eminently himself and to be part and parcel of the life of others, to have an anchorage no matter how far he may depart from it, to be secure and yet to be free.

"Home is the place where when you have to go there they have to take you in." It is yours. Nothing can alter this fundamental fact. You can be as naughty as you like; you are still a member of the family. You can even, if you please, be a behavior problem. It is still your home.

Everywhere else you are an inconsequential one of many. Here you are individual. You are appreciated for the very idiosyncrasies for which you are reproved. You are free. Everywhere else there are rules. One starts work at nine o'clock. The retiring bell rings at ten. In the home there can be understandings instead of rules. Bedtime may be at eight. If one is sleepy one may say goodnight at half-past seven; but if Tom Sawyer is in the midst of taking Becky Thatcher's whipping, bedtime is postponed

until the reading of the chapter has been finished; as much, indeed, for the pleasure of parent as of child.

But the freedom of the individual in the family is not the freedom of solitude, it is the freedom of association. It is like a bugle call sounded from a peak whose horizon is blocked by hills. The notes strike the mountain walls that rise on every side and the echo is tossed back to be reflected again and again among the hills until what was the sound of a single instrument has become a symphony. The life of the family is an interplay of relationships. It is a pooling of interests, each member bringing his hobbies, his enthusiasms, his enterprises into the circle of the home until what Boswell said in a letter to the great Dr. Johnson might well be said by any member of a successful family to any other member: "I fairly own that after an absence from you for any length of time, I feel that I require a renewal of that spirit which your presence gives me, and which makes me a better and a happier man than I had imagined I could be."

Nothing is more vital to the life of the family than the quality of this influence of each individual upon each other individual. It is the action and the reaction of personality which is at bottom the decisive factor in the issue of happiness or unhappiness. The acts, the attitudes, the very thoughts of each member of the family affect those of each other member. It is the most complex, the most continuous, the most intimate of all human relationships.

Two sexes, extreme differences in age, two, sometimes three, generations, two traditions, widely divergent individualities, different likes and dislikes, different ambitions, different experiences, all meet in what is usually daily association. In the other relationships of life one is on dress parade, one is not as one is. In the home one is as one gets up in the morning. Outside in the world, even in friendship, one finds it easiest to wear the veil of impersonality. The family is a personal relationship. It is the very center of our emotional life; interesting—there is nothing that approaches it in adventure, in romance, in inspiration; difficult—if it were not so it would not be interesting.

It demands a reciprocity of understanding. Each member of the family must afford each other member a free opportunity to be himself, to express himself, to function at his highest capacity as a human being. Each member of the family must stand out to each other member as individual, as different from every other person, as requiring his own modes and avenues of activity. The life of the family depends upon individualization by and of each member of the family.

For this outside the home there is no preparation. The sweep of modern life is still toward efficiency through standardization. In industry we worship quantity even when we talk quality, and we accomplish it through the limitation of individual discretion in the processes of production. Business, for the vast majority of its practitioners, is a matter of law and regulation. Usually only the head dare assume responsibility, and he is likely to be bound by precedent. Like a game of bridge it is played by virtue of a knowledge of the rules from which only a genius may depart. In thought we are as standardized as in work. We fear to hold ideas that are different. Let a person develop originality of approach to any subject and we immediately try to label and pigeon-hole him. How much independent and constructive thinking have we lost for ourselves by driving people into conventional modes of thought through fear of being called "Bolshevik," or "Communist," or "Bourbon." Even in religion we want to classify people; we judge a man by his denomination. In education there is at once

recognition and despair of individualization. The group to be worked with is too large. There must be curriculums and courses of study, and it is only by picking out a student here and there that one can individualize as one would like.

Social work, of all the influences in modern life, is unique in its emphasis upon the individual. It stands at the other end of the scale from our national worship of mass efficiency. What better illustration of this is there than the lesson which an apprentice in social work learned when, being interested in six children and discovering that they attended the same school, she decided to consult the teacher about them all in one visit—magnificent standardization. But by the time she had reached the third child her attention and insight began to fail of the keenness with which the needs of the first were approached, and when she arrived at the last he had faded into being simply one of a group. Magnificent standardization, but poor social work.

Social work is unique in its emphasis upon the individual because it deals with him as related to other individuals. It cannot, like the physician, confine its diagnosis and treatment to the patient. If it preaches the gospel of individualization it, in the same breath, expounds the doctrine of mutual responsibility. It does not do this abstractly, but in home after home in which the life of the family has been threatened, interpreting individual to individual, rallying the interest of the group to the person whose adjustment to the rest is least satisfactory, and, with its new vision of the family, strengthening and deepening the life of the home.

It is only at the commencement of its usefulness. An ever unfolding opportunity lies before it. Through hospitals and clinics, through family and children's societies, through municipal and state departments, through the courts, and through the schools it is constantly being sought by people in trouble. Again and again it will be found that the cure lies as much with the family as with the individual. The boy who is nervous and repressed in school, the woman who fails to follow the medical advice of the clinic, the parents who wish to place their child in an institution, may be but presenting symptoms of a disorganized family, a family perchance that only needs for its strengthening the approach of an understanding mind.

The problem is universal. The disorganized family is not a disease of poverty. It exists everywhere. What is more familiar than the story of the man who is successful in business but a failure as husband and father? The very fact that the family has ceased to be a masculine possession and prerogative has added to the difficulty of family life for everybody. It is vastly easier to rule or to be ruled than to work out one's salvation in association with others. The same element that renders most men helpless before the concept of industrial democracy is responsible for the bringing of chaos into many homes. There has seemed to be no substitute for the authority of force. Once this has been abrogated, in the face of an emancipated womanhood and a new recognition of the personality of the child, the whole structure of the family has seemed to collapse. There is indeed great occasion for social work to extend its sphere of activity beyond the bounds of the agencies in our welfare federations.

Just as the hospitals maintain a service for private patients, so the time must come when social agencies will establish a corresponding service for the treatment of the problems of family life. Social work is being extended to the public schools. Inevitably it will also be called into the homes of the children in private schools, even into those of college and university students. Social work is being asked, on occasion, by the trust departments of banks for help in the solving of family problems. It is being used by

lawyers. Social work is an established and integral part of the organization of our courts of domestic relations. Why then should not the judges in the higher courts turn to social work for assistance in dealing with divorce? Why should we not have a family court to which all family problems, of rich and of poor alike, might be brought? The avenues leading from the community to the home are many. The opportunity of social work is proportionately great.

But the strength of the family comes not only from within. Its life is vitally affected by a multitude of influences from without. Environment plays a mighty part in the quality of the family relationship. One room more or one room less can change completely the character of the home. Ill health, fatigue from overwork, cramped quarters because of inadequate housing, and absence of opportunity for the renewal that comes from recreation can bring irritation where there might otherwise be harmony. In the same city two adjoining wards are separated by a vast gulf of difference in moral standards. Is there any significance in the fact that in the ward where family life is stronger social work has been active through settlements, social centers and playgrounds, while in the ward where the life of the home is weak there has been little organized effort to cultivate a wise use of leisure? There is not an item in the whole social program which does not affect the family. To promote health, to keep the child in school, and to safeguard him in industry, to reduce the hours of labor, to establish one day's rest in seven, to assure to everybody a living wage, to socialize the laws affecting marriage, to encourage everywhere the development of the democratic spirit is to build strongly the foundations of the home, and toward the realization of these things social work has done, is doing, and must continue to do, its part.

Surpassing all these present responsibilities is the crisis in housing. The physical standards of the home are under such an attack as they have not sustained for a generation. Overcrowding, the doubling up and tripling up of families within the same house, the reduction in the number of rooms, and the continued increase in rentals, are threatening to nullify the accomplishment of thirty years. The heaviest indemnity, the indemnity that every nation is paying because of the war is being paid now in the restriction of the number and quality of our dwelling places. It is an issue that demands the redoubled attention and activity of social work.

"Prevention succeeds." While on the one hand we work to make the community safe for the family, let us study how to anticipate breakdowns in the relationships of the home and to avoid their occurrence. We need to know more about the practice of family life. Hitherto we human beings have been singularly unprepared for the application of this art. We have picked it up as a boy in the country learns to swim. It has been a rule-of-thumb affair with such unhappy consequences as we have only too often seen.

Social work has made but a faint beginning of an understanding of this art. It must continue to cultivate the spirit of discovery. Out of its experience with broken homes it must seek new ways of building family life. But we must go further than this. Sooner or later there must be study of the elements in the lives of homes that are happy and successful, not a wholesale questionnaire investigation, but an intimate individual effort to arrive at an appreciation of what has been involved in the relationships within each family. Perhaps the present generation is too confirmed in its fears and its reticences to make possible such a study of what is normal and usual in family

life. The younger generation is better prepared, is franker and freer, and through it we may perhaps find new and better ways of living.

Social work must continue to cultivate the spirit of discovery in its relation to every branch of science that approaches the home, reaching out, in particular, to medicine, psychology, psychiatry, and the social sciences. We have profited much by the application of the scientific method to everyday life. Let us pursue our search.

Meanwhile let us preach the art of human association as we see it. Let us lay the foundation for a hygiene of family life. Let us expound the culture of the individual through his relationships. Let us emphasize the importance of the effort to understand him, of allowing him freedom to work out his life, of helping him to face his problems, of opening his way to ever widening interests.

The field of human life is ripe for our efforts. While the spirit of the times is still toward standardization, the breath of something different is stirring. Man that has developed the machine now sees its threat to his happiness. He is beginning to realize that his survival depends upon a matching of the monotony and uniformity of mechanism with a varied and individual human being.

He wants more of life than he ever did before. Men and women are seeking for a greater womanhood and a greater manhood in each other. Let us not be stampeded to despair by reported increases in divorce. While divorce is a testimony to human weakness, while in each individual home it represents tragedy, it is perhaps the price of change, the sign of failure, it is true, but of failure to attain to a higher ideal of the family. Men and women are no longer content with an inadequate life together. They are setting themselves a loftier goal of human association, a goal that gives promise of a happier future for the race.

At the apex of this struggle for better things stands social work. It is the interpreter of the longings of people for a more wholesome social order, for a sounder family life. Today in large part it must deal with broken homes. Today it must devote its chief energies to repairing the wrongs of industry, the mistakes of housing, and the insufficiencies in education and recreation.

But tomorrow is already at hand; and tomorrow we shall go forward to a community that plans its streets and its homes and its working places for the development of men and women who shall be free. We shall go forward to a deeper understanding of human beings, of ourselves, and of others, and of the possibilities of the family as a place of renewal and strength, where mate meets with mate, where childhood meets with age, where life burgeons, and where life passes, the microcosm of society, the hope and the inspiration of mankind.

SOCIAL PROGRESS WITHIN THE HOME

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Social progress within the home, to a *renewant* from the scene of fifty years ago, would at first sight appear extraordinary. Without invoking the shades of Mrs. Trollope, or Charles Dickens, or even Matthew Arnold, we elders know what American interiors and household manners once were. The change of the typical American home is toward health, order, and beauty; interiors hygienically heated, freshly ventilated.

beautifully sanitized, vacuum-cleaned, shining as to walls and floors, mobile and restrained as to furnishing, open to air and sun and surrounded by charming and sustaining gardens; food wonderfully calculated for nourishment and stimulus; a health regimen for children already vindicated in their increased weight, stature and beauty; an attention to the amenities of life that makes the outer aspect of a day in the typical American family a delightful journey from the morning grapefruit to the children's good night curtseys; and health and beauty are favoring conditions for all spiritual values. More, we might add that the place of the child in the home has, in fifty years, nay, in fifteen years, undergone a moral transformation. We can measure the distance we have come even lately, as I have recently done in rereading Bernard Shaw's *Parents and Children*, with a smile for the adult's self-deceptions, which no longer call for his railing attack. The rights of children as individual human persons, unique creations, sensitive souls, are now acknowledged in homes where once they were only, as it were, surreptitiously cherished by tender mothers. Those "trailing clouds of glory" have a whole lot better chance than in Wordsworth's generation not to be brushed away, since Freud and Dewey, Montessori and John Watson, Marietta Johnson and Dorothy Canfield, and Angelo Patri have shown us how to guard them.

With young children the tale ends. Need I invite you to recall the current commonplaces of "the revolt of youth," "our wild young people," "the breakdown of the family," "the disintegration of family life"? One needs only the newspaper headlines but I have had in the last year some most remarkable additional testimony. Circumstances ordained that I should be in correspondence, in regard to the deepest problems of their lives, with literally thousands of women of all classes and of all types. I had known that the specially educated, professionally trained women were conscious of a deep-going conflict in their lives. The special powers, the whole focussed personality, which they had built up, through years of study and work, seemed in marriage and motherhood to come to a dead end, and although a new set of interests and duties, joyously welcomed, supervened, the acknowledged and unacknowledged values of their lives were subconsciously warring against each other. But I had believed that unrest was limited to this special group. Now I have come to know that a very large proportion of average, devoted wives and mothers, earnest homemakers, are doubting, groping, seeking for a reorganization of purposes in the home that will satisfy both conscience and common sense, which present conditions do not satisfy.

The truth is that these so greatly appreciated material and aesthetic improvements in our homes have met the necessary conditions for real progress. The conditions of real progress are clear thinking out of ends and agreement on values to be realized, and they have met them, under the guidance of principles of science and of art. Even our enlightenment as to children's training has been a ray from the psychologist's and psychiatrist's candle. But for the moral imponderables, the counsel of perfection for the relations of the individuals in the home, have we a clearly thought out, accepted ideal a moral budget, a moral regimen? And as the spirit of the home is beyond all others the wife's and mother's to create, if the power of the home is failing, is it not because the homemaker's whole duty, its limit and its meaning, is not clear to her?

When a woman educator writes—"Can it be in the divine order of things that one Ph.D. should wash dishes for another Ph.D., a whole life long, because one is a woman and the other is a man?"—one sees the problem, clear but limited. But it is another matter when hundreds of women, the salt of the earth, confide to this effect: "How

can I do all that I have to do, and still be the right kind of wife and mother?" "How much do I owe to my family—every working hour, every inch of my strength, which is what I give them now, or is there a definite limit to my responsibility, like the eight-hour limit to my husband's day?" "I have all but ceased to exist as a person, for myself, or for my community, since my home duties exhaust all my energy. When my work is done, I have no strength left even to train or direct my children, still less to enjoy their companionship or my husband's. What can I do?"

The plain fact is that although 95 per cent of American homes depend solely on the individual housewife, home-making is a sweated industry in the sense that its conditions and its demands on the worker are left entirely to chance. The home-maker spends on her work forty minutes or sixteen hours, according, as she is a metropolitan feminist or a ranch farmer's wife. If conscientious and devoted, she feels complete responsibility for the results in her family's welfare, whether she has to take six or sixteen hours to produce them. And she is bewildered. Does conscience indeed require her to disappear as a person of unique interests, aptitudes, talents? Does duty to her family require her to accept in a spirit of resignation all the existing standards of household excellence?

I think we need another brutal, smashing pen like Bernard Shaw's to do justice to the home-maker's present situation. Certainly only a philosophy of the home will enable us to dig down to the roots of these conflicts. After all, as William James so happily said, "Philosophy is nothing but an attempt to think clearly."

Now I believe no philosophy of the home will stand that is not founded on a philosophy of the individual. I will state mine: the right of every individual, by virtue of the infinite worth of the human soul, to be treated as an end in himself and not as a means. That is good Kantian doctrine, as it is Christian ethics, and I do not think either philosophy or religion have improved on it. There is no essential difference here from the modern definition of the ultimate aim of morality as "the liberation of human capacities." The beauty of it is that this philosophy is also the best psychology and mental hygiene, and, I should guess, an epitome of the social worker's aim. Then the home, as the shelter and wellspring of the family group, must be first of all the safeguard of the value of the individual, and the springboard for that liberation of human capacity.

The harmonious serene relation of parents and children is the first and basic ideal and need of the home. We recognize this for the child, without perhaps taking in all its critical implications for the activities that surround him. How much more, then, should we make it a living principle for the prime creator of the values of the home! How the need of the liberation of human capacities and of the harmonious relations of parents and children help us to criticize those question-begging phrases, "home duties," "my work," and "I must be loyal to my job." They need Socratic treatment, those notions, a ruthless prober who will not let them beg the question, but will put them to the test.

"When my work is done, I have no time left to play with my children, or even train them, let alone developing my own special interests." Why, foolish woman, that is your work! to make your child a person and to become a personality for him. "That may be true for cutting out frills," counters our perplexed home-maker, "but the minimum requirements of health and development decree that my children should be properly rested, cleaned, fed, and sheltered as to roof and raiment, and to provide those fundamentals alone, in my home circumstances, takes all I have to give." One

mother wrote to me, "Completely to follow the directions of the doctor in the physical care of my babies alone takes nearly all my time."

Then, all I can say is that there is a condition in our American homes that requires the expert attention and constructive effort of you, social workers of the United States. Of what avail these elaborate model budgets, etc., if the budget of mother-care is so completely awry? I would propose to you, experts in social work, the wife and mother as a subject for research; her industrial standards; her hours and other physical conditions of work; her rewards. You have studied "The Family Status of Breadwinning Mothers"; now study and develop the status of the bread purveyor! You have had a "children's year." Why not a hearthstone year, with standards for family achievements?

Such a study I forecast most seriously; ideally, perhaps, as the work of a foundation which should survey existing conditions, from those of simple housewives to those of professionally trained women; which should develop the essential standards of home life, the true amenities, as distinguished from the traditional, or the conventional, thus settling the question of drudgery versus duties; which should record, study, and, above all, widely experiment with methods of release from the non-essential.

Troubled home-makers, the 95 per cent, need to know that by study, organization, experiment, and co-operation they can be free; free through community kitchens of certain parts of cooking drudgery; free through co-operative nurseries to recollect their own souls in quietude now and again; free through co-operative laundries from the devastating fatigue of manual labor that every mother should be spared; free through co-operative exchanges to take safely the first steps to exploit their hesitating, modest talents. (What even a modicum of such self-expression means to overstrained mothers let the wise home-bureau worker tell.) They need to know, to be helped, to be pushed, like all enslaved by circumstance, to learn their freedom. If the curse of the poor is their poverty, the curse of the overworked and overborne is their fatigue-apathy. Free for their work, their primary interests, which must be companionship with children and husbands, and development of their individual powers, talents, and their civic interests. One of the vividest passages of James' *Psychology* describes the crystallization of the automatic personal habits, thus leaving room for development of the higher mental powers, and pictures most amusingly the horror it would be to have to have an emotional reaction on lacing your shoes, a special decision to brush your teeth, or of having to think over again every day the mysteries of doing up your hair. Some such horror I imagine, in fact, I have experienced it in person, comes to the mother who must look forward to hours on precious hours a day, 365 days a year, in activities for the family comparable to these tooth-brushing functions, instead of having got them crystallized, as she should have, in some impersonal, self-acting machinery.

There are plenty of people who delight to tell you that all these attempts to get away from the good old forms of home have always been failures. "The Blithedale Romance" is set over against "The World Set Free." "It would indeed mark a great step forward if the value of genuine experimentation were widely recognized in the social, as it is now universally conceded in the physical world. The mastery of physical forces would not perhaps so far outrun the control of moral forces. The reforms which stand as a permanent triumph of civilization are those, in which like the reform in the treatment of the insane and defective, concrete problems have been studied in the objective temper of science, against the whole right of prevailing ideas and customs."

* Professor Walter G. Everett, Presidential Address, *Am. Philos. Association*, p. 922.

I like still better the pronouncement of a hard-headed business man, Mr. Henry Dennison, before the Academy of Political Science last year: "The statement has been made that the social problem is entirely different from any other scientific problem, because one cannot perform experiments with it. . . . I take issue with that. These experiments have been going on in the social field for thousands of years, but we have not called them experiments, we have usually called them failures; yet there is no experiment that is a failure. If you will study it you will learn something from it."

Sometimes the enthusiastic social worker is so interested in the theory of the experiment as such, that he loses sight of the ultimate aim. Sometimes he never sees it. I wonder if all those Greenwich Villagers who so valiantly pulled their co-operative laundry along to success, had a vision of what the successful flight of such enterprises might mean for the increased happy companionship of mothers and children, or for an open door to the practice of a long stifled, long wasted talent in a million modest homes. It is well to hold steady the thought that these experiments should be considered not only as interesting experiments, but as necessary steps toward an acknowledged, accepted aim, the liberation of the capacity of the home. Such a study, as I envisage, would work out the moral budget of the home-maker, and in the home, as between children's hours, the industry of the home, talents or aptitudes, and community interests. The difficulty with the woman of trained ability is that as wife and mother she accepts with inspiration and acclamation her paramount interest. She has chosen it; it engulfs her, not to her ultimate happiness. What she forgets is that too sweeping a majority is an unhealthy thing; we have to have minority representation. What the home and all its members are in vital need of is proportional representation of all vital interests.

Last of all it can be the part of such a study to create the general public interest and pressure of public opinion necessary to make the philosophy of the home, the ethics of the family as a group of free individuals, the duties and the daily regimen of parenthood an integral part of education, at least of the education of women. My experience as an educator indicates that action thereto will be slow in colleges and schools. Faculties see the better, but continue counting credits. You can be the gadfly of progress.

And here is a word to end with, of him who is still, I believe, our greatest American Philosopher, Josiah Royce: "The sense of community, the power to work together, with clear insight into our reasons for so working, is the first need of humanity."

SOCIAL ATTITUDES CONDITIONING IMMIGRANT MALADJUSTMENTS

TWOFOLD PROBLEM OF IMMIGRATION

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Americans in general, and social workers in about the same proportion, are without a philosophy of immigration. Although some of us have theories or opportunist ideas, we are as little informed about the psychology of the immigrant as was the world at large about child psychology thirty or forty years ago. Within the next ten years it is possible we may come to regard the complexes of the immigrant, due to the tremendous

strain of adjustment, fully as far-reaching in their effect upon health and emotional life and upon social attitudes as those sex complexes to which Freud has called our attention.

Social workers have access to vast resources of information of actual experience and practice in regard to immigrants, but practically none of it is weighed, compared, or evaluated. We are in very much that state described by the old phrase, "unable to see the woods for the trees." Our experience with immigrants blurs our thinking on immigration.

The first immigration period began when William Penn advertised in Europe, not for colonists, but for people to come as individuals, and it lasted nearly 200 years, from 1682 to 1870. During all that period the ratio of land to men was always heavily in favor of land. The second period of immigration is roughly from 1870 to 1914. The ratio of land to men had changed in favor of men. Our land policy was such that free land was no longer to be had. Moreover, at the close of the Civil War, with the cessation of free labor in the South, we began the importation of cheap labor from Europe to the North. The tremendous rise of industry brought the concentration of population in cities. The third immigration period began at the close of the war in 1918, with the entrance of a new factor. Middle-class, intelligentsia, and even aristocracy, suffering from severe economic and political conditions, have come as refugees. These people have more in common with certain immigrants before 1870, such as the 1848'ers who came to America at the time of the great freedom movement over Europe, than they have with the immigrants who came between 1870 and 1914.

From now on, for the purpose of this paper, when we use the word "immigrant" we may understand the type of person who came to us between 1870-1914. For longer than any of us remember not a vertical cross-section of Europe has come, but the immigration has been made up largely of people who have lived for centuries on the land as serfs or small owners. They have been an unprivileged group politically and educationally and have constituted a distinct class. To the ordinary American mind this is a definition of the word immigrant, due to our tendency to substitute "our experience" for the "entire fact." It is true that in number this group bulks largest and presents the problems which the social workers are called upon to solve. Admitting the inaccuracy of the term, I will use the word immigrant to mean a peasant still in the process of becoming adjusted to our industrial civilization. In our consideration of this phenomenon, may I lay down several general propositions? First, that the social and economic life of America has rapidly become more complicated and, today, differs more from conditions previous to 1870 than the individual capacity of recent immigrants differs from those that came before 1870; in other words, the failure of recent immigrants to assimilate has been due not to the quality of the immigrant but to the increasingly complex environment to which he must adjust himself; second, that social class (be it peasant, middle-class, intelligentsia, or aristocrat) rather than the nationality determines the kind of difficulty which the immigrant meets in making his adjustment; third, if we insist on comparing individual failure with individual success among our immigrant friends, our comparison must be subject to certain rules. In the first place, that we will not compare the failure of an immigrant since 1870 with the success of one before that date; secondly, that we will not compare the failure of a peasant to adjust himself to American conditions with the success of an immigrant from what we call "yeasty" country. (Perhaps the word "yeasty" demands explanation. It describes those countries which give freedom for individuals to rise from the bottom to the top,

socially and economically speaking. Such countries in Europe are Scandinavia and Germany, and in less measure England.) Thirdly, we must not compare peasant failure with peasant success without a study of the different American environments in which they struggled, in order to see how much American conditions have contributed to the failure of one and the success of the other, and therefore how far America is responsible for the result in each case.

I was grateful to Miss Thornton in her paper yesterday for the emphasis on the "increasing partnership between patient and doctor." This partnership must be developed in the field of case work with immigrants, but we must understand immigrants better if our partnership is to be effective. In a court case it is our part to remember that the legal problem is complicated by a different legal attitude on the part of the immigrant from the attitude of the established American. Miss Claghorn calls our attention again and again to the difference to the immigrant's mind between substantial and technical justice.

We are accustomed to recognize such simple and concrete adjustments as those the immigrant makes in changing food, clothing, housing, sanitation, etc. As case workers we have passed far beyond the naïve attitude of certain 100 per cent American laymen, who consider that the Italian immigrant is a better prospect for citizenship when he has substituted pork and beans and the brown bread for spaghetti and a salad of greens on Saturday night,

We are grateful to Miss Breckinridge for that hint of the philosophy of clothes contained in the simple statement that in Europe clothes were designed to indicate "where one came from" while here the whole effort is to conceal that fact by an almost abject imitation and deadly sameness.

We are less conscious perhaps of the far-reaching effect of other adjustments which the immigrant is called upon to make. We find the immigrant passing from land economy to industrial economy. We Anglo-Saxons pride ourselves on our adaptability, and yet it has taken us 150 years to arrive at our present stage of industrial organization, and no one of us would seriously claim that we have made an entire success from a human point of view. The peasant immigrant often makes the tremendous transition in a period of from sixty to ninety days between his bit of land in Europe and the intense industrial pressure of living in a great American city and working in a highly complex industrial organization. In this transition he exchanges timeless, "free" outdoor work for "sped-up" indoor work on terms dictated not by himself but by another.

The conception of the mother of a family earning wages outside of her home, away from her children, implies a shift in the immigrant point of view which it has taken us several centuries to accomplish. This gives us a standard by which to measure the psychological danger to the peasant woman who tries the experiment within ten years. As a matter of fact, every problem of adjustment bears harder on the woman than on the man, for she is less free by tradition to change, and suffers more when change becomes a necessity.

In our attitude toward language, the established American has run the whole gamut between hysterical fear of other languages (born perhaps of the fact that we are for the most part too lazy and too visually minded to learn them) to that other extreme illustrated by the recognition on the part of a most enlightened judge that language is a means and not an end. Miss Claghorn quotes him as saying, "We forget that even when the immigrant knows English, we still do not necessarily know him."

Pushing still further back to the subtle and abstract changes involved in adjustment, we come upon three fundamental problems in the realm of individual and social immigrant psychology. First, the problem of living in a social group guided by wholly unknown social rules and values. Often this situation is complicated by loss of social standing. We forget that this immigrant was a land-owner, even if only in a small way in his own native land, and had a position in the community which is lost once he begins to work for wages. Americans must clearly grasp the psychological significance of this changed status.

Second, there is the problem of changed relations between man and man. This is most clearly illustrated by the difference in relation between a man and his employer in an American industrial plan and in an old-world, semi-feudal agrarian system. There is the problem of changed relations between man and woman, because of the entirely different legal status of the latter on this side of the water. And finally the problem of changed relations between parents and children, due partly to the difference in legal status of the latter, and partly to the fact that the child goes much further in adjustment to American conditions than the parents.

Third, the psychological problem involved in a personality breakdown due to the loss of the familial and the class system. In his old setting the peasant individual felt that he had behind him his immediate family, that larger group of relatives, his community, his nation, and back of all that he was "compassed about with so great crowd of witnesses," as St. Paul puts it, in the very dead whose traditions he was carrying on! The foreign community in our great cities has often been berated and argued against largely because we regarded it as an impregnable stronghold in our midst. If Americans knew the truth, this solidarity is more an aspect than a reality. To the present individual it represents the greatest variety and gives him very little sense of security and solid backing. He stands alone, without support, and every individual of his acquaintance, instead of standing behind him, is moving away from him in the direction of more complete American adjustment. His cousin, who came five years ago is a little distance on the journey; his child, who goes to the public school, is leagues ahead of him!

Lastly, there is the psychological factor involved in the moral breakdown of the second generation. We are not in this paper considering that group in particular and speak of it at this point only as a corollary to the psychological problem of the immigrant himself.

In the light of all this, is it not pertinent to question whether one human generation is not too short a period of time for a complete transfer of interests, attitudes, and mental contents; whether our Americanization haste, in such matters as language and citizenship, is not psychologically unsound; whether the foreign colony which we have often damned is not an instinctive psychological protection akin to the protective coloring in lower animal life; whether, as someone has said, we ought not to be more willing to "leave a little to evolution" and only encourage that degree of change which is "consciously desired" by an individual or "socially necessary" in order to bridge the chasm between immigrant parent and American-born child which, as social workers, we are coming to recognize as fertile in social tragedy.

My contention is that about 50 per cent of his difficulties may be laid at the door of this immigrant himself, and the other 50 per cent at the door of the unimaginative or indifferent Americans (and this includes us as social case workers) with whom he

comes in contact. What qualities of this established-American mind are "party" to this?

First, we are practical to a degree; we want, in America, to organize everything. We organize athletics almost to the professional basis instead of taking athletics as a recreative enjoyment like our English cousins. We organize our religion and have developed the institutional church as over against the European church, where mysticism and ritual are the most significant features. There is also that ramification of courts and legal procedure, which is such a departure from the simple English system; and, lastly, there is the enormous development of organized social service. (What we cannot organize we try to control, most often by repression, as our recent record in prohibitory legislation gives evidence.)

Second, we are non-aesthetic. Mr. Van Loon has a picturesque way of stating it. He points out that a stone thrown into the water produces ripples which extend in circles over a great space; that the "stone" flung by the Renaissance in Italy had wide-spreading influence; that the "stone" of the Reformation dropped in Germany came later and at the point where the two conflicted the latter tended to swallow up and obliterate the earlier influence. He facetiously adds that this is why in Southwestern Europe things are judged as "beautiful or not beautiful," while in Northwestern Europe and England the prevailing tendency is to judge things as "good or evil." This is reason enough, perhaps, for the fact that we have developed less along aesthetic lines than practical, but there is another profounder reason why America up to now has been aesthetically retarded. We have settled a continent in less than 300 years, have developed mines, have banded the country with thousands upon thousands of miles of railroad, and have built the greatest industrial organization in the world. Is it any wonder, then, that we cannot yet compete in our own language with our English cousins when it comes to literature; that we have produced few great composers, the most outstanding of whom is Coleridge Taylor, a Negro. We attempt, unfortunately, to discount purely cultural attainments, whether they be folk culture, such as folk songs, folk dances, folklore, folk costumes and customs, toward which our attitude is curiosity rather than appreciation, as well as more sophisticated artistic expression. In the latter case the Babbits and "tired business men" have a firm conviction that only a weakling would choose artistic creation in place of "going into business." Our American magazine, for instance, does not choose for popular favor an artist, a singer, a poet, but still "plays up" the boy who began sweeping out an office for \$2.50 a week and at forty-five owned the business worth \$2,500,000!

Third, we are not historically minded. We are so new a nation that we look forward, not back, and this does not equip us to understand people who are rooted in the past. One of our great failures, which the leaders in the educational world are now trying to correct, is that we have not taught history with sufficient slant on those "freedom movements" in Europe which were co-incidental with our own, such as the French Revolution, or that which gave to America such great-hearted seekers of freedom, as the 48'ers. We have erred, too, in focusing American history around personalities rather than causes. When this results in unconventional thinking on the part of recent immigrants, we should blame ourselves, not them.

Fourth, we still claim, as typically American, certain qualities, such as quick reactions, adaptability, and inventiveness, which we developed in our pioneer days under very different conditions from our modern industrial environment. The established

American of today has ceased to be the pioneer and has become the provincial. The pioneer of the last fifty years has been the immigrant. It is a grave question and one worth discussing, whether any American, old or new, can keep alive pioneer qualities in a machine age.

Our assumption that these qualities are the essence of Americanism has led us, quite without warrant, to brand the peasant immigrant who does not exhibit them as unassimilable. We have further maintained that all adjustment must be made by the newcomer. This is based on the very questionable assumption that America is static and all the immigrant has to do is to conform to a pattern, that such conformity (that is, the creation of imitation Yankees) will create a better America for the future than mutual contribution, and mutual change would bring about. So far, the 100 per cent American has been wholly unwilling to face this latter possibility. He naively believes, in the face of history and the Civil War, that America had accomplished unity which is in danger of being destroyed by the diversity of her immigrants, and that this danger can be avoided by substituting uniformity for unity. Nothing could be a more unwholesome doctrine, psychologically speaking. Diversity and unity may be co-existent, as in modern Italy, but diversity and uniformity are forever in opposition.

This belief in uniformity as a "just as good" substitute for unity lies at the base of our American profound distrust of and dislike of difference. We penalize difference with severest social ostracism; the commonest example is in such superficial matters as clothes. The result is an inferiority complex in the immigrant and a superiority complex in the established American—as witness the man who said with great condescension, although he believed himself democratic: "I always shake hands with an immigrant as if I thought him my equal." It is further reflected in our agitation for compulsory English and citizenship.

Do not misunderstand me as saying that America's relation to her immigrants has been a complete failure. She has, as H. G. Wells would say, "muddled through" with a fair proportion of success to failure. What I do mean to say is, that America's *laissez-faire* policy has now outlived its usefulness and must be replaced by more deliberate and clearly thought out procedure.

In this situation, then, do we, as case workers, find ourselves today. What is our reaction to it? Are we led, or are we leading? Are we evolving a philosophy of immigration, or are we accepting a ready-made policy handed out by manufacturers' associations, the press, the politician, the pseudo-scientist? Do we recognize sufficiently the psychological results of immigrant maladjustments, repressions, inhibitions, and complexes? Do we believe that the best society is that in which the greatest good of the whole is perfectly adjusted to the greatest opportunity for creative self-expression on the part of the individual? Do we constantly remember that our case-work technique, of which we are justly proud, is as yet unfamiliar or has only begun to develop since the war in those Slavic and near eastern countries, from which our immigrants come.

In the effort to attain better psychological understanding, is it time for us to re-think the triangular relation of American worker, bilingual worker, and client? Dare we continue to regard the bilingual worker as a mere tool to put over established American ideas? Is he not rather the perfect instrument for that closer partnership between "doctor and patient" of which Miss Thornton was speaking? Has the time arrived for much closer study of the textbooks which have been put into our hands (some

of which I have already mentioned) and for a closer scrutiny and evaluation of first-hand materials in the light they throw on our problems? Has the time arrived for a serious consideration of travel, study, and practice of social work abroad, in preparation for professional social service at home?

Lastly, it should be easier for us to look back over the economic road which America has traveled, and which the immigrant is now traveling, than it is for him to foresee that road. May I plead for a greater awareness on the part of social case workers of the machine age in which we all live, but in which the immigrant is more immediately involved than are we? Let us not be afraid to face the so-called "radical" movements to which he belongs. These movements are but an attempt on the part of men under pressure of adverse industrial conditions to find a way out of confusion and darkness and to blaze a new trail to light and freedom for the human spirit.

THE INVISIBLE ENVIRONMENT OF AN IMMIGRANT

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I wish it were permissible, without remarks of my own, to throw the title of this paper into a ring of discussion, especially as I know that the invisible environment is not a discovery to any case worker.

During the past year I have had occasion to ask case workers from a variety of agencies what special difficulties they encounter in their practices among immigrant families. I have been interested to discover what attempts they have made to understand the social heritage of their foreign clients, what means they have discovered for pursuit of information in foreign countries, and to what extent they know and make use of such typical institutions of foreign community life in the United States, as foreign language newspapers. The answers have been revealing. I think I am not unjust in saying that they seem to indicate the failure of many case workers to apply their own most cherished principles to their work with foreign families, and that this is due, at least in part, to a poverty of tools, a fact which reflects on training schools and research groups.

It may be helpful to quote a few of these remarks with the reservation that they are only quoted from memory. Recently a case supervisor answered the questions put to her by saying "Our workers are not concerned with conditions in the countries immigrants come from because when they get to America immigrants must leave their old life behind." Another secretary admitted that very little could be found in the records of immigrant families in her office concerning social complications involving factors in foreign countries. She explained, "Our workers are so helpless to deal with these problems that they tend to neglect them altogether." Another social worker with an unusual degree of sensitiveness to personality nevertheless seemed to me to give evidence of a serious blind spot when her advice was sought as to where one could find foreign-language newspapers on sale in her community. She answered, "Immigrants in our community don't need foreign-language papers, they begin to read English ones so soon after arrival." A social worker who has spent some years in training students has said that she considers the most important progress that can be looked for in the case-work field in the immediate future is a more discriminating understanding of the

immigrant. The last remark, indicating a realization of failure and inadequacy, is heard with increasing frequency. Many case workers feel that in practice with immigrant families their most careful plans seem to break against a wall of ignorance or under the weight of passive resistance; they feel themselves facing an impenetrable jungle of strange attitudes and habits, as a result of which their clients' behavior is incalculable. This is a serious situation if there is even half truth in the popular charges concerning the burden of dependents, defectives, and delinquents which migration foists upon us.

Raymond Pearl, speaking as a biologist, recently pointed out that fundamentally migration is a problem of the adaptation of the human organism to a new environment. Surely in its social implications this is a challenge to case workers. It is fair to ask whether we have honestly faced our own inadequacy? Someone needs to chart the territory to be explored, to shape the questions that need answering, to break up the jumble of ignorance and helplessness and prejudice.

I am not competent to do this. All I dare attempt is the selection of a number of rather concrete illustrations, hoping thereby to suggest a method of approach, an attitude of mind, rather than to give information. If we are told that case workers must understand the environmental factors in their clients' lives, we can hardly give this proposition fresh consideration, it falls into such a calloused pocket of our minds. One may further insist that this environment is only to a limited degree a physical one—that not mere things but the values they become endowed with, the interests built around them, not mere people, but the special, not-to-be-duplicated relationships between individuals determines the significance of their lives. That which Professor Thomas calls one's definition of a situation far outweighs in its influence on our behavior the mere physical aspects. I think in spite of the inroads of biology and physiology into our thinking, we would agree to this second proposition also without undue mental activity. But once we admit that mere physical vicinity in time or place is not the factor determining which of all the multitude of things our client is surrounded with shall have significance for him, but that things far away and long ago may truly be part of his environment, then we have committed ourselves to a very far-reaching proposition, which, if it can be made as urgent as it ought to be, would startle us into a realization of our present clumsiness and into demanding more and more help in equipping ourselves for our work with our foreign-born clients.

Roughly speaking, the immigrant's environment is a dual one. I was going to say one-half of it you may discover in America, but this would be misleading because after all the proportion is a shifting one. As time goes on certainly the old world recedes slowly and, if this process is not cruelly and artificially forced, it is a natural and inevitable one and may spell growth and healthy reorganization of personality. But, after all, even the immigrant's environment in America is not an American environment. It is not possible to attempt here any interpretation of the variety of immigrant communities, but one may find a clue to their understanding in Parker and Miller's "Old World Traits Transplanted." Here it is pointed out that the characteristic institutions found in immigrant communities are attempts to reproduce in the new world the modes of social expression and organization familiar at home. Genuine reproduction is of course impossible. We therefore get monstrosities neither American nor old world, but having a tincture of both, makeshift institutions, cheap and ugly and unsatisfying

even to the immigrant, but which at least meet his habitual intimate needs as nothing in the American community can.

Among these are the national societies, the fraternal organizations, the language, schools, and the churches.

Many case workers have graduated from the 100 per cent American variety, which refuses to consider institutions which look un-Anglo-Saxon except as dangerous alien idiosyncracies which a right-minded immigrant should drop before reaching Ellis Island. But their imaginative understanding plays only around the foreign community life in America. They learn to add spaghetti to every relief order for an Italian family. They submit cheerfully when the same Italian mother insists on swathing the whole family, even the baby, in black in case of the death of a dear relative. They remember that the Czech Sokol and the National Polish Alliance may be counted as sources for relief. But until the case worker penetrates behind these surface manifestations of age-old habits and attitudes her understanding remains trivial. She is sure to blunder and wound the most cherished susceptibilities. She fails to utilize the cultural resources her clients are predisposed to respond to, her suggestions will seem artificial or even repulsive, and her clients' behavior will remain baffling and unpredictable.

The case worker blunders who, perceiving the inarticulate hunger for artistic expression in the young Czech, out of her ignorance supplies him with modern American music and fails to share with him the folk melodies that are the dearest racial heritage of his people. The case worker blunders who is unconscious of the frustration and strain which result when she bluntly offers the first machine job that is available to the European trained in skilful handiwork or talented in design, or when she fails to appreciate the humiliation a European intellectual experiences when he, of necessity, accepts manual work. She blunders in her eagerness to make friends with the aggressive young thing of old-world parentage born in America, who finds in the social worker her ideal of everything American, and the recipient of confidences about her mother's queer un-American ways. A conscientious social worker may exhort this young thing to obedience and respect, but unless she has an intimate and discriminating understanding of how things look to the mother, and why historically it is inevitable that they should look so, she cannot do more than sound outwardly pious while inwardly she shares the child's sense of queerness and increases that break between the two generations which spell the destruction of moral protection for the younger one.

When the immigrant's behavior looks like "cussedness," or even criminality, the real explanation may be in the case worker's unawareness of traditions that have their roots deep back in ancestral and community life. Parks and Miller quote Wermut's book on Sicilian Government: "One of the Sicilian characteristics is the recognition of the principle of *Omèrta*. What do we understand by *Omèrta*? *Omèrta* is a moral code which has never been written, but which is more or less instinctively present in all Sicilians, in the peasant as well as in the highly cultivated city dwellers. . . . The moral code of *Omèrta* demands firmness, energy, seriousness, a self-reliant, self-conscious mind whose activities are as far as possible independent of civil authorities. It seeks help through one's self, not through the court or the police. It has the qualities of knightliness that characterize the duelists who settle their differences between themselves far from the police courts. Revenge is accomplished quietly, unaided or with the help of trusted friends."

The social worker blunders horribly when, in her eagerness to Americanize, she cuts the immigrant off from the interests and ideals on which his personality has been developed. Responsibility for relatives overseas, love of the homeland, even political loyalty, are social assets, and many of them should be conserved, others can be transplanted as the new world ties deepen and spread. The fact that old loyalties are easily shed does not necessarily indicate a potentiality for fine American citizenship.

I remember an important step in my own education came as the result of a difference of attitude between myself and an Armenian friend. Our difference, which threatened to become acrimonious, centered around the question of the possibility of disregarding the United States Immigration Law. To me it seemed unethical to evade the law, to her I seemed perfunctory and unresponsive to a tragic human situation. Luckily the Armenian had an analytical habit of mind. In the heat of debate she stopped and sought the historical explanation of our attitudes: "To me laws are unimportant, my people have been for centuries under the bad and stupid government of Turkey. We had no obligation to obey laws, and often the courageous moral thing to do was to disobey. You have been taught that laws are made by the people for the common good and they are identified in your mind with a moral obligation." The hostile flavor of our disagreement faded away. I believe that the Armenian recognizing that her attitude could not be blindly transferred to an American institution has become increasingly willing to respect the American attitude. Of course most immigrants are not analytical, they cannot say why they feel as they do, and thus the burden of understanding falls on the social worker. Often we are trapped by words, words which even in a homogeneous group carry such a different freightage when used by different individuals. I remember the significance of my discovery that in Czecho-Slovakia religion spelled submission to clerical authority, whereas the term "spiritual experience" conveyed something we could share in conversation.

The Pole is not lying to the immigration inspector when he speaks of his uncle's daughter as his sister. In Polish this relationship is designated by the same word, "Soestra," as is his parent's daughter. Language hazards are infinitely multiplied by our sublimely stupid use of interpreters. Interpretation is a high art about which much could be said. In addition to this web of family relationship of socially inherited modes of behavior, of economic training, and capacity, which make the immigrant what he is, there are more tangible ties with the old world, which must be accurately understood. Among them are the assets and liabilities of citizenship which the immigrant retains after landing. The laws of his native country may project themselves across the water with disconcerting effort on the immigrant's family life here. Nor has any comprehensive attempt been made at comparative study of the civil laws of various countries which may conflict in their application to the immigrant family. A baby born to Italian parents in the United States has a dual citizenship. According to the American law he is American if born on our soil. In Italy, as for that matter in most European countries, his citizenship is determined by his parentage. In a case quoted by a charity organization society, an Italian father returned to Italy from the United States, taking his American-born children with him. He was prevented from returning here because of illiteracy. The mother in America wanted the children returned to her as she could provide them with a better home than that in Italy, but the Italian court refused to recognize her claim. More serious is the situation of the minority populations of certain European countries, who forfeit citizenship and the right of re-entering

by emigrating. If they are refused admission to the country of destination, they are indeed men without a country. A Roumanian Jewess, naturalized in the United States, may give birth to a child in Germany. This child has absolutely no claim on any country and need not be admitted or allowed to tarry in any country, if it is contrary to that country's immigration policy. The practical results of the Cable Law, granting independent citizenship to women and incidentally abrogating the citizenship which a foreign woman acquires by marrying an American citizen, has been to denationalize many women altogether. In most European countries a woman loses citizenship when she marries a foreigner. A young Czecho-Slovak, who had emigrated to the United States as a child, had failed to take out American citizenship, although he had an American wife and children. After the war he returned to his native village to find his parents. Just as it had never occurred to him that he needed to be naturalized in this country he felt he belonged to so thoroughly, so he did not realize the legal obligations to the country he had left as an infant. A fellow-villager warned him that he was liable to military service and must report to the police. Terrified by the prospect of having his return to his wife and children and to his job cut off, the boy decided to escape. He made his way on foot to Hamburg and stowed away on a steamer. Discovered at Ellis Island, he was subject to deportation; if he returned to Czecho-Slovakia his status would be that of a deserter from the army. It is worth while to point out that when this case was brought to the attention of an official, he shrugged his shoulders and simply remarked the law must be obeyed. Luckily a social worker, becoming aware of the boy's danger before deportation took place, wrote a letter urging a consideration of the social consequences of the rigid enforcement of the law, and through the Czecho-Slovak legation the boy was absolved from military service and allowed to go back to his family. Immigrant families cannot be protected from unwittingly transgressing a law unless their status is understood and their obligations made clear to them. Marriage laws, divorce laws, laws relating to guardianship of children and the transfer of property—all these should be considered by social workers, especially when there are international conflicts. Nor can consuls be relied upon to secure substantial justice.

Perhaps I seem to demand a great deal, and yet nothing short of this painstaking and intimate understanding of the immigrant could equip us to serve him. A few practical suggestions are possible. The legal field should be explored and correlated. The most important facts of practical importance to case workers could be issued in a hand book. In lieu of this, many practical suggestions may be dug out of such books as Shuster's *Study of Principles of German Civil Law*, which correlates in exhaustive fashion the private international rights—arising between Germany and Great Britain. Unfortunately for many countries this comparative work has not been done, nor have enough specific cases been adjudicated to offer a body of precedent. We need bibliographies. We need better, much better, collections in libraries. Most of all we need scholarships that will allow our students in training to go abroad for experience. Perhaps the impetus to all these lines of development could be given by one of our Foundations, once we felt the need and made the demand for greater wisdom insistent enough.

INDUSTRY AND THE HOME

BEHIND THE STATISTIC

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The census says there are 1,060,858 working children from ten to fifteen years old in the United States. Because it is impossible to know much about so many children as make up this figure, a striving toward knowing what it means drives government bureaus and others to the less impossible tasks of learning more facts about fractions of this number, and so investigations are made of, say 1,000 young coal miners, or 5,000 home workers, or 1,000 children in beet fields, or 500 oyster shuckers, and so on. These studies contrive to give a picture of the life and labors of certain groups, and one would like to think that the facts would be made public and something would be done about them. Not so. Our imagination, as a nation, is too callous; we are blind-hearted. We do not see the people behind the statistics, even behind the little, unimportant statistic. Of a big figure we can know little, of a small one more; but no figure is small enough or thin enough to let you see behind it or through it.

Take the Radsky family, for instance. They almost weren't a statistic at all. Although Mrs. Radsky had seven children, five of them working, only one of the five was counted in the towering total just quoted, for three were under ten years old, and, besides, except for Jan none of them were working on January 1, when the census was taken. Like hundreds of thousands of other children who follow agricultural pursuits, he was left out of the 1,060,858. Agnes Radsky was thirteen. It was terrible for Agnes when her father died, for Agnes was bright in school, in the eighth grade, and the pride of the family. They were going to send her to high school. They'd manage that somehow. Jan could get working papers—he was fourteen—and could go to work in a factory. Jan wasn't very strong, but, after all, it wouldn't be much harder than getting up at five o'clock to attend to his paper route. Anyhow, he was fourteen, and that settled it; maybe he could find some easy work. And Mr. Radsky would ask the boss for a raise, he would tell the boss what the teacher said about Agnes, and then maybe Agnes could some day be a stenographer, or even a teacher! And then came the flu, and wiped Mr. Radsky out. Not quickly, but after weeks of pain and worry and the piling up of doctor bills. Then there was the funeral, and on top of everything a new baby. No use. Agnes couldn't even finish grammar school, she had to stay home and take care of her mother and the children. The days went by; Jan had to give up his first job in the sheetiron factory because the work was too hard. His second one, as errand boy, paid only six dollars a week. Still the family struggled on with dreams of an education for Agnes. "Something may happen," said Mrs. Radsky, trying to cheer Agnes. "Something *must* happen," thought Agnes, fiercely, at first. And each Saturday night they waited eagerly to see if Jan had received a raise. Maybe the boss had noticed him, had seen what a good, fine boy he was, maybe he had asked about his family and Jan had told him about his sister—only of course it couldn't happen. Or maybe—Agnes daydreamed—maybe she could somehow save some rich lady's life. But more often there were hours of despair. How could anything happen? Did anything ever happen? In all the life she saw there could be only two exciting things: someone in the family got a raise, or you got old enough and married a man with

a good job. But as for *being* anything yourself, you hadn't a chance. And yet you went on hoping, and then wishing.

By spring things were worse. All their savings were gone. They lived on bread and potatoes.

Then one day Mike, who was eight and a little wild, came home from school with news. "A fella told me if I'd meet him down on Ann Street in the morning he'd take me to a job in the country picking strawberries. And he says the boss don't hollar at you if you eat a few. He says they're awful good. A truck comes every morning at six."

"Who is this fella?"

"He's a big boy, he's eleven. Every year he goes. He stopped school two weeks ago, he says they don't care if you stop to work. Anyhow there ain't nothing but review now. Lots of kids stopped. All the Zambulskys stopped, the whole family went to live in a camp and pick strawberries, and then they stay for beans. A kid that went down to oysters one year says his mother's going."

Picking strawberries! In the country! Mention of the word "country," stirred old memories in Mrs. Radsky. All her life till she came to America she had worked in the field. And when Agnes exclaimed, "Then maybe we could all go to work in the country and sell the furniture to pay the debts, and with us all working and no rent to pay maybe in the fall—" Then Mrs. Radsky thought she saw a way out. Maybe if they all could work, the children too, after all Agnes might go back to school.

"All right," she said to Mike. "Only not that job for you alone, you'd be a bum that way. But you ask that fella about a place for the whole family." And Mike, proud of his responsibility, found a place.

A truck rounded them up one morning at six o'clock. There were eight families, each with a box or trunk or bundle. It was fun, that ride on the truck, out of the dusty noisy streets of Baltimore into the country. Mrs. Radsky's new baby liked it, and gurgled and crowed and then slept. Things were growing; the early morning air smelt good. As the families talked dully, or were silent in their Slavic way, deep underneath all were dreaming of a possible fortune, enough to eat, how fast they would pick—the work was to be piecework—how hard they would save. And they thought of the delicious taste of a juicy berry. As the truck lumbered along no one minded the hot sun. And at noon when it stopped in a shady place in a little grove of trees near a large unpainted barn, no one minded that the boss said, "Leave your things in the wagon and get out into the fields, the berries are spoiling."

They hurried to the field, only dismayed at not being able to change their clothes. It was sweet to be in the country. It was wonderful to be so near the delicious-smelling strawberries. The boss said "no eating," but of course one must just taste now and then. Only one must run every now and then to the edge of the field to see that the little tots, those too young to pick at all, did not venture to taste. The two- and three-year olds stayed at the edge of the field to look after the babies, for whom the boss had provided wooden boxes. And now and again a mother would leave the field to nurse the baby.

Yes, it was pleasant, the first hour. Then backs began to ache from stooping. And the children were restless and wanted to run and play, and had to be kept at work. They were cramped and tired. It seemed a game at first, but now they wanted another

game. "No matter, we'll get used to it," said Mrs. Radsky cheerfully as she stood up to straighten her back for a moment.

They got tired, but even when they stopped work at seven that evening, famished from the open air, they felt good and happy. And, as they trudged back from the field to the grove, they were content and hopeful.

At the barn the boss was giving orders. "Where do we sleep?" "I'm hungry," all the children were demanding. "Be still, wait," said the mothers. And then, family by family, the boss called them into the barn.

Mrs. Radsky's turn came. In the barn the boss said, "Let's see, you got seven children." He picked up a plank and some nails, walked off three strides from a plank that marked the end of a penned-in space, looked at it, said, "No, that's too much," stepped back a foot or two, and standing the plank on its side, struck a few nails to keep it in place.

Mrs. Radsky stood dazed, silent. What did he mean? What was this space? Surely he couldn't mean they were all to sleep there together on the floor. Impossible!

Yet that was exactly what he did mean. The space of one family was divided from another by a single plank. And space was reserved for families expected the following day. When all the families had their spaces allotted, they were told to go and help themselves from the strawpile, to get straw to sleep on.

There was no protest, only silence. Even the children stopped whimpering. With impassive faces they stood, but inwardly each family was resolving to leave. They were poor, but this was worse than anything. Why, they were all to sleep in the place together! Girls and boys and women and men, for two families had fathers, and an old grandfather had come with another.

"But we can't go to bed here!" exclaimed Agnes to her mother. But Mrs. Radsky made no answer. They stood dazed. And presently the children were eating hunks of the bread which had been brought along from the city. The boss sent over a pail of coffee, it was the first night, and said after this they would make their own, and the supply wagon would come around and sell them supplies, and in the morning they would be assigned their places in the grove, where they could "make their camp."

They pulled their trunks inside, setting them in the aisle that ran down the middle of the barn. Then they went to bed.

That first night no one undressed. Hot and sweaty and dirty, their clothes stained from the berries, they lay down. In one way that night was worse than other nights, for there was the realization that so they must live. For each mother, hot upon the resolve that she would leave tomorrow, knew that she could not leave tomorrow, that she was caught, that she had no place to go back to. Like flies on sticky flypaper they were caught.

But the other nights were really worse. The weather began to broil. The heat was terrible. Flies and mosquitoes pestered. The straw stuck through the thin sheets which the pickers, who had brought sheets, had between them and the straw. Sleep! Only the children could sleep. That first modesty had given away, they had to take off their clothes. So they all dressed and undressed together, carelessly, after a first few impossible attempts at privacy. As they lay in the straw sometimes they talked to pass away the time, and sometimes they quarreled. And sometimes there was giggling and sniggering. That made Mrs. Radsky squirm. The giggling wasn't so bad on the hottest nights when nobody slept. But on the nights when perhaps half

the camp slept, Mrs. Radsky would sit up in the straw, staring fiercely into the dark, as if by force of her will to protect Agnes and Jan against the meaning of the sounds.

They worked furiously for ten days, until the berries were all in. Some days eleven and twelve hours, often ten. One must think hard of the checks, of how many berries one must pick to make a nickel, in order to resist the temptation to eat them. And to keep the children at work, always to din into them to keep at it, not to eat the berries—it was a strain. And the counting up of the checks at night, hoping against hope that there might be more than there possibly could be! At the end of ten days the Radsky family all together except the baby and the next smallest, had earned \$9.

Then there was a week without work, between strawberries and beans, and they had time to fix up their camps. Some of the families had fourteen-year-old boys, and one of these was clever with saw and hammer. He made a few nickels by putting up improvised tables for the others.

It would have been fun, that time between strawberries and beans, if it hadn't been for the lack of wages and for the nights. They all worked together by day fixing up the "shanty," as the barn was called, driving in nails, so that the clothes not in trunks or boxes could be hung up instead of heaped on the bed space. Outside they drove nails into the trees, and some of the families had mirrors hanging on the trees above little shelves. And above these, on other nails, hung what pots and pans there were. One old man had built himself a cupboard, on a tree and had padlocked it. He had a little money and had bought two pounds of bacon, a treasure not to be left about. The other families bought only enough meat for one meal, when they had the money. Loud were the old man's moanings when he discovered that his padlock had not kept out maggots. And they built ovens—ovens like those in the old country—mounds of clay, hollowed out, with a place for a fire underneath. And after that the women bought meal and baked bread. A family could save twenty cents a week that way, instead of buying bread. The children loved those two weeks. They ran wild, and shouted and played—except the older ones. They waited about the camp, worrying with their mothers about money. Agnes would sit for hours, her brow furrowed, hoping that they could earn more on beans than on strawberries. The summer was moving along. Would there be any money in the fall?

Then came bean picking, with such a spell of heat as they had never known. It was frightful, the burning sun that blazed through their hats, that made the sweat pour, that burned the sandy earth so hot that the children brought pieces of gunnysacking with them to the field to protect even their tough little knees from the scorching earth as they kneeled to pick beans. And the heat seemed to add pounds to the baskets of beans that they must drag along with them to the end of the row. When the baskets were full they lugged them to the edge of the field, and dumped them into barrels and got tickets to cash on Saturday night.

No longer was it fun to be in the country, bending and kneeling from sunup till sundown, tortured by the heat, longing for a wind to bring fresh air. And when the wind came, hard and strong, it brought not relief, but more heat. It swept the hot dust into the air, into their nostrils, and the sweat made little furrows on their dusty faces. And the beans were shrivelling up in the heat. They must work fast. Would their backs never stop aching? And there were the babies to worry about at the edge of the field in the hot sun. The mothers were afraid to leave the babies back in the grove because there were rats about the shanty and a child might be bitten.

Would the summer never end? And after beans, what? The Radslys were forced to give up the hope of again setting up a home in Baltimore. The money they were going to save they had to eat up as they went along. Mrs. Radsly had said to Agnes, "Maybe you could get a job at housework, and with Jan in a factory . . . ?" But Agnes, miserable, said nothing. She was trying to cling to her wasting hope. Maybe some day the owner of the farm would come to the camp . . . ? It was a poor, silly hope, but Agnes was young. "But even if you both had jobs," said Mrs. Radsly, "where would the money come from for furniture? And how pay the rent?" Indeed, what use worrying about the fall; there were present worries. The beans were so poor there was not enough money to feed them decently even now. They lived mostly on coffee and bread and potatoes. And on Saturday night they could sometimes buy a can of milk and a piece of meat. The children were brown from the sun and had a good color, but they were thin.

One day the boss, not just the regular boss, but the owner, came over to the camp with some visitors. They walked about talking. Yes, it was a pretty good farm admitted the owner, pleased. And these were the bean pickers. "How delightful!" exclaimed one, "It's like camping out. Just living out of doors. No wonder the children are so brown and sturdy. And where do they sleep?"

And the owner replied, "Oh, in the barn. They're just like cattle. Immigrants you know, no decent feelings. No modesty. Polacks, you know. Can't even talk English. Now take this girl, nice enough looking," he pointed to Agnes who stood blushing, first with eagerness, but now with anger, "but probably can't say a word of English. Just a good healthy animal. They have no morals you know. Why, even girls of this age, it's happened even here—" He walked on, talking.

That night in the shanty there was talk, fierce, angry talk, against the boss. Someone said, "We'll strike! Let the beans rot!" Then there was a silence, and someone said, "That would mean *we'd* rot." The next day they went back to work as usual.

But that was the end of Agnes's dream. For a while she felt like a dead person, lost, without even a wish. Then after a while she didn't care. Nothing mattered. After that, when her mother talked of the future, she didn't answer. It was all the same to her she thought. One lived, somehow.

And at the end of the season they were worse than they had been at the beginning—homeless, owning just their bedding and \$10.35. There was only one thing to do, take another crop job. So they went on to tomato picking. And after that, cranberries. And, then, down south as oyster shuckers in the winter. Now they joined with the others in discussing which place was best, which places they gave you two rooms to every family, at which ones they had to sleep like herring in a barrel, where the boss would let you eat as much as you wanted, and so on. They were migratory workers, wandering restlessly from place to place, always hoping that the next place would be better, always meeting new families just recruited from some misfortune in a city who were beginning to lose their hopes of a home, their dreams of being somebody, and clinging to the faint hope that when the children grew old enough they would get steady jobs, and set up a home. Often they do, but for the Radslys that hope is faint, and they go through life dully. This far from complete sketch of the Radslys is presented rather than one of a more so-called industrial family, because the agricultural workers are least known about, and the least protected by legislation.

We might, if there were time, take another little statistic and look into the life of the Marasco family, who have an American home in Providence, where the children spend their afternoons and evenings carding snaps and setting stones in five-and ten-cent jewelry until eleven o'clock at night. Or still another, and see how Tony Jeretkis lost his leg in a coal mine; or even a trite cotton mill child. Sob stories, you say. Yes, but in such wholesale numbers as to acquire dignity.

Once a government agent, Helen Wilson, wrote a poem about statistics. Here's part of it:

Little black figures in rows,
 Little crooked black figures,
 Numberless columns
 To add,
 To distribute into little square spaces.
 Strutting black insects,
 Imposters,
 Who juggle our tragedies.
 "Vital statistics"
 Marriages,
 Babies dead,
 Broken lives,
 Men gone mad,
 Labor and crime,
 All treated in bulk, with the tears wiped off.
 Numbered.

True. It is so much easier to print statistics than to make the public understand them, and to do something about them.

Anyhow, the public doesn't care about these dreary everyday matters. It takes something hair-raising to stir us up. Sometimes something frightful happens. Or rather, sometimes, out of many shudderful happenings, one gets into the papers. For instance, poor Martin Talbert. And for a while we buzz about, and one state demands that another state do something about it, and people get excited enough so that something *is* done, in a limited area. Yet it is common knowledge that our jails and prisons, nearly everywhere, are disgraceful. And yet we can get nothing done about it. We have to wait for blood and lashings and death before we move as a nation.

It is a terrible story, Martin Talbert's. But is it more terrible than the slow grinding torture of poverty, the squeezing out of the sweet juices of childhood, which child labor means, and of which this census figure—1,060,858 working children—is the coefficient? Yet do we ever see headlines such as: "Child thirteen found working in cotton mill," or "Boy fifteen found working underground in a mine," or "Seven-year-old children shucking oysters," or "Boy fourteen applying for working papers, though born in America cannot read and write"? Of course not. Such headlines aren't *news*. It's happened too often; it does not make our flesh creep. It's expected! It's accepted! The figure "1,060,858 working children in America" is just a figure. We don't look behind it, into the homes. No one says, "Why look here, what about this national superstition of ours that the home and the family are sacred in the United States?" What reckless profligates we are to let our homes and our childhood be bled and depleted in order that beans may be picked cheaply, or cotton cheaply spun.

It is amazing that this rich country has gone no further; amazing that it has turned its full imagination only on impersonal things, commerce and dollars; has been so indif-

ferent to anything not material. Put a dollar sign before this figure, 1,060,858 child laborers, and it becomes something worth considering, something considered in the financial sheets of the papers. And when, sometimes, a muffled urge for something less materialistic pushes up in us, we seize haphazard on an abstraction; Americanization, for instance. Americanization! That terrible word that means flag raising mostly. When the only Americanization worth the breath to pronounce it would be changing the industrial work to make impossible such starved, drab lives as the Radsksys.

But sometimes we get a little more excited and say, "there ought to be an investigation!" And we are right; there always ought to be that! So we go out and count up misery and get a big figure, like this child-labor figure, and we try and bludgeon the country into doing something about it. But, alas, the bludgeon only stupifies us; we do nothing about it.

For government, state, and city bureaus and private, social agencies have been making investigations and helping the poor for years—this is the fiftieth anniversary of this conference—and, after all, what has been accomplished? Of course a few dents, reforms here and there, a little higher age limit for working children in some states, a little better enforcement of well-meaning measures in some communities, a cleaning up of one neighborhood or another, or individuals helped over hard places. But all our labors and statistics have not as yet secured for us even so obvious or elementary a protection as a supreme court proof federal child-labor law.

Students wrangle with statistics, social workers wrangle with their patches of poverty, supreme courts wrangle with technicalities, and our great American wealth flows swiftly along by the billions of dollars. But who is trying to tap America's great wealth of energy, our proud, valiant energy, whose fullness and alertness has created so much of what America is proud—luxuries and comforts and high standards of living for a few; who is trying to tap this energy to do something about the low standards of living and hunger and dearth and squalor and emptiness of life, which stalk as an ever present shadow to our national wealth? Must the task be left to the colossal patience of the social worker, willing to keep on laboring, moving millimeter by millimeter toward an uncertain millennium, out somewhere beyond the horizon?

Indeed the social worker is not without blame for public indifference. For the social worker knows the facts; but all too seldom does he interpret them to the public.

Every social worker has had said to him at one time or another, "You must have interesting experiences getting information from all kinds of people." Yes, the investigator can tell tales of people and adventures, of being overturned in a Dakota snow-drift, of stumbling by accident on a hidden mountain still, or of being mistaken for a revenue spy; and so on. And the social worker can tell far more unusual tales than the ordinary story of the Radsksys. Indeed anyone in this audience could match story with story, could tell adventures of social workers and the social worked—material that might make novels or epics. But deep down within you, you would refrain from telling your own particular problem, for, quite independent of poverty, each person has his own aspirations and strivings and defeats, and sometimes successes, that are of paramount importance to himself. And yet each one of us seems almost less than nothing in that dramatic total which strides boldly through the many heavy volumes of the 1920 census.

Behind every statistic, the individual, and ahead of every individual, a statistic. Indeed, we are a sandwich, stuffed between a birth certificate and a death certificate,

and sometimes, though many of us avoid the third, we become a sort of club sandwich, with a marriage statistic layer. (Of course if we are born out of the birth registration area we are more like a Washington pie.)

But families like the Radskeys, like most of our industrial population, take part in many statistics; they are more like hash than a sandwich. Birth statistics, infant-mortality statistics, sickness statistics, child-labor statistics, illiteracy statistics, and on and on, through one column of figures and then another—all treated in bulk, "with the tears wiped off."

MARRIED WOMEN IN INDUSTRY

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There are three definite factors which we must consider when we try to establish a standard regarding the employment of married women in industry. Those three factors are the economic needs of industry, the social needs of the family, and the human needs of the individual. No one of the factors can be considered separately. They are all inter-related and inter-dependent, but to a certain extent we must isolate them if we are to think clearly in terms which have real social significance. I have talked with many people about the general subject as well as about individual cases of married women who work, and I have seldom found anyone who lacked an opinion as to what should be done about it. The trouble is that these opinions usually come after thinking of only one aspect of the question. One person will say he thinks it is a fine thing for Mrs. Brown to work in a factory. She is able to do so much for her children and is giving them all a high school education. It does not seem to make much difference if they don't help much at home. Mrs. Brown has always been accustomed to doing most of the work. No word there of the individual sacrifice which Mrs. Brown has been making all these years to keep three children in high school, and no word of the loss to the children of a mother's constant care and supervision. In discussing this same situation someone else might say he thought Mrs. Brown would be doing much better by her family if she stayed at home; that it is more important for them to get along on what her husband makes, though it is not much, than to kill herself with work; and that the children need their mother at home to look after them. The single woman who has lost her job and is sick with worry as to how she is to get the necessities of life for herself and her dependent mother has a third point of view. She thinks that Mrs. Brown has no right to be working because she has a husband to support her, and that when there are not enough jobs to go around, it is not fair to keep on the married women and lay off the single women who are dependent upon themselves for support.

All of these attitudes have a certain amount of truth in them, and yet carried to their logical conclusions one of them would completely bar married women from industry, one would allow them to work intermittently, and the third would place no restrictions whatever on their employment. It is a very delicate problem to make a nice adjustment between these three attitudes so that we may eventually come to some sane and consistent standard. If we are to do this, I think we must narrow our question down to its barest outlines so that we may eliminate at least a few of the contradictory opinions and theories.

In the first place, what are married women in industry? What is your mental vision when you hear that phrase? To some people it means the woman who works in a factory, to others it is a charwoman or day-worker. Some even go so far as to see the work of a business woman—a shopkeeper, even an architect—included in the magic word “industry.” Indeed I read the other day in an English magazine, which was giving the pros and cons of the employment of married women, an enthusiastic endorsement of their employment because of the wonderful example which England had to offer of the perfect wife, devoted mother, and successful working woman—Queen Victoria! It is obvious that we cannot successfully discuss working women under a classification which ranges from charwomen to queens, and here is the place for our first pruning of the subject.

The census of the United States tells us that we have nearly 2,000,000 married women gainfully employed in this country, and that the gainful employment of married women is increasing. In 1890 less than 5 of every 100 married women were gainfully employed; in 1920 9 of every 100 married women were gainfully employed. This increase in proportion represents a tremendous increase in actual number, from about 615,000 in 1890 to nearly 2,000,000 in 1920. But when we come to examine the figures closely we find that in certain fields the employment of this type of woman is increasing at a much greater rate than in other fields. A great proportionate increase in the employment of married women during the past ten years has taken place in manufacturing and mechanical industries. In that group, although all women employed increased only 7 per cent, married women increased 41 per cent between 1910 and 1920. In occupations connected with trade there has been an increase of 21 per cent for all women employed, but an increase of 88 per cent of married women. On the other hand in domestic and personal service occupations there was a decrease of 12 per cent in the number of married women employed. It is simple to see, therefore, that if we are going to develop a standard regarding the employment of married women, the place to begin is where this employment is increasing rapidly, and that trade and transportation and manufacturing and mechanical industries are the occupational groups which first need our attention.

Taking this group which consists of about 500,000 women, what do we want to do about them? For the advancement of the social interests of the community is it going to be wise to establish special regulations for their employment in industry? Do we want to bar them from industry entirely? Do we want to make it possible for them to work in industry under any conditions which their necessity may drive them to accept?

These are difficult questions to answer, and when I think of them I feel like the small boy who was asked by his mother to decide which of two things he wanted to do. After long and serious contemplation he sagely remarked, “If I knew how much it would cost I could decide better.” That is what we must know before we can decide anything satisfactory about the employment of married women in industry. What is it costing in terms of family welfare and standards of living? What will the cessation or regulation of their employment cost in the same terms?

In measuring this cost and its relation to social values, these married women we are discussing fall into two classes: the young woman who is bearing children and whose employment presents certain definite health problems for the woman herself and for her babies; then there are the older married women with growing families, whose

employment away from home, in addition to the individual hardship of carrying two jobs, may have as definite a relationship to the standards of character and upbringing among her children as it has to the actual economic standard of the family income. Taking these two groups of married women in industry, let us try to draw up a balance sheet to show what we are gaining and losing through their employment.

Industry is gaining 500,000 workers. Many of these women work at night, many more of them work at very low-paid and undesirable occupations. Because of the double demands on their time they are more irregular than other employees. Nevertheless, their employment has increased 40 per cent during the past ten years, so it does not seem likely that they are not economically valuable to industry.

What are the women themselves gaining? They are certainly not gaining the freedom that is so much discussed in connection with women's economic emancipation. It is not just a desire for "personal freedom" that is taking them into wage-earning pursuits. "At what great cost obtained I this freedom," is a perfectly good text for the woman who goes to work in a profession because she hasn't enough interest in her family to keep her busy at home. But it is no kind of a text for the women we are talking about. What they are working at such great cost to obtain is a chance for their children to have health and education and for their families to have a satisfactory home life. It is important to remember, in this connection, that the women I am discussing represent the average married woman in industry. When the Women's Bureau makes its investigation, we make no attempt to get figures which pertain to only special types of women. It is our object to get a cross-section of the women employed in typical women-employing industries. And so our facts are representative of normal situations. We have found very large numbers of married women employed in most of the industries we have studied. In Alabama 27 per cent of the women included in a state-wide survey of wages and hours were married; in Kentucky 19 per cent; in Missouri 20 per cent; and so on. We have made a study of the contributions which wage-earning women make to the support of their families. This study is called, "The Share of Wage-Earning Women in Family Support," and came from the press just a few days ago. We based this report on information from a great many different sources, including an original investigation made by our own bureau and investigations made by the Bureau of Labor Statistics and other organizations which have gotten together any pertinent information. From the material on married women wage-earners which we have assembled in this report we have reached one definite conclusion: whatever may be the extent of their earning capacity, whatever may be the irregularity of their employment, married women are in industry for one purpose and, generally speaking, for one purpose only: to provide necessities for their families or to raise their standard of living. In one study we found that practically all women who were wives or mothers, 95 per cent of them to be exact, contributed all of their earnings to their families. And although these earnings were not as a rule large, they often brought the family income up to a level which was adequate for the maintenance of a satisfactory standard of health and education for the children. That is what married women are gaining from their employment in industry. They are gaining the personal joy and satisfaction of increasing the family income so that it more nearly comes up to the level necessary for maintaining adequate standards.

But what are they losing? Because of the overfatigue of long hours in the factory followed and preceded by long hours at home they are losing health and vitality, and

they are losing opportunities for educational development and participation in community life. I think that some types of women gain far more than they lose by going out into industry to work. On the other hand, there are the night-working mothers, the mothers of little children who must work in factories during the day, who unquestionably lose more than they gain. In a study made by the Women's Bureau of census schedules from one industrial town we found that 72 per cent of the breadwinning married women reported by the census had children, and that three-fourths of these women had children who were less than six years old. To find out the burden of work at home which these wage-earning mothers with young children were carrying, we followed up about 500 of them and found that about one-fifth were working at night and looking out for the children during the day. Four hundred and nineteen of the 522 mothers interviewed cooked, cleaned, and washed for their families, in addition to caring for the children and performing remunerative services outside of the home. This is the kind of "freedom" which many wage-earning women are going into industry for. It seems to be asking a great deal of one woman or of one group of women, and it seems as though such a demand could only result in deterioration of health, which would have serious consequences to the worker.

What are the gains and losses for the family when the wife and mother is a wage-earner in industry? Under the industrial conditions of the present day this question resolves itself into several others. Which does the more harm, the employment of married women or poverty? Which is the better off, the extremely poor family where the mother stays at home, or the family with the better income where the mother works out? In which family is there the least delinquency among the children, the higher educational standard? This is the crux of the whole matter, but unfortunately we really have not enough facts to give the correct answers. The Children's Bureau, through its infant mortality studies, has in some localities brought out what seems to be a fairly definite relationship between infant mortality and the employment of mothers outside of the home. But in other localities where conditions were somewhat different, either the family income was higher or the women employed in different industries, this relationship seems to be much less marked. In Manchester the mortality among the babies of mothers who went out to work during the first year of the baby's life was 227.5 compared to 133.9 for the babies of mothers who remained at home and were not gainfully employed. In New Bedford the rate was 167.8 for the babies of mothers working away from home and 108.8 for the other babies. But in Manchester and New Bedford, which are textile centers, the families were poor and there was a large percentage of foreign born among the families studied. In Akron where rubber is the chief industry, which pays higher wages, family incomes were higher and living conditions better, and the death rate for the babies of mothers who went to work during the first year of the baby's life was only 88.2, while the death rate for the other babies whose mothers stayed at home and were not gainfully employed was 77.2, a very much smaller difference than in the communities where the families were poorer. Under exactly similar conditions, common sense will tell us that babies fare better when their mothers are at home, but when the question is complicated with that of the decrease of poverty incident on the employment of mothers, it is difficult to see a straight path of action, for there has been established a very definite relationship between infant mortality and the size of the family income. What we must decide for the future is how we are going to get the nec-

essary increases in the family income to keep down the infant mortality and to keep up other family standards.

We cannot say definitely from any facts we have now whether under present conditions the married woman in industry is entirely an asset or a liability to her family, but if we are going to keep on raising the family income through the earnings of married women, let's give them a fair show in industry and not have them hanging on by the skin of their teeth, the victims of an ever changing public opinion. It is pathetic to see, during the course of our investigations, how the fear of losing their jobs hangs over many of these women. The experiences of the past few years have shown us that they are more or less the weathercocks of the business cycle. When times are booming and labor scarce, married women are readily employed; special inducements are even offered sometimes to get them to come into the factory. Then times become less prosperous, when there is unemployment, when men as well as women are losing their jobs, the shoe is on the other foot. The married woman who works is said to be a menace to the social standards of the community. She is held up for criticism because it seems that she is taking jobs away from men who have families to support and from girls who have to support themselves. Now, I don't want to say that none of these things is true. To a certain extent I am sure they are. But what I do want to bring out is that this kind of weather-cocking is pretty hard on the married woman worker. In hard times when there is unemployment, the earnings of married women may be of vital significance to their families, and the dismissal of a married woman from a textile mill will not give a job to her husband, who is laid off from a steel mill, or to her daughter, whose employer has closed down his candy factory. The least that the married woman who works should expect from industry is a consistent attitude toward her employment so that she may know what she is to expect during times of stress as well as during times of plentiful employment.

And so you see I am not very good at drawing up a balance sheet for I don't know whether my most important item is a debit or a credit. But what I have learned from this attempt to draw it up is that I need many more facts. Last fall everyone's interest in this matter was tremendously stimulated by the publication of Hutchinson's latest best seller, *This Freedom*. I am sure that every lunch party and dinner party and book club in the country has discussed this book at one time or another during the past winter. I shudder to think of all the sage remarks that have been passed about this story and of the prejudices which have been reinforced by it. For *This Freedom* and other books like it are simply feeders of prejudice, and where problems of women are concerned there is no need to stimulate the lusty crop of prejudices we already have to cope with. It may be true, as so many people have said, that in spite of the exaggeration there is something to the theme of this book, but it *must* be true that there is very little to it, or else our country would be in a very parlous state. We have nearly 2,000,000 married women gainfully employed in the United States. Who shall say that because of their employment these women will have daughters with illegitimate children and sons who are thieves or suicides? We are not going to accept these prejudices, but we do know there is a problem, and although we have not yet got the final social facts to tie up with conditions as they exist, we are fortunate enough to have a basis of information which will broadly outline the extent of our problem. To offset the generalizations of the novel writer, I should like to suggest such sources of information as the United States

Bureau of the Census, the Children's Bureau and the Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor, and the various comprehensive studies of wage-earning women which have been made by other social fact-finding agencies.

We must know a lot more than we do now about the social consequences of the employment of married women before we can say in sweeping terms that they should not be employed. And we must find a substitute for their necessary contributions to the family support, or else we shall be getting out of the frying pan and into the fire.

We have accepted the employment of men in industry, although at the beginning, when the factory system was first established, there were many dark pictures drawn of the restrictions to which men were subjected. Hammond in his book, *The Town Laborer*, describing the new industrial system which started with the industrial revolution, uses these words, "The home worker . . . worked long hours, but they were his own hours; his wife and children worked, but they worked beside him, and there was no alien power over their lives; his house was stifling, but he could slip into his garden; he had spells of unemployment, but he could use them sometimes for cultivating his cabbages." But in spite of the restrictions imposed by the new factory régime, the social consequences have not been such that we can seriously advocate the withdrawal of men from industry. With children the opposite is true. The social consequences of their employment have been shown so clearly that there is almost no one who will advocate their employment in industry.

We have just begun to accept the employment of single women in industry. We no longer are willing to let them be classed as casual laborers, working only for extras, and ready to leave industry after a very short experience. We are asking that single women be offered a future in industry, that they be recognized as economic factors both in industry and in the home, and that they be given vocational training and opportunity in the occupations they enter. The single woman is coming into her own.

Now, we have got to face the problem of married women in industry. It is not an entirely new condition. Married women have done a good many different kinds of work, since the beginning of time. The work they are doing in industry is merely a transposition into another location of many duties which they formerly carried on at home. The difference is that now the married woman cannot tend a spinning machine with one hand while she takes care of the baby with the other. She has to leave one work while she carries on the other. And both work and worker suffer as a result. But we really do not know just how much they suffer. We do not know enough of the social consequences of women's employment outside of the home. We have not yet made any adequate plan to keep family incomes high enough so that they will not need supplementing. If we are to get such things accomplished, we must have broad, intensive, and continuous social studies. The Women's Bureau and the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor are at work on this problem. If their work can be supplemented and co-ordinated with the more intensive work which is being done by the many social agencies in this country, we shall be able to lay out an array of facts which would be an unfailing guide to social thought and action on the employment of married women in industry.

And while we are amassing and compiling and studying these facts, there is one sure and definite thing to do. Make it possible and usual for the normal married man to support his family according to a decent American standard of living, and then we shall find that the problem of the employment of married women is taking care of itself.

THE CO-OPERATION OF SOCIAL WORKERS WITH PUBLIC OFFICIALS IN THE ENFORCEMENT OF LAW—FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF SOCIAL WORKERS WITH PRIVATE AGENCIES

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Legal resource and legal redress are among the more common of all the tools in social case work. Social workers have built up a method of using available legal resources and of creating new ones to a degree which would warrant a more careful study than there has been time to give in the preparation of this paper.

For purposes of analysis, however, the relationship between social workers and law enforcement will be treated under the following heads: First, the creation of new laws or the revision of existing ones; second, the enforcement of laws; third, the influence of social workers on administrative law and judicial procedure; fourth, the interest of social workers in personnel; fifth, methods and resources available to social workers in the matter of these aspects of law enforcement.

The creation of new laws or the revision of existing ones.—Of the four methods of approach the enactment of new laws or the revision of old laws is the simplest; and it is in this field that social workers have been most effective. In spite of the fact that every legislature introduces five to ten times as many bills as it passes, and those in which social workers are interested form a just portion, in this high mortality there is no other field in which a similar amount of effort directed with equal skill and persistence will produce results more promptly and apparently more effectively. For purposes of clarity this phase might be divided into four parts: (a) the creation of new laws to meet situations hitherto disregarded or unrecognized; (b) the revision and extension of laws to secure greater protection or wider application; (c) efforts to prevent the repeal or impairment of laws already on the statute books; and (d) efforts to repeal undesirable laws.

(a) Under the first head it would be impracticable to list the laws which social case workers have promoted successfully and unsuccessfully, but the following are types: the law sponsored by the Sage Foundation in the matter of the small loans, the law creating a sanatorium commission for a state, and the various marriage laws which have been formulated. In Minnesota we have been working on the subject of marriage laws for the last ten years. (b) The child-welfare laws passed by the Minnesota legislature in the winter of 1917 come largely under the head of revision or extension of existing laws. While there was much new material in these laws, they are primarily old laws amended to meet new situations, sometimes by a very small change in the wording of the old law and at other times by entirely rewriting the statute. (c) Any law which in its administration runs counter to the interest of a number of people is in danger of being repealed in any session of the legislature. This is true of all laws regarding the expenditure of considerable money, and, I suppose, also of laws which give authority to any public body to undertake social case work.

There are three illustrations out of the last two sessions of the legislature on this point. The local county commissioners tried to have the county sanatorium commission abolished and its responsibility placed in their own hands.

The Hennepin County Tuberculosis Commission was spending about \$1,500,000.00 in the enlargement of its sanatorium. It was too much of a temptation for the local or county commissioners, and a new member, a contractor, introduced the bill transferring the task to the county board. This bill was killed by organizing popular protest. Of another sort is our experience with the Children's Bureau and the County Child Welfare Boards. The Children's Bureau and some of the child-welfare boards have been courageous and fearless in their enforcement of laws such as those which place financial responsibility on the father of an illegitimate child until the child has reached the age of sixteen. By a vigorous and wholesome exercise of its power it has also broken down the ordinary defenses of those who have exploited childhood with impunity. Each session of the legislature has seen efforts to limit the power of such boards or of the Children's Bureau. In this legislature it showed itself with the introduction or near introduction of two bills, one to abolish the child welfare boards in the counties and the other to reduce the appropriation for the State Children's Bureau. Fortunately the work of the boards and of the bureau had been so well done that when the rumor got about that a certain senator was about to introduce such bills, it was possible to secure a storm of protest from many counties in the state, which literally chased the project to cover and kept the proposer apologizing for the rest of the session. Of still a third type is the effort to make political capital out of administrative boards. Our state board of control, of which the Children's Bureau is a department, was organized twenty-one years ago. At the session of the legislature in 1921 a bill was introduced enlarging the board from three to four and placing upon it as a fifth and ex-officio member the governor of the state. There was seen at once that the passage of a law of this sort would throw the whole administration of the state institutions into politics. The task of preventing the passage of that bill was probably the most difficult one we have ever faced. The bill was backed by the strong political organization in control and it was only the tradition of unpartisan administration of the state board and the example of the administration of other states which have suffered from partisan politics which finally defeated the vicious element in the bill, although it was impossible to prevent the enlargement of the board to five members. The absurdity of a five-member board with executive responsibility was so obvious that the present legislature reduced the number back to three without opposition.

(d) Curiously, I have yet to find anyone who could tell me anything about a bill which social workers have agreed upon to get repealed. It may be that it is more difficult to secure united action on negative matters. I think it is more likely that our effort has been directed toward saving what is good in bills or changing bills in such a way that they may become beneficial instead of injurious.

Social workers and the enforcement of existing laws.—This subject concerns itself with two kinds of enforcement: the enforcement of laws whose execution rests with an administrative body, such as the enforcement of the school-attendance law, or of the compensation law, or of the street-trades act; and, second, the enforcement of laws whose execution depends upon court action.

In the former group, laws whose execution depends upon an administrative body, we have in the school-attendance law the best illustration of co-operation between social workers and public authorities that I know of. The school-attendance law for Minnesota requires a child to remain in school until sixteen, except that after the age of fourteen a child may leave school if he has graduated from the eighth grade and has

been given a work permit by the attendance department. This program has seized the imagination of the social workers and it is one of the primary objects in the minds of every one of them that the children in the families under care must attend school regularly and up to the sixteenth year. This has, of course, necessitated the establishment of some scholarships and the granting of certain additional relief in a few instances, but the total amount so given has really not been great. Of a more formal nature, the enforcement of the Street-Trades Act is another illustration. When that act was about to be put into operation in this city, the attendance department secured from each of the family agencies the assurance that if the attendance department believed a family needed assistance because its child was taken off the streets, such assistance would be given. This agreement of course included the understanding that the family agencies had the right to make an independent investigation. It has not been called upon to any extent, but it has been an unusual help to the attendance department in getting the younger children off the down-town streets.

With regard to the administration of laws whose execution depends upon court action our experience has been much more varied and less satisfactory. Probably social workers make the mistake of thinking that the passage of a law defining a crime, providing penalties, and providing for its enforcement automatically takes care of its execution. We fail to recognize that no law is thus enforced. We must learn that in the administration of laws in which we are interested the same obligation rests upon us from the very nature of the case. There is an additional difficulty, however, in the enforcement of laws in which we are interested which is not inherent in other phases of law enforcement. Such laws ordinarily define responsibility. We are interested that a husband shall support his wife and children. This enforcement of positive responsibility is not an ordinary function of courts and court officials. It is more difficult to prove that a man would not do something than that he actually committed a crime. The conscience of the public and the keenness of the public officials are not so much aroused by the failure of a man to meet his family obligations as by a man who commits burglary. This is a challenge to social workers to create a public opinion which shall recognize the seriousness of such lapses in social obligations. There is also another difficulty in the enforcement of laws relating to domestic obligations; the action is usually taken by one member of the family against another member of the family. Families are built upon affectional relationships, and no matter how cruelly violated those affections may be there is always at least the memory of them to inhibit vigorous prosecution. Extradition of wife-deserters is the field in which we have probably made the most progress. Of a different sort is the enforcement of new laws. We worked for two years with the courts and prosecuting officials before we secured the first conviction under a new, habitual offenders' act. The kind of offenses which are repeated most often are drunkenness and non-support. The wording of the act defining habitual offenders is "one who repeatedly commits misdemeanors involving moral turpitude." It took us a long time to get county attorneys and the judges to agree upon the meaning of "moral turpitude."

The influence of social workers on administrative law and judicial procedure.—In the third part of our subject we probably run into the strongest legal prejudices we have to encounter. Judicial procedure and administrative law are notoriously antiquated, and the resistance of changing them into something more serviceable is notoriously stubborn. Here again the social worker has the responsibility for pointing out the unsatisfactory

nature of court procedure, which has outgrown the conditions under which it was developed, and the greater justice which would ensue by the adoption of a different method. Of course the more prominent attorneys not only recognize this but are the most eager of the advocates of reform in administrative law and judicial procedure. Most communities, in the method of the determination of insanity and feeble-mindedness, have changed their procedure from the old to a more suitable one of examination by specialists and confirmation of their findings by a court of record.

We have three illustrations in this field that are significant and indicate different methods of approach. (a) The Legal Aid Society after several years of experience determined that a certain large section of its work was of a sort that courts ought to handle, but which never reached the courts because of prohibitive expense. A committee of the Legal Aid Society therefore studied the simple forms of court procedure, such as the petty debtors court of this country and the court of conciliation of the Norwegian country, and then introduced a bill creating a court of conciliation in which the hearings are informal, in which judgments are rendered upon a direct statement of facts by the plaintiff and defendant without cost to either party, and at which attorneys are not permitted to be present. In this informal way the court disposes of about 10,000 cases a year. (b) A movement to create the office of public defender originated outside the social workers' group and the passage of such a law was secured. The difficulty of fitting a new procedure into an old profession is amply illustrated by this experience. So far the law has merely provided a duly appointed officer rather than one appointed each time as necessary by the court. So far the public defender has taken the position that he is there only to defend clients, which he does with the devastating thoroughness of the ordinary private attorney. His conception of his function as that of a case worker or a protector of the public as well as of the clients, such as is undertaken by similar officials in continental courts or even by the London police, has evidently never entered his imagination. Our experience has been that we would rather not have the public defender act in a case, and that his addition to the court personnel has decreased the probability of securing justice. (c) The most thoroughgoing effort to change court procedure is the proposal to establish a family court as a branch of the District Court of Hennepin County. This has been under discussion in the last three sessions of the legislature. The resources of case work from a wide variety of fields have been collected and analyzed in support of such a bill. It seems as if all the conservatism and self-interest of the legal profession of the state have been massed against this change. It doubtless will come, and, if there were time, it would be interesting to trace step by step how popular imagination has been seized by the possibility of such a court and how the opposition to it has been gradually worn down. Starting out four years ago with only the juvenile court and a body of social workers to support it, the family-court bill in this session of the legislature had the backing of every group whose assistance had been asked except the bar associations, and even the bar associations has passed resolutions in the executive committee declaring that a change in the judicial procedure in the matter of domestic relations was desirable. On the other hand the opposition which was frankly and crudely dictated by self-interest, and directed its energies toward denouncing social case work as muckraking, interference with personal liberty, and the snooping of busybodies whose joy was in breaking up families has now changed to a dignified protest against the extension of governmental activities into inquisitorial channels. The verbal opposition has practically been silenced. It is the inertia

and the inarticulate conservatism of the legal profession in the legislature itself which keep the bill sufficiently in the background to prevent its passage.

The interest of social workers in personnel.—Under the fourth head, personnel, we probably strike the most difficult of all the tasks confronting the social worker in his relation to law and its enforcement. We have been no more successful in influencing appointments than elections, and few of either the appointive or elective officers owe their success to our assistance. In the first place we have not often taken a stand either publicly or privately. It is only when the position is one which obviously affects social work that we have felt justified in even giving information with respect to the qualifications of candidates.

Our one striking success was five years ago with Judge Waite. All our judges are elected. We have a primary which selects out of the candidates twice as many as there are offices to fill. After the primary it is usually the custom of the bar association to indicate who ought to be elected from among those surviving the primary hurdle. In the interval since the last election the governor had made an appointment to the district bench of an unusually fine attorney, and the bar association wished to keep him on, which meant one of the incumbents would have to be excluded. In such a difficult situation the ballot of the bar association placed Judge Waite outside the group of those recommended for election or reelection. This ballot of the bar association startled the social workers, and, although Judge Waite would do nothing on his own initiative, the group of volunteers and professional case workers interested in keeping Judge Waite on the juvenile bench organized a campaign, and the election returns saw Judge Waite come in second in the list of the four elected judges. Another instance of an effort to indicate our judgment was last spring in the matter of the court commissioner, before whom mental cases are heard. Our sense of propriety and justice in court matters has been repeatedly outraged by the methods of the court commissioner, and we took opportunity of trying to back a man in whom we had confidence. Our backing did not even enable him to pass the hurdle of the primary.

There is a basic difficulty in the whole matter of personnel which social workers must face and at least make their contribution toward solution. Political positions do not offer to the best attorneys the outlet for their activities which they desire. This is not entirely due to the fact that the compensation of the judge and the district attorney and the other public offices is poor. Many men would be willing to assume the disadvantage of poor remuneration if it did not have additional handicaps. In the development of modern law, attorneys are finding their best opportunity in civil, and particularly in corporation, law. They have almost placed the stamp of professional approval exclusively upon the attorney who becomes a corporation or business attorney, and, because the other positions have had to be taken by men of less ambition or less skill, the attitude of the profession has been to regard these other positions with less respect and less professional approval. The few men who with sincerity and hard work are doing the pioneer work in these fields of social law do so with a full knowledge that they are taking their professional life in their hands, and they probably have shut the door of advancement when they enter this field of the law.

Methods and resources available to social workers in the matter of these aspects of law enforcement.—Probably the most practical part of the discussion is a statement of methods and resources. Social workers alone are obviously ineffective political influences. Social workers as interpreters of conditions in which they have special knowl-

edge possess potential ability in directing the development of law, its administration, and its personnel, which cannot be avoided.

This subject probably divides itself into two parts: First, the activities of social workers with respect to the creation of laws, the appointment of personnel changes in procedure, and the protection of gains already made; and, second, the second aspect is the relation of social workers to the administration and enforcement of laws already on the statute books.

With respect to the last responsibility, literally that of law enforcement, and the application of law we have never developed any organization form. Each agency struggles to secure from public officials the enforcement of law as best it may. Those agencies which most clearly recognize the relation between case work and the law and which cultivate acquaintanceship with the law-enforcing officials are most successful in securing law enforcement.

There are many possible ways in which the special knowledge in the hands of social workers may be available for law-making, revision, etc. We have adopted the device of a state committee on social legislation. Our state conference does not adopt programs and therefore is not available for this task. In states like Wisconsin, where the state conference does adopt programs and makes recommendations, the function of enforcing legislation rests with that body. Our state committee on social legislation is potentially composed of the same people as the conference of social work. Every agency in the state and any agency interested in the promotion of public welfare through legislation may be a member of the committee. The work of the committee is done by a board of directors elected by the committee at the time of the annual conference of social work. Between meetings of the state conference the committee holds no meetings, and all its work is in the hands of the board of directors, which keeps in close touch with the membership through correspondence. No decisions are made by the board and put into effect without a vote by mail from the members.

The state committee on social legislation has adopted the following procedure: First, in non-legislative years it usually takes up one or two subjects for study—the child-welfare laws, the family court, marriage laws, and the revision of the poor laws of the state are types of a study which it has pursued with not a great deal of activity, but still with considerable attention. Toward the end of this period and just before the legislature is elected, the committee assembles the laws which it believes ought to be passed in the next legislature. These are gathered from its own study, from among those which failed to pass in previous legislatures, and from any other source, of which each state has many.

Second, it then circularizes the elected members of the legislature with respect to these laws, merely calling them to their attention and expressing the hope that they will receive favorable consideration, at the same time inviting questions with regard to them. Occasionally conferences on specific laws are held with groups of legislators.

Third, during the meeting of the legislature the board of directors meets regularly bi-weekly and occasionally each week. All bills introduced are gone over by index and an effort is made at least to have a report on, if not actually to read in sessions of the board, each bill which has social implications. The responsibility of the board is to promote the good bills and to try to kill the bad ones. At this time it is in continuous touch with the membership of the committee, receiving suggestions occasionally from

them, but always giving to the membership its findings and asking for expression of the committee's judgment.

Fourth, the most difficult task of the committee is putting into effective action the results of its deliberations. In this respect the committee as a committee is not particularly strong. The only element of strength is that it does have many representatives in many sections of the state. It feels, however, that its chief function in the promotion of legislation is to transfer that responsibility to some other body, and in that way practically all the legislation in which it has been interested has been assumed as the legislative program of other organizations. If possible, this is done before the legislature meets. The committee goes so far as to refuse to consider certain types of legislation which are certainly social, such as temperance and labor, because there is in the state adequate backing for that type of work.

The one important resource which the committee on social legislation has is the vote of the women of the state. Whatever the men in social work may think about its there is no question that since the franchise has been extended to women, legislator, have been forced to consider matters of social legislation with a seriousness which they never gave it before. This anxiety on the part of legislators sometimes becomes positively embarrassing in view of their recent conversion, but whatever the reason given for their sudden interest in matters of social import, the real reason is that women have the vote. Next to the organized women's groups are the medical, with which there is some slight, perhaps too slight, natural relationship, and then comes the labor group. With the labor group the relationship of our committee has been cordial and to the mutual advantage of both groups. The secretary of the state federation of labor has from the beginning been a member of the board of directors of our committee, and has given as faithful and valuable work as any member of the board. I should say the one outstanding resource for social work in our state, however, is the League of Women Voters. The league accepts its program for social legislation only after consultation with our board. The league in turn assumes responsibility actually for putting on a legislative program. In this same way the State Federation of Women's Clubs, the Women's Temperance Union, the League of Catholic Women and others have assumed the responsibility for the promotion of bills in which we are interested. Occasionally a group like the Rotary Club or even the Chamber of Commerce can be induced to take the same responsibility. There is an incidental value to the development of a wide group of such contacts. Legislative work has to be done often under pressure. This is particularly true when bad bills must be killed or seriously modified. Then it is necessary for the whole state to speak in unison and in no uncertain terms. Each legislative session sees this network of inter-related groups becoming more articulate, springing into action with more promptness, and with an emphasis that at times has become overwhelming, as in the matter of threatened curtailment of the child-welfare boards and the Children's Bureau.

If this recital, which has been necessarily hurried and in the barest outline, seems to leave the impression that we have done unusual things in Minnesota, I trust you will correct it by the consideration that it is necessarily selective, for the most part, of successful instances. Most of our efforts, like most of your efforts, in the matter of enforcement of law seem to hit the air uselessly, and it is only when one looks over a period of years that it has been possible to recall even such matters as these. The consciousness of the workers most of the time, however, is one of futility rather than of effectiveness.

PROGRESS IN SOCIAL CASE WORK

SOME CHANGES IN SOCIAL CASE WORK

Gordon Hamilton, Charity Organization Society, New York

I cannot do better than to begin this paper with a definition from *What Is Social Case Work?* Miss Richmond says: "Social case work consists of those processes which develop personality through adjustments, consciously effected, individual by individual, between men and their social environment."

Our common heritage.—In this sense, i.e., the development of personality consciously effected, case work belongs to all who practise it. It is our common heritage and common tool. What was probably common to the origins of case work fields in the past was lack of science, lack of resources, a certain roughness of the eye, a certain awkwardness of hand, and a certain objectivity of approach and a certain tendency to concentrate on the major problem, ignoring the wholeness of the situation; but what was common, too, was the innate skill of born case workers, getting results in the dawn of case work that we do not always attain in its high noon. What was common, finally, was loyalty, endurance, fearlessness, and case work intuitions that far outran the hope of immediate accomplishment. What the pioneers left us was a vision which we, dazzled today by a multiplicity of resources, almost forget to look at!

The early emphasis.—All social case work, whether children's, family, medical, or psychiatric, is integrated but in trying to analyze for ourselves, today, some of the characteristic emphases, I shall more particularly confine myself to the description of family case work, partly because it is nearer to me and partly because it has special appropriateness and significance on the day devoted to the home. Dr. Southard said in the *Kingdom of Evils* that family case work had pivoted around the question of relief and that now it would have to pivot around the question of personality. I doubt if thoughtful case workers of the past were ever hemmed in by the conception of relief, although relief figured largely in the vocabulary of the last century. What seemed like preoccupation with relief was one of the early personality studies the case worker engaged in. Those who think of this relief as something primitive overlook the fact that fifty years ago this country was served by orphanages and almshouses, where two-thirds of the insane were housed. There was little provision for the sick, and there were no day nurseries or recreational centers. Poor relief was carried on by the police in doles of wood and coal, or else there was a sea of aimless haphazard almsgiving. In other words, before early case work we had the institutional poor-relief outlook miles away from personality. Thirty years ago Mrs. Josephine Shaw Lowell, a great pioneer, was saying that the three necessities were: knowledge of the facts (i.e. objective observation and interpretation); adequate relief for the body. (Anyone who knew Mrs. Lowell would laugh to have that interpreted except in a roundness of physical treatment); and moral oversight for the soul. (We talk of characterological problems nowadays. Terminology is a fickle jade.) We can hardly realize today the guesswork and irresponsibility of early philanthropies before the beginnings of case work. No one had much knowledge of family life, no one had any idea why people needed help. They had been helping poverty, not people. Mrs. Lowell sounded a clarion call through the nineties—knowledge of the facts.

What were the facts?—What constituted facts in 1881 differed of course from what we consider facts today. We are more inclined to think in terms of factors—a factor

is a *doer*, a fact is something done. It is in keeping with progress that we should be interested in processes as well as results. The early workers did honestly try to face the facts, but they were handicapped by the inherited equipment of a ready-made philosophy about human beings and by a lack of precise, scientific information. The first facts faced were employment, intemperance, shiftlessness, mendicancy, or the like. A widow was a fact, a deserter was a fact, and, except to the rarest of child workers, a child was a fact. Astonishing adjustments were made, however, by patient observation, intuition, and common sense. After all our truest and safest picture of men's difficulties rests back on a common-sense account. Knowledge of economics, sociology, biology, dietetics, medicine, psychiatry, and psychology irradiate the facts, but in the early days we were apt to see the surface facts, the symptoms and the results, and our methodology was to treat one fact at a time, not the whole situation. But the moment case work started dealing with facts, however objectively, instead of with sentimental impressions and assumptions, the foundation was securely laid for whatever should come after. When the first facts were studied by case workers, the economists were in the saddle. There was much talk about the prevention and even the abolition of poverty, just as today there is preoccupation with health and the prevention of disease. We all hope the health people will come nearer it than the economists did.

After the economic set of facts, other matters were stressed. If we run the eye back over any of the old case records, we shall find definite emphases, slants, and fashions, as it were, in case work. The fashions vary with each city and period, and any generalization is dangerous, still certain groupings of fact were general. After the economic phase passed, case workers became interested in children, chiefly as good facts or bad facts, and at about the same time in tuberculosis. The anti-tuberculosis work of the country started in a practical active way in a committee of the New York Charity Organization Society. The first housing exhibit, a collection of very interesting facts, started under the same auspices.

Since the war the facts of venereal disease and sex have emerged for more intensive study, and in the light of much new knowledge. The dynamic discoveries in mental hygiene are making their tremendous contribution today. One set of facts that we are today not recognizing as we should is the racial tradition or national conventions, which condition people as definitely as emotional maladjustments in the home condition of children. Theoretically we have considered background; practically a great deal of ignorance has prevailed as to racial background. Case workers will find such facts as they are ready for. Ten years from now new facts will be studied which we are today disregarding as completely as earlier case workers disregarded syphilis or psychoses.

Treatment.—The early treatment was, I think, characteristically objective and corrective rather than subjective and interpretive. It dealt more with situations than with personal make-up. The social case worker had inherited his field from philanthropy and, as we have said, his first emphases were economic. Treatment, for the most part, employed a few standard remedies; the pill for poverty was work; the pill for desertion was the law or the workhouse; the pill for a kind of chronic dependency was removing people to their native locality; the pill for the unmarried mother was a place at service; the pill for broken homes and behavior-problem children was, regretably often, the institution; and the pill for many medical problems in early hospital social service was convalescent care. The early agents had their own way of doing things.

The individualization of children with more enlightened personality study has been slowly growing, but for a long time dependent children everywhere had been committed as a matter of course, although the case work agencies were trying, against great odds, to keep some homes together. Frankly, however, the attitude of many agencies toward the commitment or even the placement of children was based on the observation of surface facts. Generally speaking, with the family agencies and even with some of the children's agencies, very large dependent families were somehow regarded as more suitable for commitment than those requiring a smaller pension. Children were still facts, and those who had to be committed were sorted out by ages, almost by sizes, without understanding the child's real needs. Nursing babies were not always committed, but toddlers who got in the mother's way were very apt to find themselves in an institution. All mental defectives, before the rise of Dr. Fernald, were committed if there was room for them, and while the "suitable" home was kept together, unsuitability was largely a judgment of the eye. One glass of beer on the table might render a home unsuitable forever. Delinquency we knew, and although case workers did not hold the behavior child (we called him a naughty child) always responsible for his condition, still we treated him as if he were. It is safe to say that wherever good case work developed, in children's or family agencies or hospital social service, the whole tone of social service in that locality was raised, but case work was at its best in those cities where there was a free and ungrudging exchange of ideas between agency and agency, when the best of what each was discovering was shared.

The science of medicine, Dr. Lambert sees, is fifty years ahead of the art of medicine. Medical social work is fast interpreting in clinic the discoveries of the laboratory, and thoughtful medical case workers realize that there is no prescription for the abolition of disease, any more than there was a panacea for the abolition of poverty. I fancy this is true, too, of psychiatry, and that facts of mental make-up like the facts of bodily make-up will be a long time practiced clinically and in the field before psychiatry is finally an art as well as a science. That is the nicest thing about case work, we are all still so young together. The facts that early case workers sought to understand or verify were naturally not inferiority complexes, psychopathic personalities, or the like, but the familiar and accessible facts of birth, marriage, death, hospital care, and diagnoses. Mere verification of fact was the chief technique. The will to know was not enough, we had to acquire standards of accuracy if case work was to be a repository of truth, we had to learn how. The distinction of some of the older agents had lain in their delightful personal relations with their clients. They had carried the whole atmosphere of their clients in their hearts and heads. It was somewhat against the abuse of this that the next generation swung to the other extreme and noted everything, tried to verify everything in a strictly impersonal way.

One of the tools by which we are cutting our way through our own crystalizations and stereotypes has been diagnosis, or more recently evaluation. Technique takes into account now not only the facts but all the conditioning factors. Evaluation is based now not merely on the objective steps in an investigation, but on the content of our knowledge, of our science. It concerns itself with our methodology, our art of healing, and, finally, it concerns itself with our accomplishment. What do we actually succeed in doing for the individual, for the family, for society? Terminology is so easy and young case workers pick it up and fancy they have mastered case work itself. If they would honestly evaluate the content of their knowledge, their methodology or technique, as

well as their accomplishment, which superficially may look 100 per cent, case work would indeed progress. Evaluation is helping us also to make distinctions between slight and intensive service cases and so differently plan our treatment. Evaluation like technique must be neither mechanical and rigid nor self-conscious if it is to put new life into our case work. Evaluations do shape our treatment inevitably, and there are many considerations which prevent us from taking, today, our old Olympian attitude about knotty questions such as whether it is necessary that some individuals be sacrificed to a better social order.

Records.—Records have been becoming more and more textbooks of case work methodology. In early days we had to do all our practice work directly on our clients; now, thanks to a long period of patient recording and objective observation, with a degree of accuracy incredibly retained through all the burdens of enormous case loads, we can partially learn how to do and not do. For while in the endless combinations of life almost anything can happen, certain things happen again and again, and can be, to an extent, predicted, to an extent, studied. Skill in human relations cannot be acquired from textbooks, but the devoted study of records can bring us a long way forward. Records are not only textbooks; they are laboratory material for research studies. Records are mines of fact, waiting the research pick and shovel. Records, finally, ought to be more available than under our present system. Most records are closed in time and sent to dusty files with only a number to identify them. Whether it is a practicable matter to have records indexed by subjects, a terrific piece of cross reference, one does not know, but the indications are that we cannot afford forever to consign all these treasures to oblivion.

Conclusion.—I believe "a real insight into our own condition," to borrow the mental hygiene phrase, would tell us that the sin of case work today is pride. With all our blind spots of ignorance and awkwardness, different schools of case work patronize their neighbors and fancy that wisdom will die with their particular brand of service. A case worker cannot and should not try to know everything, but his crowning glory is to make a helpful diagnosis and leave the case in the hands (sometimes his own, sometimes others) best equipped to treat it successfully. The case work of the next fifty years will, I think, see more scientific diagnoses, and evaluations, both scientific and spiritual, better records, a more harmonious integration of the hundred specializations of today, which are now too often mutually exclusive, more of what Dr. Williams beautifully called a greater sensitiveness to living," the art of dealing with people by case work method carried into many more fields of human relations, more research, clearer international conceptions, and treatment, i.e., the art of healing, going forth in the clear light of knowledge. The equipment of a case worker is dust and ashes unless he has the disposition of both scientist and disciple. He must be eager to experiment and willing to be taught, but neither avails him anything unless he can help withal. The integration of case work, the best of the past with the best of the present, and the integration of the best in each of our specialized fields is the hope for the future. And the greater service will only come when, laying aside every weight and the sins that do so easily beset us, we work together with humility and patience for the enfranchisement of the human spirit.

PROGRESS IN SOCIAL CASE WORK IN MENTAL HYGIENE

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The linkage between mental hygiene and social case work has deepened steadily and almost without opposition since the inception of the mental hygiene movement a few years ago. No other profession or field of work has as yet been so fundamentally affected by it.

The teachers and the public schools are only just beginning to be aware of its existence, and thus far chiefly in terms of mental measurements and special classes. Even in the medical profession, mental hygiene has met with prejudice as well as lack of interest and understanding. Academic psychology, while it has been vitally affected by the mental hygiene movement, has had so little in common with the practical program of mental hygiene, far removed as it is from exact laboratory procedure, and the possibility of mathematical treatment, that it has often seemed more hostile than sympathetic, and certainly there has been no widespread sympathy and understanding among academic psychologists for the kind of human psychology which mental hygiene implies. Moreover, the psychiatrist has often resented the psychologist's claims and lack of comprehensive background and has not respected the psychologist's rightful place and contribution. Sociology, too, although it is beginning to be influenced mildly by the psychiatric point of view, has had so little first-hand experience with living human material that it hardly realizes the need of such theory as mental hygiene is offering.

Social case work, on the other hand, has leaped to this new exposition of human behavior as something which it had been seeking vainly in the offering of the university curriculum. In mental hygiene, case work found a theory wrought out of the very material in which it was already struggling, and for whose organization it had as yet developed no adequate psychological interpretation. Social case work was starving for a practical human psychology, and had been fed for the most part on academic husks. The doctrines of mental hygiene and the new psychology came as the fulfilment of a long-felt conscious need. Case work had nothing to depend upon, only a wealth of material to be interpreted and problems of practical human adjustment to be solved.

There was nothing in the social theory or technique already worked out which could be adapted to this new approach. Social case work has not only not resisted mental hygiene but it has often been its torch-bearer amid medical and educational darkness.

The National Conference of Social Work has registered faithfully the steady and growing transformation which mental hygiene has wrought during the past five years. You will remember how mental hygiene and psychiatry swept through the conference at the Atlantic City conference. It has been interesting to watch the connection spread, deepen, and become more and more organic. Those first papers were labeled "psychiatric" and were given by psychiatrists in a particular mental-hygiene section. Then we find them cropping out everywhere. Mental hygiene applied to delinquency, to the home, and to child welfare still given largely by psychiatrists. Finally we see mental hygiene applied by social case workers in every field in their interpretations of their own work, with the psychiatric label almost, if not entirely, forgotten.

The human psychology which the mental hygiene movement has contributed is being absorbed by case work with astonishing swiftness and comprehension; and the development which mental hygiene is to undergo in the next fifty years, the practical realization of its program, is as dependent on social case work as on any other one agency.

The field of human adjustments is too large to be covered by psychiatry or psychiatrists. At best the psychiatrist reaches only a few people with actual treatment. His most important function for mental hygiene at present is teaching, getting over a point of view to as many individuals as possible. The only large professional group which is as interested technically as the psychiatrist in the adjusting of human beings in their social relations is the social case work group, and it is through that group that psychiatry has its best hope of a practical and far-reaching yet professional application of mental hygiene.

Mental hygiene is an inevitable part of the case worker's daily task. Where she goes, it will go. She is taking it not only to individual families but to courts and clinics, to hospitals and day nurseries, wherever her interest in the personal and social adjustment of human beings leads her.

When we stop to look, as Miss Hamilton has done in her survey, at the paths over which the case worker has come and note the high spots which have marked changing emphasis and interest in the evolution of case work, we wonder what will be the next objective. If the signs of the times do not fail, that objective is already on the horizon, and this conference may yet see the day when education and the public school, with all the possibilities which they offer for preventive positive social adjustment, will constitute its most absorbing interest.

Poverty, disease, crime, the kingdom of evils, may have been the province of social case work in the past, but who shall say that the future may not see the application of the case work interest and approach to the kingdom of the child and the more positive hopeful aspects of human adjustment?

PROGRESS IN SOCIAL CASE WORK IN CHILD WELFARE

Anna C. Haskins, State Charities Aid Association, New York

Most of us are so engrossed in our present-day problems that it takes some such anniversary as this to make us realize that whatever measure of success we may have attained in the children's field today is due to the foundation so well laid for us by those born adjusters of human affairs who early turned their efforts to the welfare of the child.

Social case work must be based on knowledge and the ability to apply this knowledge. In the children's field, as in the others, it has been increasingly apparent that this knowledge is becoming more specific. The case worker is learning that she must truly, thoroughly, know her child. To gain this knowledge she must use every possible resource.

The recording of knowledge is also extremely important. Every child has a right to an accurate record of his family, of his own birth and baptism, as well as the conditions under which he came under the institution's or agency's care.

We must also know a child's background in order to attempt to understand the child. Any worker has only to read some of her agency's earlier records, seeking some

light on a present problem, to see what the omission of certain information means to her work.

The years have taught us that knowledge of a child's family background is the first essential of good case work. What kind of people are his family? What is their real feeling toward their children? What is the physical and mental health, at least as interpreted by the community in which they live? What is their moral character? What has been their education and their standards of living? In other words, what influences have surrounded this child up to the time we have known him? Such detailed information was not on our earlier records.

The use of psychology and psychiatry has taught us to recognize the tendency to suspicion and fear, the presence of which a careful case worker should always be aware, for these things are the direct cause of many failures to adjust in new environments. This is especially true of the dependent child who has been separated from all that really belongs to him—the little boy of nine, whose face lights up with delight when invited to go to the circus, only to cloud over immediately as he asks if his boarding mother may go with him. The worker knows all too well that it is not an unselfish desire to share his pleasure which prompts the child's invitation for his boarding mother, it is his dreadful fear of not returning to the same home; of losing what he has for something still more uncertain.

We have outgrown our old method of superimposing our ideas on the child. The successful case worker spends endless time learning to understand her child, what he thinks and feels, and then guiding him to make his own decisions and plans. It is the longest way round, but the shortest way home in the end, as it is the only way to develop a child's sense of responsibility, as well as to gain his co-operation.

What to me is one of the strongest evidences of progress in social case work today is the recognition of the inter-relationship of the different fields and their dependency one upon the other. The children's field seems especially dependent on the other related fields and reflects much of their progress. If the children's agent who worked single handed in the earlier days could see our health clinics, our psychiatric clinics, the work of the visiting teacher, and the mental testing, she would surely say, "To whom much has been given, much shall be required."

We are each year relating our work more closely to the scientific. All of this means that the case worker should be, if possible, a person with professional background, and she should add a specialized training in family- and child-welfare work before entering this field. It seems to me that whatever helps to increase the more accurate and intimate knowledge of the child, contributes to a deeper understanding of him, and therefore a more human, as well as intelligent, approach to him.

The case worker must not only have knowledge, but she must know how to apply this knowledge. We cannot progress unless we use the knowledge we have gained.

Twenty-five years ago when the juvenile court came into existence we took a big step forward. A child was no longer to be considered a criminal to be punished, but an individual to be protected and trained under a person especially qualified for such work. Due to more careful methods of case work, children are now put on probation and studied, instead of hurried off to reformatories, as in the early days.

On the whole, our work has shown much unevenness. We have had health slants, educational slants, and psychiatric slants, and because of them it has been hard to keep always in mind the development of the child as a well-rounded individual. However,

we have progressed steadily in our efforts to understand his needs. We have learned that in order to make this possible, we first must have knowledge of a child's antecedents and family background; second, a knowledge of the child himself; third, the ability to apply this knowledge; and, lastly, to record it in such a way that it may be of most use. The case worker, through her records, should be a repository of information from which we can draw conclusions which will make it possible for us to meet the individual needs of the children more wisely in the future than we have in the past. I believe that the real case worker is conscious of her successes, as well as her failures, and it is by both conscious and unconscious evaluation of her work from day to day that she makes progress.

As we have built on the experiences of the past, so will the future depend on the soundness of case work today. The worker must bring to this field a constructive interest in children, a sympathetic understanding of them, a trained imagination to work with them, and a vision into the splendid future for them.

CASE WORK AMONG THE INDIANS

Henrietta J. Lund, Children's Code Commission, Bismarck, North Dakota

The language of the Indians is as complicated as are their problems. They have one sign, however, which I have long since mastered—a circular motion—meaning upset, "all addled up inside."

That is the way one feels in thinking of the possibilities of case work among a formidable group of people in our western country who are crying for attention. It is of the possibilities that we must talk, rather than of the progress in this vast, untouched field of endeavor.

On a blustering winter night, such as only Northwestern Montana knows, I was riding across the great Blackfoot Reservation in the performance of drought relief duties for the American Red Cross. I had almost despaired of the possibility of accomplishing other than supplementing the already extensive relief giving of the government finding seemingly little response to any other efforts. Good fortune led me that night to the hut of an Indian of broad social vision, a leader among his people, Long Time Asleep, a nobler soul than whom I have never known.

It is neither here nor there to say that weird tales were told that night by White Quiver of his successful horse-thieving, with the wondrous story of No Coat, who had lived with his wife, Takes Gun for Nothing, thirty-nine years and never quarreled. What does concern me is the fact that we were successful in gaining the confidence and understanding of this little group. It was toward morning when Long Time Asleep aroused us from our resting places to say that he had a message of grave importance to give. He had pondered over what had been told of our work elsewhere, and of the one great purpose of a work which dealt with human lives.

"I am thinking of the condition of our 3,000 Blackfeet," the guide interpreted slowly, "once a proud race, now living over their 1,000,000 acres of land like the outcasts of the earth. Last winter, a prayer arose from his lips never to see another like it, 1,700 full-bloods and many young mixed-blood were carrying government ration tickets, and yet there was much of misery and trouble. I have thought of what you told us of your work, and I believe it is good for us too. We must help our people to help themselves."

He had struck the keynote of the family work which we had endeavored to undertake: helping them to help themselves.

There followed a discourse on the theory and practice of case work that one seldom hears expounded from more learned lips—the need of a better understanding of the instinctive life and native equipment of his people and of the essential elements lacking in their environment. The value of bringing out local leadership and of sharing responsibility were emphasized.

Long Time Asleep has since gone to his hunting grounds, though not until he had been instrumental in furthering the activity, the value of which he saw so clearly. There are countless others like him in each community (and we always aim to find them) that are ready to take part in the work for the good of the tribe, wherever direction and counsel are given.

The development of forces of leadership in the field of social service work on the reservation has been one of the first problems to be encountered. Another great difficulty is the endless relief work that has gone on in the past without any apparent aim behind it as far as the family and the home were concerned, and this has done more undoubtedly toward demoralization than any other factor.

I can never wipe from my mind the memory of the long, shivering lines of applicants on ration days, and they had been long and shivering for generations. Is it any wonder that the Indians had been condemned as hopelessly shiftless and degenerate? It has been a matter of considering them from the basis of the family as a unit, of social diagnosis, and of treatment. As far as the problems are concerned, they are practically the same there as elsewhere. In fact, I have often thought that we found the same case problems on the reservation as in the St. Anthony district of Minneapolis, and I might easily say the same of that whole rural stretch—dire poverty, enforced idleness, irresponsibility, overcrowded living conditions, filth, and disease; the same elements of normal life had to be brought into play whether in tent or tenement—work, play, health, and spiritual development.

Have you ever had the terrible experience of entering a magnificent cathedral, awe-inspired, only to fall through a trap-door into a dank, dark hole? I have stood in the country of snow-capped mountains and expanse of deep blue sky, so beautiful that God seemed very close, and have turned unconsciously from them to see an Indian encampment so filthy, so abject, that it was worse than falling through the dark hole.

There was Five Guns, who lived his years of civilization in the unfinished shack with an earthen floor, and whose squaw suffered from a horrible skin disease. For two years she had huddled under a pile of rags in the corner, and close to her, never moving, sat a mute, crippled daughter. This young woman, since the loss of her baby, had shunned association with others. Next door lived the son-in-law, and his family, making a pitiful and helpless effort to care for the aged couple.

It is unnecessary for me to say that proper medical care, visits from neighbors, an awakened interest for the despondent daughter ("friendly visiting" we would call it at home) a new, clean start in a log house with a floor, and industry for the men wrought wonders in two homes.

In another hut the grandmother is the support of a family of four sons and daughters and eight grandchildren. Living in the same room are a girl of seventeen with tubercular tendencies, a nephew of fifteen, a deserted mother with two chil-

dren, another daughter, and four illegitimately born children of whose parentage she does not know. The four-year-old child of the latter is afflicted with tuberculosis of the bone, but the mother refuses isolation. The grandmother owns a large ranch of hundreds of acres and horses, but prefers crowding into the hut in town because ranch life is so "lonesome." During the winter an old squaw and her negro husband with their adopted baby live in the house as visitors.

I have seen this family stand in line for supplies, needing more a regard for the laws of sanitation and morals. I have seen them of a summer's day, painted and feather bedecked, shriek and dance to their tom-toms and to the admiration of the tourist, while pests at home destroyed neglected crops. Little wonder that the more progressive members of the race weep as they speak of the helplessness of their brothers and the misunderstanding and misguided interest of the white man.

That same grandmother and her family responded, with individual attention, to the possibilities of schooling, medical treatment, employment, vocational training, and wholesome recreation. It became a matter of helping them to help themselves. We held case-conference committees composed of Indian wards and citizens, to consider the problems of the family. It has been a matter of deciding, for instance, what pressure could be brought to bear on one father to grant medical care to his crippled child; how to influence another to leave his wigwam in town to go back to care for his ranch; to discourage his nomadic habits, keeping him away from his annual eastern tours to perform, for white folks, antics in which he never indulged at home. The greatest problem undoubtedly is the training of the mother in the rearing of her children; that is one which involves years of supervision.

The family problems brought us into the larger affairs of the community, involving questions of employment, and enforcement of health and schooling regulations, and meant contact with town, county, and federal authorities.

We are not reckoning with a race that has lost hope. Of long standing is the Indian council, under direction of the Indian agency, which meets regularly to consider industrial and social problems. As a further progressive step there has recently been formed an admirable association of Indian men and women, whose purpose is "to advocate high standards of living, looking toward better-equipped homes; to carry out the co-operative spirit with the various branches; and to look forward to the working out of a five-year program that will place the Blackfoot Reservation first in its united effort for good homes, good citizenship, self-support and loyalty." A bill authorizing a five-year industrial program passed Congress.

It is interesting to note that the annual report of the Indian board of commissioners recommends that field workers should be "trained in the practice of social service . . . the importance and great value of which has been conclusively proved."

The public schools at Browning, Montana, in the heart of the reservation, have made a great contribution to this work. On their school staff for several years has been a public-health nurse, while an application has just been made for a visiting teacher. The home and the school problems are closely allied.

Like Long Time Asleep, we have abiding faith in the unlimited possibilities of case work among the Indians, knowing that it is not a waste of energy to strive for their social and economic independence, for with an appreciation of their problems and with carefully guided family work the race can be brought into possession of those rare qualities of independence and achievement which their ancestors once coveted.

THE HUMAN SIDE OF HOUSING

ARE WE LOSING THE BATTLE FOR BETTER HOMES?

*Bleeker Marquette, Executive Secretary, Better Housing League,
Cincinnati*

Not for decades has the housing problem been so acute as during the past two or three years. For almost the first time in recent history it has ceased to be a problem for the submerged tenth alone, and has hit squarely the people of moderate means. They are better able to understand today a thing that our underprivileged classes have long understood—what it means to lack an adequate supply of houses at reasonable costs.

An uphill fight.—We have been fighting a losing battle during the past three years. The war brought us victory, but it also trampled down our efforts to get better homes. Not only have we made no marked progress, but, more alarming, we have in many respects lost ground. For decades we have recognized the impossibility of building new houses that really poor people can afford to live in. Now even the family of moderate means finds it next to impossible to pay present-day costs.

During the past two years (1921 and 1922) there was a general lowering in the cost of living, yet during the same years rents have continued to climb, and, in most of our cities, are still climbing. Building costs decreased for a time, but last year they again made a 20 per cent advance. No city in the country built enough houses to take care of its yearly needs between 1917 and 1920. Last year saw a boom in home-building, but in practically no case was the number of homes built sufficient to make much of an impression upon the housing shortage. That building costs have increased out of all reason is indicated by recent statements issuing from leaders of the building and the banking field, in various parts of the country, and by the fact that many construction projects are being cancelled and banks are curtailing loans.

I have found it impossible to determine with certainty the relative increase in the cost of building as compared with the increase in wages. The figures I have been able to secure indicate that building costs are now 206 as compared with 100 in the year 1914, while the union scale of wages in all lines of work is 193 as against 100 in 1913. I am convinced from my own observations that building costs have risen more rapidly than wages and, that therefore the average workman is worse off so far as his housing is concerned than he was in the pre-war period.

Blow falls on weakest spot.—As usual it is the low-income group who have been hit hardest. They are the least able to pay; they have had the smallest increase in wages and the largest families, and yet their rentals on the whole have been more drastically increased than those of any other class. In Cincinnati, for instance, we know from an actual study made in 1918 that the average rental in tenements was \$3.25 a room per month, with a range from \$1.75 to \$6.50 a room. We resurveyed these same blocks this year and found the average rental had increased to \$5.30 a room, ranging from \$2.50 to \$12.50 a room. We have individual cases in some tenement districts where rentals have gone as high as \$17 per room.

The low-cost house passes out.—In Cincinnati we built a little less than 1,900 houses last year. Normally a large portion of the homes constructed each year would be of very moderate cost. We made a study to find out just what happened last year. We

found that 80 per cent of the homes built would cost, figuring only on the actual cost of construction plus the cost of the lot, more than \$6,000, and 90 per cent would cost more than \$5,000. This did not include any estimate of the speculative builder's carrying charges or his profit on his investment. It means just one thing; namely, that the \$4,000 and the \$5,000 house is being eliminated; it is almost as obsolete as the old-fashioned horse and carriage, with far more serious results.

Home ownership is recognized to be a great community asset, a stabilizer, an incentive to good citizenship. From 1900 to 1920 home ownership in this country has been gradually decreasing. In the sixty-eight cities of over 100,000 population the experience varied. Some lost in home ownership while others gained. Yet in every one of these cities there was a striking decrease in the number of homes owned clear and free. It is practically inevitable that present building costs, even if they decline in the near future, will bring about a further decrease in home ownership by 1930.

Effects of shortage severe on family life.—Who can doubt that the problem of the conscientious, hard-working laborer trying to find a home in which he can house his family and rear his children in reasonable decency and comfort is more distressing today than it has been for several years? The more children he has the more desperate is his situation. The man who is earning \$20 a week and has to pay \$30 a month for a four or five room flat is having to take it out of his family, living on poor food, less clothing, inadequate medical attention, or in some other of the essentials of a decent standard of living. Every family in the low-income group that has to pay more than one week's pay for one month's rent is a prospective victim of social breakdown and a candidate for charitable relief. Every family forced to squeeze itself into a flat with another family with four or five or six people to the room is courting the spread of communicable disease, and facing the danger of moral breakdown in the family life. We cannot go on with this distressing problem in home conditions continuing without paying the social costs.

May I present at this point a vivid picture painted by Lawrence Veiller, which should serve to give us pause when we contemplate just what it means that our laboring people should find it not easier but harder today to find a decent home within their means?

"Have you ever, even in imagination contrasted the day-to-day, night-to-night home life of the average well-to-do citizen with that of the slum-dweller?

"Your average well-to-do man wakes in the morning in his large, quiet bedroom, the air of which has throughout the night been freshened and tempered to his liking.

"Your slum-dweller wakes, unrefreshed, in the foul air of a small badly ventilated room which he has shared with several others.

"Your average man steps into a comfortable bath that soothes and refreshes him, shaves, and puts on clean well-fitting clothes.

"Your slum-dweller, on rising, stumbles in the twilight of his dark room over the shakedown beds of one or two children, and perhaps several lodgers, before he can find space to stand while he crawls back into coarse garments reeking with the sweat of yesterday's toil, and he washes in a handful of water poured into a basin.

"Your average man goes into a dignified pleasant dining room to eat an appetizing breakfast prepared for him by others.

"Your slum-dweller takes a chunk of butterless bread in his hand and, sitting or standing wherever he can find room, washes it down with a cup of indifferent coffee.

"Your average man, with a sense of well-being, lights his cigar and goes forth to his day.

"Your slum-dweller, with a grouch due to sheer physical discomfort, lights his pipe and shuffles down the ill-smelling hall of his tenement house.

"Your average man, in agreeable surroundings, has throughout the day varied and stimulating work, creative and with a purpose which he understands.

"Your slum-dweller throughout the day bends over one interminable monotonous task, brutal in its demands and deadening in its effect.

"At the end of his day your average man has his spin in a motor, sits down to a good dinner, reads, plays cards, dances, goes to the theater, or listens to music until he is sleepy and goes to bed in a clean warm bed in a clean fresh room.

"Your slum-dweller, at the end of his day, hangs from a strap in a car packed to suffocation, makes his dreary way from the crowded car past the garbage cans and refuse of the crowded street into the friction and discontent of his crowded home, to a wife discouraged by endless effort in a hopeless environment, and children to whom his best efforts have been able to give only this pitiful existence. He eats, on the corner of the overcrowded kitchen table, a plate of food which he is often too worn out to enjoy. At best he has afterward the vitiated air of the movies or the vitiated "hot air" of the I.W.W. gathering.

"All the conditions surrounding your average man have made for vigor of mind and body and for peace and contentment of spirit. He has had the stimulus of choice and the gratification of accomplishment.

"All the conditions surrounding your slum-dweller have made for discomfort of body and discontent of soul. He has no peace and no privacy, he has not even elbow-room night or day. He sees no beauty and has no repose. His neighbor's wash shuts out his small patch of sky, and he must close such insufficient windows as his room may have if he would not hear his neighbor's quarrels. He works without inspiration and finishes his day without satisfaction or hope."

Mr. Veiller's picture portrays the life of the man of the underprivileged class under the normal conditions of three or four years back. How much more distressing is his situation today?

An American garden city.—I should be sorry indeed to leave with you a picture characterized by so much gloom. Fortunately I am able to bring to you from Cincinnati one bright note. We are happy in having among our citizens a wonderfully foresighted and generous woman, Mrs. Mary Emery, who has long dreamed a dream of a beautiful garden city where all might have that cherished privilege of living in homes well planned, well built, comfortable, and surrounded by that ideal environment which modern city planning is able to produce. Mrs. Emery's dream is no longer a dream; it has begun to be a reality. There has started to grow up within nine miles of the business center of Cincinnati a garden city planned along the most modern lines, destined one day in the not distant future to house 1,000 families; a city named "Mariemont" from which such words as "slum" and "bad housing" shall be forever banished.

This ambitious undertaking will not be a charitable enterprise. There will be no stigma attached to residence there. It is a civic undertaking to be conducted strictly along business lines, but with a view of providing homes for people of varying economic grades, to retaining for them whatever increment there shall be in the land value, to preventing speculation in so far as it is humanly possible. Mariemont will be a normal

town in every way. There will be no unnecessary vexing restrictions to hamper the logical development of the town or to make it obnoxious to any type of family. It will be possible for the people living there to buy their groceries in Mariemont, to mail their letters, to attend their churches, to get books from their library—in other words, to meet all of their ordinary needs just as they would in any normal town. For these purposes business and public buildings will be provided as the need develops. The desire and the hope is, of course, to build some of the houses to reach people as low down in the economic scale as possible. It must be frankly recognized, however, that no housing development in this country within the last three or four years has been able to reach the very low-paid wage-earners. It is not to be expected that Mariemont will accomplish the impossible. Some of the houses will be built at as low cost as possible, but there will be a gradation of types up to the more expensive houses such as are found in any normal development. Building costs prevailing at the time home construction begins will determine the selling price of the houses. None will be sold or rented below cost.

A model in town-planning.—The plan of Mariemont has been made by one of our outstanding leaders in housing and city planning, John Nolen, of Cambridge, and it will be, we are sure, one of the finest examples of all that is best in town-planning. Mrs. Emery and her chief adviser, Charles J. Livingood, have been studying this field for many years, with the idea of Mariemont in the background of their minds. Mr. Livingood has studied the best that has been done in European countries, and has consulted many of the foremost minds in the United States. It took eight years for the purchase of the 365 acre tract of land alone. Yet one of the most remarkable things about this novel project is that until it was announced on April 23, 1922, at a meeting of the Commercial Club in Cincinnati when the general plan fully developed was presented by Mr. Nolen and Mr. Livingood, practically no one outside of that group of four or five people had the faintest suspicion of what was projected. Even the man who purchased the land had no idea of the purpose for which it was being bought.

The site of Mariemont consists of 365 acres of land—most of it level, but some of it hilly and rolling. It adjoins the Little Miami River along the shore of which will be provided the very attractive bluff drive and plaza. One-half of the land will be subdivided into building lots, of which there will be 750. One-fourth of the land will be given over to streets and one-fourth to public property, including a natural park, now beautified by a luxuriant growth of dogwood trees, a lagoon, an athletic field, public squares, and playgrounds. In the center of the town will be located the public buildings, the town hall, post office, public market, community building, stores, theaters, and schools. A hospital group will also be provided.

The public utilities for Mariemont will be designed along the most modern lines, will have a modern sewage system, a modern water system (water being supplied from Cincinnati) their own electric power plant and a central heating system. The initial cost of the utilities will be borne by the Mariemont Company.

Homes of various kinds for people of varying economic grades.—The methods used in providing houses will be those of ordinary real estate organizations except that dividends on the money invested will be limited and the primary aim will not be large profits. There will be various types of houses for various types of people, beginning in certain sections with the least expensive and gradually working up to the more costly types along the river drive. The number of families will be limited to six or seven families

to the acre in the major part of the development. The predominating type will be the single, detached home. There will also be artistically designed groups of four, five, and six houses separated by party walls; semi-detached houses; apartment houses, and perhaps other types. The room sizes will vary according to the need, the prevailing types being probably five- and six-room houses and flats. All conveniences will be provided. The houses will be built of different kinds of material, but practically all of them will be of the more permanent construction such as brick, stone, and stucco. The house lots will vary in frontage from 40 feet to 80 feet for the single houses, the group and semi-detached types having less frontage. A number of nationally known architects are now at work on designs and plans for the various types of homes.

A civic enterprise on business lines.—A realty company organized with a capital of \$2,000,000 will sell stock in the company and conduct the building operations. Cumulative 6 per cent preferred stock will be issued to attract investors, and common stock which will have the voting control will be issued with dividends limited to 7 per cent. Residents will be given an opportunity and will be encouraged to buy common stock in the company. Every feasible means will be used to prevent speculation, and the surplus profits will be put back into community development so that the residents of Mariemont will get whatever increment there may be in land value. Most of the single, detached houses will be for sale, while other types will be rented. It is hoped that ultimately all types will be sold. The company will not itself attempt to build all of the houses, but will sell lots under certain restrictions, assisting home builders by helping to provide loans through the building and loan associations of Ohio, which already have offered to loan \$2,000,000 for this purpose. When desired the Mariemont Company will build the houses for the prospective home owners.

While Mariemont is nine miles from the business center of Cincinnati, it is only one-half mile from one suburb and about two miles from each of two other industrial suburbs of Cincinnati, upon whose industrial workers it may draw for a considerable portion of its inhabitants. It is not expected that transportation will provide a serious problem, as it is felt that the size of the project will naturally draw transportation to it as the town develops. At the present time there is an interurban line running through one end of the property and connecting with a Cincinnati traction line. There is a bus service through the center of the proposed town and commutation service is available on the Pennsylvania Railroad. In addition to this it is, of course, expected that many will provide their own transportation by auto.

Provision for industrial development.—A plat of ground consisting of nearly fifty acres has been purchased by the Mariemont Company near the town for sale to factories desiring to locate near by. The land will be sold at low cost and Mariemont will be able to offer many inducements to factories, including railroad facilities, water, sewer, etc. One of the main highways leading out of Cincinnati will go through the center of the town and will be available for the use of industries which may locate in the vicinity.

The formal dedication of Mariemont took place April 24, 1923. The contracts have been let for sewer and water systems, and work will be begun in June. A side-track from the Pennsylvania Railroad has already been provided with a special stop called "Mariemont" and a warehouse has been constructed for the storage of perishable material. The company has purchased a stone quarry which is now being worked and which will provide stone for the making of roads and which also will produce an

excellent grade of building stone to be used in construction of the public buildings and perhaps some of the homes of Mariemont. A nursery has already been planted where trees and shrubbery are being cultivated in readiness for transplanting them to adorn the homes of the town as soon as they are constructed. Because of the size of the project and the care with which every detail is being planned the construction of the homes will probably not be under way for at least one year. The project will be pushed as rapidly as is possible consistent with the problems inherent in such an undertaking. *

Mariemont is one of the bright spots in the present, rather dark field of housing. It gives promise of being one of the most outstanding examples of what good housing is, and will, we hope, have some influence on the future of housing for people of moderate means.

MUST WORKING PEOPLE LIVE IN FRAYED-OUT HOUSES?

Mrs. Edith Elmer Wood, Cape May Court House, New Jersey

Is it an essential feature of our civilization that working people should live in frayed-out houses? Must the majority of wage-earners live their lives in dwellings that are dingy, second-hand, out at the elbow—the kind of place to which the young people hate to bring their friends, and in which neither father nor mother can possibly feel any pride? We don't expect working people to eat broken fragments of other people's food or to wear cast-off clothing. But we do, in America, accept with perfect philosophy a condition of affairs in which the rank and file of workers are born, live, and die in shabby, depressing, hand-me-down homes. Some of these homes are so bad as to be an active menace to health. Others, of higher grade, are dangerous only to morale and self-respect.

The speculative builder puts up no new houses for this great group of people, because there would be no profit in it. The professional lender does not advance them money to build their own houses for the same reason. This is not the result of high construction costs since the war. It has always been so. The high prices have simply enlarged the section of society affected. Must it always be so? In the United States, yes, until we change our view-point. In western Europe, and in several other parts of the world, it has already ceased to be true, because they have recognized the principle of community responsibility for housing in a positive as well as in a negative sense. In the United States we say, "You must not build a house which falls below certain minimum standards; you must not keep a house in filth or disrepair." There we stop and piously leave everything else to those Twin Sods of all the Babbitts—Supply and Demand.

People got it through their heads thirty years ago on the other side of the water that the kind of homes in which the children of a nation are reared is the most public sort of public concern—nothing more so; and that where private business initiative is not producing them in adequate quantity and quality, it is the duty of city, province, and nation to do so, as a public utility, on an at-cost basis like city water or gas. That was long before the days of subsidies. There was no question of subsidies until the rise of prices after the war.

Dr. Devine used to point out to us at the New York School of Social Work how every movement for social betterment is started by private initiative, and after it has

been tried out experimentally and proved its worth, is taken over on a larger scale by the public authorities. The generalization is very true, and the housing movement is no exception. Every stage can be traced in the British housing movement, and most of them in some others. Ours, alas, presents a sad case of development arrested at the very beginning.

The first comers in the British housing movement were the philanthropists and the employers of labor—Peabody, Ruskin, Octavia Hill, Lever at Port Sunlight, and Cadbury at Bournville—pioneers, pathfinders, experimenters. In their wake followed the public utility societies and the municipal housing bureaus. If Pullman's model town had been more wisely planned and managed, the housing movement in America might have had a different history. The early British experimenters found that good houses could be built for workers if the profit item were cut out, if the thing were made just to pay for itself, with some very modest return such as 4 per cent on the money invested (The same thing was also abundantly proved on this side of the Atlantic).

But large sums of money were needed, and philanthropists were scarce. Only one agency was big enough to supply the amount of capital needed at low enough interest to provide houses for, say, 10 per cent of the population. So government loans for housing were authorized on an at-cost basis; that is to say, the government loaned at the same rate of interest which it had to pay in borrowing. Great numbers of non-commercial societies, "public utility societies," as they are called in England, came into being to build with government loans. Later it was seen that even this did not go far enough, and that municipal housing was the only way of reaching to the bottom of the ladder.

The movement was getting its stride just before the war for a big, adequate solution of the housing problem along these lines. Hundreds of local authorities were building tens of thousands of cottages, and public utility societies were building other thousands. After the war, the inflation of construction costs made subsidies necessary if the building program was to continue. Subsidies were temporary. They were to be paid only on houses built during the three years, 1919 to 1922. They are already at an end in England and are nearly so in Holland. They have been extended till 1924 in Scotland, and in Italy they will last till 1925. All the controversies have been about the subsidies, not about the building program, as such.

England has undertaken to build a charming little cottage in a garden, with five or six rooms and a bath, hardwood floors, electric lights, and all the modern improvements, for every family within her borders. They are eight to the acre in most places and only ten in London. All remaining slums and near-slums are to be torn down, and it is to be done within about twenty-five years. Housing is one of the liveliest issues in British politics today. Do you realize what such a change as this is going to mean to health, morals, efficiency, family life, good citizenship, and human happiness generally? The whole standard of living is being raised to an entirely new plane. Approximately 1,000,000 people are living in something over 200,000 of these pleasant cottages which have been built since the war in a garden-suburb setting, among tennis courts, ball fields, and children's playgrounds. About 500,000 people had been supplied before the war, though the standard, especially of the earlier developments, was not so high.

So far we have been talking about Great Britain. But there is an uncommonly practical, methodical, hard-headed little nation to the south of the Channel, where the goal has been even more nearly reached. Do you know that in Holland, since the war

put a stop to speculative building in 1915, 174,000 dwellings have been built with government aid? One family in eight of the entire population has been re-housed during that time. The housing shortage will be extinguished in 1925. There will then be a dwelling for every family in Holland and a reserve of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of empties. From that point on, they will turn their attention to slum clearance. Part of the work is done by housing societies operating with government loans, and part by municipal housing departments. I venture to prophesy that in ten or fifteen years Holland will have become a 100 per cent properly housed nation; the first in the old world, as New Zealand very nearly is now in the new.

Belgium and France and Italy are well started along the same road. But the state of their finances, the rate of exchange, the devastated regions to rebuild, and the uncertainty as to reparations, make very large scale work impossible for the present. They are, however, building about as England was before the war, tens of thousands of good cottages and apartments. Besides municipal housing and housing by societies, there are also the various agencies for promoting home ownership.

We get worried periodically about our home-ownership statistics. Our percentage of home ownership fell from 46.1 in 1900 to 45.6 in 1920. We stand fifth among the nations of the world in this respect. Ours is almost the only civilized government in the world which lends no helping hand to working people trying to acquire a home.

In Belgium, since the passage of their famous housing law in 1889, upward of 83,000 working-class families have become home owners with the help of loans from the General Savings Bank. The interest rates are low, and repayment may be spread over twenty-five years in equal weekly or monthly installments.

In New Zealand about a tenth of the population have built homes for themselves with the help of loans under the Advances to Workers' Act of 1906. It is the simplest system in the world, the freest from red tape, and has proved so successful that it has been copied in all the Australian provinces. The working man and his wife drop into the nearest post office and look over the eighteen or twenty cottage plans and cost estimates which are kept there. Having decided what kind of a house to build, how much they need to borrow, and how long (up to thirty-six and one-half years) they want to take for repayment, they ask for an application blank, and, if necessary, the postmaster shows them how to fill it out. They hand it in as simply as though it were a money order. If the application is granted (and three out of four of them are), the loan is received and payments of interest and principal made through this same post office window. It is not by accident that New Zealand has the lowest death-rates, the lowest infant mortality rates, and the highest expectation of life of any nation in the world.

The question is, Are we too old to learn?

I proposed last Wednesday to the National Federation of Settlements that they should issue invitations to a number of national organizations to appoint representatives on a committee to consider and formulate an all-around, long-range national housing program. You will be invited, and I hope you will accept. But all that will take time. And while we are waiting for the formulation of our program, we need not be standing idle.

So I am going to suggest a concrete and practical next step, not in the least a panacea—rather a small thing, some will say—yet certainly helpful in the right direction as far as it goes, and so obviously just, fair, and equitable that it ought to excite little controversy. I refer to the utilization of postal savings deposits for housing loans.

These deposits are the workers' own money, their own savings. Who gets the use of them now? The national government and some 3,700 banks, state, national, and private, where part of the funds are deposited. The government's profit from these humble depositors last year was over \$3,000,000. That of the banks, not reported, was perhaps as much more. The government pays a 2 per cent interest to the depositors. It receives 2½ per cent from the banks for the use of their part of it, and much more from its other investments. The banks make a handsome profit by lending out what they receive at 6 or 8 per cent. Does that seem to you to be quite fair to the depositors, and they all the time living in shabby old houses because they can't afford to build new ones? Suppose the government, instead of lending the peoples' money to banks or investing it (for its own benefit) in liberty bonds, lends it back to such of the depositors who want to build homes for themselves at the same rate at which it lends to banks—2½ per cent? Doesn't the reasonableness of that appeal to you? To what a big economic group that would open up home ownership!

The housing division of Secretary Hoover's department recently figured that a man with a \$2,000 income might venture to build a \$4,000 house if he had \$1,000 and borrowed the rest from a building and loan association at 6 per cent. It foots up, according to the housing division, to \$550 a year, including taxes and upkeep, a rather heavy burden for a \$2,000 income, and certainly impossible for lower incomes. Reduce the interest to 2½ per cent, and you save at once \$112.50 on the annual charges. Increase the time for repayment to twenty-five years, and you cut down the yearly instalment of principal by \$60. This is a total reduction of \$172.50, leaving an annual charge of only \$377.50. On the same proportional basis that would open the chance for home ownership clear down to the \$1,400 income group. The chief trouble with this proposal is that the amount of the postal savings deposits is comparatively small—only \$138,000,000. There is not enough to go around. But surely a piece of a loaf is better than none at all. If half of the deposits were invested in mortgage loans averaging \$3,000 each, that would mean 23,000 new homes and home owners, a beginning quite worth while. And it is certain that such a use of the fund would attract a great many new depositors and revive its waning popularity.

This plan is no invention of mine. Holland has been making just this use of postal savings deposits for many years. The American Federation of Labor has been advocating it for the United States since 1913. It was one of the measures advised by Secretary Hoover during the summer of 1921. Bills have been introduced in Congress from time to time, but there has never been a wide enough public interest shown to push them through. There have also been periodic proposals to increase the interest rates. But it would do the workers much more good to be able to borrow for home building at a low interest rate than to receive a little more on their deposits.

Don't say, "That's a good idea," and then go away and forget about it. Let us do something here today, while we are all together, to start the ball rolling, so that at least these 23,000 working men and their families—over 100,000 people after all—can get away from their dark, shabby, uninviting, rented flats and have the joy of building the fresh little new homes all their own which they have long dreamed of vainly—that five-room bungalow with all the modern improvements and a garden, where pale anemic babies will grow rosy in the sunshine, where mother's work will be 50 per cent easier and 1,000 per cent pleasanter, where sister will be proud to invite her young man to call, and where father will spend his evenings because it is the pleasantest place he knows.

THE SCHOOL

THE STRATEGIC POSITION OF THE SCHOOL IN PROGRAMS OF SOCIAL WORK FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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How good indeed it is to be here among you, to meet old friends and make new acquaintances, to listen to the voice of these eminent men and women who pass among us like apostles, carrying with them such a power of thought and action and experience that there is something august in their presence. How good it is to watch again 4,000 American social workers, who have come from all parts of the country, bearing the heavy burden of their noble toils, and who will in a few days start again to their missionary posts, refreshed, enlightened, and inspired, with a new spark in their eyes and a new flame in their hearts. Yes, it is good indeed.

And it is good also to open my soul to you, and to tell about my experience and my hopes. I know you all want to hear something about the present European situation, and I will not disappoint you.

Time and again in the four years following the war breakdown looked imminent; bankruptcy, anarchy, and chaos seemed inevitable, and yet they have been held in check. Some unknown elementary energy has kept things going, and now I think one can safely say that things will be kept going. There is an evident adaptation to new conditions; there is a consolidation of the frail foundations on which the new Europe was erected; and there is a general tendency toward recovery. How much better, for instance, does Vienna look now as compared with its aspect a year ago; how different is the outlook in Russia when you remember that not so many months have passed since that country was stricken at the same time with famine, epidemics, and economic breakdown—all on a scale for which there is no comparison in history.

Two momentous changes have occurred. First, the system of big holdings, which was the rule in the eastern half of Europe, has gone; the peasant, who used to be in these countries little more than a serf now owns the soil. Two hundred million people have been liberated, economically as well as politically. This is not only a great human advance but it gives at the same time a firm basis for productivity and order, which are the main conditions of peace and prosperity. In the western half of Europe, where the peasant was already in possession of the soil, his material position has been considerably advanced; every mortgage has been repaid, and the rural community is now rich, if not satisfied—but they would never confess such a thing.

The situation of the working class has also been immensely bettered; the eight-hour day is a law throughout Europe, wages are almost everywhere fixed by agreement between the representatives of the workers and the delegates of the employers, old-age pensions and unemployment insurance have been introduced, and new facilities have been given for all children to gain access to higher education. Above all, there is a general recognition of the old claim that the worker is a partner in industry and must be treated as such.

In every country, health and social work have been put in the fore; ministries of health and welfare have been created; the struggle against infant mortality, tuberculosis, venereal disease, and mental disablement has gained strength and prominence; vocational guidance and training, physical education, libraries, playgrounds, and recreation agencies are all being developed rapidly. We refuse to waste any more our human resources, we intend to develop every child physically, mentally, morally, vocationally, and civically, so as to give him all which he is capable of attaining, and to get from him all he is capable of giving.

In this great movement the Red Cross has played a considerable part in certain countries like Czechoslovakia and Poland, a less conspicuous part elsewhere. It is, however, constantly gaining ground, and I think I do not exaggerate when I say that this is due to the vision of that great American, Henry P. Davison, whose premature death was an irreparable loss for mankind. When he initiated the League of Red Cross Societies, he wanted to make it a center from which a constant stimulation would irradiate toward every national Red Cross society. Many of these had not widespread roots in the nation, and very few did health work. Mr. Davison saw that in order to be efficient they had to be democratized, modernized, and turned to permanent activities, which means practically health work and social work. It has been feared that such a program could lead the Red Cross to overlapping with other agencies. This can be easily avoided if we remember that the primary function of the Red Cross is to supplement the action of other bodies. Let public or private organizations assume every activity they choose, the Red Cross will always have three great fields to cover: education, because this is an unlimited work which calls for every available resource; co-ordination, because voluntary efforts have to be made convergent and coherent; and experimentation, because pioneer work cannot be done by public agencies nor by organizations with a fixed program.

On these three lines the league has made itself useful by its publications; its film-lending service; its traveling units; by the training in public-health nursing, it has given in its London courses to forty-nine young women belonging to thirty-one different nationalities; by the organization of the Junior Red Cross, with its threefold slogan—health, civic service, and international co-operation; by bringing the Red Cross in contact with the workers' friendly benefit societies; by helping to start health demonstrations on the model of the Framingham Demonstration; by advising on the establishment of health centers; by bringing about the creation of national health councils in Belgium, Siam, and India; and by sheltering in its offices the secretariats of the International Union against Tuberculosis and of the International Union to Combat Venereal Disease, the latter association owing its existence to the league's impulsion. In all these achievements you recognize American examples and American principles. What the league has done is to extend over the whole world the benefit of your experience in the health field.

I have shown you the bright side of the European situation. Let us look at the dark side. There is still a great deal of material suffering, but much more threatening is the danger of future wars. There are no advocates of war left. People have ceased to profess that war is necessary to keep the nations physically and morally fit, for it has brought physical and moral decadence in its train. They no longer teach that war is inevitable in order to check the increase of population—some countries are crying in vain for more children. Then why eradicate disease, which makes a much wiser selection than war? If everyone condemns war, how is it that war is still possible?

I have asked the opinion of competent people in many countries, and they all have expressed themselves, in the same sense as did Secretary Hughes in his memorable speech, that war is not thrust on an unwilling nation by statesmen or capitalists. With public opinion dead against war, no government could declare it; statesmen would find compromises, and parliaments would accept concessions. It is the people who refuse to submit to them. I think the inner history of such abortive hopes as the conferences in Cannes and Genoa will go a long way to support that opinion, when facts are more fully known.

What makes war possible is first the fighting instinct, lurking in the depths of our souls from the cavemen on; secondly, a short-sighted view of national interests, for the satisfaction of which war may seem a quick if not easy or cheap way; finally, that chauvinism which is bred in every human group since the dawn of ages. Against these three factors the great influences which tend to mold the public mind, namely, the church, the press, and the school, have been hitherto unsuccessful. All three have failed so to inform or inspire the nations as to make war impossible.

The church and the press are outside my competence. I will confine myself to what I think can be contributed by the school, and if we remember that after all everything comes back to education, that each step forward which a nation takes is only made possible by education, we can expect much from the school.

The first point I want to emphasize is that simply teaching more about foreign countries, foreign languages, foreign institutions, does not serve our purpose. At the advent of each great invention, which has made transportation and exchange of thought easier, the fond hope has been entertained that war would become impossible. The telegraph, the railway, the steamship, the aeroplane, the movies, and the wireless were to achieve this result. These expectations have been thwarted, because the knowledge of each other is not enough to prevent strifes, or you would never have family quarrels. Sympathy must be added to knowledge and action must follow the guidance of knowledge and the trend of sympathy.

People who have traveled extensively are apt to be just as one-sided as are the sedentary folks. Describing a prominent contemporary, Galsworthy says: "He felt that foreigners were not quite safe, not quite sound, and must from time to time be made to feel this." The same opinion is shared by the majority of people in every country. We are all insulars, as Mr. Van Dyke says in his charming article on "The Insularity of Insulars." Most nations look on the rest of the world as they would on a zoölogical garden. This tendency of human nature is so ingrained that it does not limit itself to national feelings. There is a provincial prejudice, there is a local prejudice, there is a school prejudice; and Mr. Balfour at an Eton dinner had to remind his audience that even Harrowians are also God's creatures.

What is needed, then, is not simply the knowledge of the other fellow's viewpoint, but also the recognition that it is in principle just as good as ours.

As an American junior recently wrote:

I thought that foreign children
Lived far across the sea
Until I got a letter from a boy in Italy:
"Dear little foreign friend," it said,
As plainly as could be.
Now I wonder which is foreign
That other boy or me

That feeling is exactly what the teacher and the textbook ought to induce in every elementary school, high school, university, teachers' school, vocational school, evening school, and Sunday school. It ought to pervade every part of the curriculum. Religion, morals, civics, and economics will quite naturally lead to considerations on international co-operation and interdependence; the teacher will easily show that war does not pay, that it is not only contrary to humanity, but to common sense as well.

Languages and literature are the best approach to the psychology of foreign nations, but misunderstandings must be carefully guarded against. I used to know a teacher who casually remarked that in English you say to *pay* a visit and you speak of a love *affair*; that, he thought, smacked too much of business. He ought, on the contrary, to have warned his pupils against the idea that such an interpretation could be given credit. Even dead languages can teach us something; you know the familiar mistake which the beginner makes in translating the Latin word "barbarus" by barbaric, instead of foreign.

This opportunity must be seized upon to show that antiquity had no idea of the fraternity or equality of nations, as it had no idea of the fraternity or equality of men. And we ought not to conceal from our children, as we generally do, that the Romans and Greeks, for all their art, literature, science, and other achievements were cruel, obscene, and crude. That would put the Ancients in their right perspective as well as prevent undue and unfounded attempts at looking backward instead of forward.

Geography and history lessons, of course, open the best opportunities for the fostering of a sympathetic understanding between the nations, provided first that something really living is taught besides names and dates, and, secondly, that it is approached with an impartial mind. When showing that almost every nation has made war with every other nation, let us infer from this fact that enmity is not a thing to cultivate, and if the wars of the past seem to us futile or even criminal, ought not that to set us thinking about the wars of the present age? The history of the repeated attempts made at international organization, the common achievements, the war against disease, slavery, and ignorance ought to be insisted upon.

Science may contribute perhaps more than any other lessons to the broadening of the spirit. When you have heard of the number and the distances of stars, of the endless ages which have elapsed before man was born, of his slow and crude attempts at civilization, when you have reviewed the marvels which the microscope, the telescope, and the spectroscope keep in store for us, when you try to figure the titanic conceptions of an Einstein, can you come down from such an ennobling contemplation and be interested in pettyfogging disputes? Knowing what a contribution each nation has made to the treasury of common knowledge, can one maintain the claim that he belongs to a superior race, which ought to rule the world, this world so ridiculously tiny and short-lived if seen from the high cliff of astronomy?

Even in mathematics, drawing, music, gymnastics, games, sports, and vocational teaching, there are opportunities to show that each country has taken some valuable part in their development.

To sum up, teachers and textbooks ought not only to abstain from any attack, from any implication against other nations; they ought rather to infuse the pupils with the spirit of international understanding and co-operation.

At this point some of you will want to stop me and say this is already being done in American schools. I rejoice at it, and wish to see this example followed everywhere.

Those who know the old Continent, however, will object that no European government will allow such a teaching to be introduced, as it would kill sound national feeling and patriotism. That is why things must be made quite clear about patriotism and international co-operation—I purposely avoid the words internationalism and pacifism. As long as the wish for peace will be held as antagonistic to patriotism, as long as it will be considered as linked up with radicalism, anti-militarism, or socialism, governments and public opinion will turn a deaf ear to our demands. We have first of all to disentangle from any political connections the movement for peaceful relations between the nations. We have further to show that the sense of international co-operation is as natural, genuine, and necessary as patriotism, that it supports patriotism, that it proceeds from it, that it is built of the same material and spiritual elements.

The material element in patriotism is evident. Except in very special cases, the prosperity and well-being of the citizen is linked with the prosperity of his country. But is not that true also of the world at large? Is not the failure of Russia to export grain causing starvation, misery, or at least economic difficulties in the other European nations? Has not the impoverishment of the Continent created an unprecedented amount of unemployment in England? Is not American export business threatened by the inability of the Old World to pay in dollars? Just as the individual citizen wants in his own country liberty, order, and justice, so the individual nation wants liberty, order, and justice in the world at large, and this earth will not be a good place to live in until we have reached that stage.

Now for the spiritual element. The love for one's country is instinctive, and even the most internationally minded people remain national in the bottom of their hearts and in the deepest places of their brains. At the same time, the national spirit is not an original, autonomous creation, it has drawn at multiple sources. Our religion is Asiatic, our philosophy Greek, our law Roman. Every literature and every political system has reacted on the other literatures and political systems. There is a spiritual solidarity as well as an economic solidarity among the nations. International good will is but a legitimate and necessary expansion of patriotism, it is a guaranty and not a danger to the individual nation. When these ideas will be admitted and taught, something more will still remain to be done. It is not enough to learn; one has to practice. We have had the same experience with health. As long as health remained simply a subject-matter for lessons, very little progress was made. Once, however, health habits were practiced in the schools, thanks to the American Child Health Organization, to the Health Crusaders, to the Little Mothers' Leagues, and to the Junior Red Cross things began to change. But the Junior Red Cross is not only intent in giving the children an opportunity for practicing health habits it induces them to civic service and international helpfulness. From Canada and the United States, where the movement started, the Junior Red Cross has invaded the world with its five million school-boys and schoolgirls. It is organized or being organized in more than twenty different countries. Since 1919, the American Juniors have collected yearly among themselves more than \$1,000,000, which was sent to Europe for the establishment of summer and winter health camps, schools, playgrounds, libraries, gardens. Nearly 40,000 tables and chairs, as well as thousands of toys, were made by the Juniors of America and sent to Europe. Similarly the Czechoslovak Juniors have made 20,000 articles of clothing, which they have sent to Russian children, besides collecting 150,000 kroner and finding homes for 800 Russian children.

School correspondence, which has been made a part of the curriculum and includes the sending of collective letters as well as of portfolios containing photographs, drawings, and flowers, has been established by the Junior Red Cross between the United States and Albania, Czechoslovakia, England, France, Holland, Hungary, Italy, Rumania, Spain, Switzerland, Canada, South Africa; between England and her dominions and colonies; between Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, and several other European countries. Correspondence is sometimes supplemented by collective visits; I need only refer to the Bakule children to show how much can be expected from such fraternization.

These activities have gone a long way to make teaching easier and more effective. Take, for instance, the models and exhibits prepared by the Juniors, which are now circulating among the schools of Pennsylvania for the teaching of geography, think of these remarkable illustrated magazines edited by different national Junior Red Cross societies. The children have gained a new belief in their teachers; life, the life of the local community and the life of the world at large, has been introduced into the school; service has been taught and practiced. The Junior Red Cross is a great national as well as a great international force.

It is time to conclude. The school can foster peace by permeating itself with the spirit of international sympathy and by allowing organizations like the Junior Red Cross to inculcate in the children the habit to act along the lines of international co-operation. In order to start this work on solid ground, the relation of patriotism to international sympathy has first to be made quite clear and to be detached from any political movement. That is the program I beg to submit for your consideration.

I will only add two brief remarks.

First, about the temporary exchange of children, of undergraduates, of fellows, and of professors, between different nations. That is all to the good provided, first, that the selection is properly made, as well from the physical as from the intellectual, moral, and social viewpoint; none but the best ought to be exchanged. Secondly, it is necessary, before sending someone abroad, to inform him carefully about the country where he will proceed, about its ways of doing, of thinking, of feeling. Many serious misunderstandings, many failures would have been avoided had this been insisted upon.

My other remark will be about the universities. They ought to be far more international than they are now. There is no French science, no British science, no American science; there is just science, contributed by every nation, small and big. For any subject you study you have to look up books and periodicals, written in English, in French, and in German. I do not see how advanced study or research is possible for a man who is not able to read those three languages. Their knowledge ought to be made a condition for entering the higher studies. And I believe university professors ought to have worked at least three years abroad, preferably one year in an English-speaking, one year in a French-speaking, and one year in a German-speaking university. If these two conditions could be gradually introduced, the whole intellectual elite, instead of being, as is now the case, brought along the lines of purely national education, would share in what is really the humanities—human culture as a whole. Pending that reform, some universities have started courses on foreign nations, as a kind of international initiation, which is an interesting experiment.

I have finished. The great enemy of mankind, the passion which has defaced history, filling it with horrors incredible and innumerable, is intolerance—religious intolerance, political intolerance, social intolerance, international intolerance. From the two first fields it may be said that intolerance has been pretty well driven out. Religious and political freedom are guaranteed by the constitution of every country in the world, and if some outbreaks of religious or political fanaticism are still to be witnessed, they may well-nigh be regarded as exceptions. This is no mean progress, if we remember that three centuries ago the whole of Europe was ablaze with religious wars.

Social tolerance has also advanced far. We seldom hear now those sweeping declarations which one was used to thirty years ago—that there is no social problem, that poverty is a just punishment for the lazy, that the wealthier must enforce their rule with an iron hand. On the contrary there is a growing interest for social problems, and I may remark here that our schools of social work are not only visited by those who intend to make it a profession, but also by girls who simply want to know more about the world they are living in. With social work becoming more and more scientific, with the progress of sociology and the humane tendencies pervading industry and administration, we may rest satisfied that we are not all too far from social tolerance. One has only to think of the great peasant revolts of the past centuries, of the revolutionary outbursts among the working men in the nineteenth century, to see that things are following, on the whole, a smoother course.

The great need is now in the international field. There the enemy is still holding his ground, and clinging fast to it. The reason is that no great organized effort has as yet been made against war. We have left things very much to themselves. We must take hold if we will conquer war as we are conquering ignorance, as we are conquering disease, and as we are conquering destitution; and in this momentous struggle the social workers will be foremost, because they are able to influence the authorities, the school and public opinion, because theirs is a spirit of tolerance and good will—of which I will mention only this one instance, that in the League of Red Cross Societies it was the French delegate who demanded the admission of Germany—and because social workers never interrupt their international task. With the declaration of war, all interchange of people, all exchange of goods, of documents, and of thoughts is stopped; railway lines, telegraphic and telephonic wires are cut, roads are barred, in the air itself a dividing line is established; yet there are privileged people whose benevolent work recalls to the nations, intent on destroying each other, that those who fight and suffer and die in desperation are, on the one side as on the other side of the line, still human beings, with wounds that need dressing, with moral pains that need alleviation, with wives and children and fathers and mothers who deserve sympathy and aid. When humanity is to be found nowhere else, it revives in the social worker, in the Red Cross worker, who do not believe in hates, who cannot be reconciled with killing, and whose inspiration and sacrifices will so arouse the conscience of mankind that at last the nations will reap the fragrant harvest of peace, of lasting and sacred peace.

THE STRATEGIC POSITION OF THE SCHOOL IN PROGRAMS
OF SOCIAL WORK, FROM THE POINT OF VIEW
OF THE SOCIAL WORKER

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Failures from that of the small boy who cannot meet the commercial standard for "errand" intelligence and of the young girl stenographer who cannot spell to the consummate failure of citizens and ideals in a democracy are blamed upon the public school system. This is true to such an extent that Dr. Dewey has suggested that progress in education could only be properly tested if the educatee would sue the educators for malpractice, for damages because of mind-wandering, loss of scientific curiosity, and other disabilities incurred while under the guidance and training of school systems!

The social worker is not the least of these critics, and the Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work are filled with complaints about the rigidity of curriculums, the smugness of administrators, and the general disadvantages of this system in our midst. A prominent social worker told me not many years ago that the best superintendent of schools in this country was so ideal because he knew nothing about education and realized his limitations! Fortunately, the abused system is still somewhat self-complacent and refuses to go out of existence. I say fortunately, for with all its faults it is the greatest and most potential channel for social service. Then, too, it may profit by thrusts and jibes, until some day it challenges the social worker concerning his progress in educating the public for social and preventive ideals versus relief, or concerning the best method of financing his plans. Or, far worse, the secrets of the social worker's efficiency may be absorbed until the school takes over all social service functions, leaving us stranded and jobless.

The position which the school now occupies in programs of social work is that of translation into training, through a re-fashioned and enriched curriculum, the important factors in social diagnosis. The social worker insists that the inheritance, environment, disposition, experiences, and recreations of the child must be taken into account in the educational process. The school has long been accustomed to making its curriculums on authority. It has not acknowledged responsibility for the child's failure as well as claimed credit for his success. The child's life outside the schoolroom and after leaving school has been of no interest either to teacher or to administrator, and hence from outside the system has come the dent in this rigidity and stereotyped routine. Critics have arisen from every group in society who have insisted that the increasing maladjustment of the adult to his occupational and social life must be due to an educational procedure which has disregarded the needs and characteristics of the child as an individual and the realities of the world of experience which the child enters when he leaves school. May I give some illustrations of this demand on the school from outside?

Twelve or fifteen years ago complete indifference of the school system toward the working child and especially toward the issuance of the work permit caused many social workers to attempt to secure a different attitude. The method of issuing these certificates, the vast amount of social and industrial information relative to the child's welfare, and the singular opportunity for "guidance in the acquiring of experience," seemed the source of all knowledge for the child's education. After persistent efforts

to arouse the school's interest in this function, results were obtained in many different directions. In some centers health inspection and training were greatly increased, in others careful placement and guidance were established. In Cincinnati the definite reaction on the schools from this body of work-certificate material resulted in the establishment of a central bureau for mental and social diagnosis of the child, for guidance and research, and many procedures such as classes for superior and rapidly moving children, classes for retarded children, scholarships for superior children, observation classes,¹ investigation of homes, adjustment of pre-delinquent cases, cumulative record card, and occupational studies. Similar demands have been made upon truancy and attendance departments. Through case work and family rehabilitation many varying causes for truancy have been disclosed. These causes and the necessity for "closer co-operation between the schools and those who call themselves 'social workers' in all our large cities" were vividly brought to our attention several years ago by Miss Abbott and Miss Breckinridge.² Gradually the school has come to realize that its former truant police officer must be replaced by a visiting teacher. The formal visit ending with the usual threat must give place to the visit which has as its object a thorough understanding of the child's home atmosphere, his activities after school, and his mental and physical condition. This knowledge of the child's complete background often reveals the real causes for irregular school attendance, deplorable home influences, retardation and discouragement in the class, neglected physical handicaps, behavior problems, and many other circumstances which constantly distract the child from normal effort and study. Besides urging these social viewpoints, constant pressure is being made upon attendance and work-certificate departments for more informing and accurate statistics. Child accounting, school census, and employment data should be the vital statistics of the school system. The behavior problems have caused the emphasis to be placed on the adjustment of these cases within the school system, before they become juvenile court cases. This so-called "predelinquency method" justly throws upon the school the responsibility for detecting the child's first signs of maladjustment and preventing its most serious expressions. The constant maladjustment of the child to his occupational world has aroused the public to the need of knowledge and facilities for vocational guidance. It is most apparent that the difficulties now presented to the social worker refer the instability of the adult back to his maladjustment in his first contact with the work and experience. This is true not only for the child who early enters industry, but also for the highly endowed child, who, unable to secure more education because of poverty, is crushed with disappointment and is forever lost to the group which society lamentably needs increased instead of depleted. We are constantly blinded and deceived about the importance of conserving these children through extended education by the embellished and sacred history of the self-made man. Financial assistance for these promising children in scholarships is a growing function within the schools, developed through the case method of serving individual needs. Through all these criticisms, suggestions, and social methods there is the persistent demand for a thoughtful,

¹ For the history and analysis of the observation classes see Helen T. Woolley and Elizabeth Ferris, *Diagnosis and Treatment of Young School Failures*, Bulletin (1923), No. 1., Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education. In the summary Mrs. Woolley gives an illuminating presentation of the relation of the school to social work.

² Edith Abbott and Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, *Truancy and Non-Attendance in the Chicago Schools*, University of Chicago Press. (1917.)

carefully drawn picture of the child in his school experience, which is now attempted in the cumulative record as it passes with him from grade to grade.

These illustrations of changes and developments in educational methods have been given as evidence that the schools are proceeding on a theory of education which does not take into account the needs of the child as an individual and hence the most fundamental needs of the community. As a result of this procedure, the practice of education does not become concrete in the social conduct of the child, and it cannot attain its rich promise of citizenship until school administrators and teachers heed these demands and constructive criticisms.

These illustrations also demonstrate the potency of the schools as a channel for social service, unquestionably and incomparably the most far-reaching of all channels in the community. That the social worker recognizes this as the most effective means for mitigating the ills of society is apparent not only through these criticisms but through the increasing prominence given to the school in programs of social work. We have not only circumstantial evidence of this attitude, but today we have before us written and irrefutable testimony. For the first time, I think, in the history of this conference the schools have been given a place on the annual program equal in prominence to that of the home and other long-established centers for social service. Review for a moment the subjects of the papers and discussions in the program of the division on the school: physical health, the physically handicapped, mental health, the mentally handicapped, occupational life, social case work, sex education, recreation, social work with adults, responsibility for children under five years, training for parenthood, international relations, and social consciousness. We have here presented almost the entire gamut of social service which the social worker cannot put into effect unless the schools incorporate the ideals and facilities here suggested for dealing with these conditions. Again and again we face a blank wall of indifference, ignorance, and passive endurance on the part of the public, which can only be penetrated through the door of the schoolroom. This, containing its group of children, gives instant, amazingly effective access to the adult and to the community. It is very easy for the social worker to condemn the school system as utterly futile and deadening, but we constantly find the same worker helpless before the task of educating the public without the co-operation of the just discarded system. We must use it, we must not cease to urge upon it the needs and realities of the community as we find them, and we must remember the school system belongs to us as well as to the educator; but for reconstruction, not merely for vain condemnation. The Red Cross does not cease to function through the schoolroom when the immediate emergency is over, and is today conducting its social, fundamental work in school programs.

Many schools have taken these suggestions and criticisms as a technical basis for reclassification of children, reorganization of study material, and a closer supervision of the individual child in school, play, and work, as I have intimated. But they have not attempted the task of interpreting these facts, their hidden meaning, or their intellectual as well as informational value to the child. The attempt and the solution present the undisputed province and leadership of the school. As the social worker brings from his laboratory of human relationships material rich in its awful depths of failure and despair, its supreme reaches of achievement and joy, the school must be prepared to transform this material into revived educational methods and then return it to the community in a new, social educational practice of the child. Dr.

Dewey may be right, we may not be able to accomplish the translation of this knowledge until teachers are given a more "exacting and comprehensive training in science, philosophy, and history," until we have "a definite knowledge of just how results in terms of human disposition and quality are achieved." But his philosophy and that of William James holds always before us the "faith"—the possibility of deliberate direction of the formation of human disposition and intelligence—of concrete educational practice and results. President Pritchett evidently finds nothing in public education but a vain attempt to give tangible, concrete training. At least he should have presented a balance sheet of assets for his appalling sheet of wasteful expenses and liabilities. His solution of closing schools and ceasing to educate is an easy way out, but not the way which we should countenance. I take it that we stand ready with the Worker's Educational Association of England to declare that tangible results and assets can be secured in educational practice when our educational systems "promote serious thought and discussion on the fundamental interests and problems of life and society."

Perhaps President Pritchett should take into account these problems and interests of our acquisitive society. Such consideration might reveal the fact that because they are allowed by an unseeing public only haltingly and inadequately to face these problems in their curriculums, the schools fail to meet the needs of children. The interpretation of social facts, the readaptation of instruction to present-day realities, will place the schools in a strategic position, not only in social programs, but also in the life of every human being under their guardianship. The social worker, who day after day has placed hundreds of children in industrial occupations, has persuaded the schools to "promote serious thought" on the problem of occupations and their relation to curriculums by careful and painstaking analysis of these occupations. This has not always been an edifying study, because careful investigation of these routine tasks shows a lamentable lack of educative content. The attitude of the school toward the problem of routine and monotony must be more definite, the interpretation of the facts more fearless. We must not cease to educate the child for his occupational life, no matter how limited his ability, but we must know more about the processes, conditions, and rewards of the occupational world. We may need to drop the pretense of training children for a specific task, and to develop within the school a wider range of vocational activities, a more definite instruction for the use of his leisure time, in order that the disadvantages of the routine job into which he goes and stays will be offset.

The schools may also interpret the facts of society to mean that the chief asset of education is not the acquisition of material possessions, as the world of business would evidently have us teach, but is the acquisition of ability to work at a chosen task with happiness and imagination. Such an asset President Pritchett may also have overlooked. Indeed it will forever be lost sight of unless the schools with vigorous courage and unmistakable meaning modify the present standards of success which now almost totally conform to the standard of a society bent only on acquisition. In such interpretations, in such adoptions of social methods, the school will declare its belief in the educational value of experience wisely and frankly studied.

The school system should not attempt to assume all the functions of social service, it should rather acknowledge its dependence on social agencies in abolishing and mitigating the hindrances and distractions which beset the child's effort to secure an education. Knowing its power and influence in the community because of its authority over the child and hence its open sesame to the family, the school should seek for assist-

ance through every avenue of science and service to remedy the ills of childhood and manhood. These menaces and ills disclose themselves in the school more quickly and concretely than anywhere else. The administrator and, above all, the teacher should be trained to detect the real source of difficulty for the child, and should look upon social groups as guides and friends, not as busybodies and time-consumers, in the effort to release the child from its burden. The agency must also realize the overwhelming odds against which many teachers are now struggling—the cumbersome machinery of the system, the traditions of the public, and a lack of fundamental training. But working together the social worker and the teacher will come to an appreciation of the school's strategic position in the community because of its hold on the child, a position which can be strengthened and clarified by constant interchange of method and practice.

You have sorely missed, as I have, in this our anniversary conference, the presence of Miss Addams, whose absence in far-distant lands made her attendance impossible. You will regret, as I have, not to have heard her tonight, as had been planned, and to have had her more authoritative, creative presentation of this subject than I have given. Years ago in a conference address, in defining social service, with her singularly far-seeing vision, she gave that which represents the goal of both social service and the school, "the science and art of human fellowship." To give the child a better understanding of this the greatest of all sciences, this exquisite art through a knowledge of his environment and the realities of his experience is our common task. Because the profound meaning of Miss Addams' words comes to us again in the words of that other great philosopher: "If we do not know our environment we shall mistake our dreams for a part of it, and so spoil our science by making it fantastic, and our dreams by making them obligatory. . . . It is time some genius should appear to reconstitute the shattered picture of the world. He should live in the continual presence of all experience, and respect it; he should at the same time understand nature, the ground of that experience; and he should also have a delicate sense for the ideal echoes of his own passions and for all the colors of his possible happiness."

THE RELATIONS OF THE SCHOOL TO SOCIAL WORK

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No one doubts the precariousness of the position in which civilization finds itself today. Industry has been going through a riot of profiteering; government has been either tyrannical, or contemptible, or both; the church has not known whether it was coming or going; morality has been either falling over a cliff or chained in some ancient crevice in the rocks; the school has become a machine which turns out endless areas of mediocrity, which school men measure and then denounce as a menace to the nation. Public opinion was debauched almost beyond cure by the mendacities of war-time. Civilization has been and still is in a precarious position.

For the most part we seek easy ways out of difficulties. We are willing to let "strong men" take over the job; strong men in industry, government, and public opinion. We are undergoing a great enthusiasm for Mussolini, the revived incarnation of Ancient Rome, who has taken the "fasces" of the empire as the symbol of his iron rule. If you would know the end of Mussolini, read of the end of Rome. The world

cannot, and will not, long endure the strong man who makes puppets of the rest of humanity. We have been willing to exalt the state, or to let the state exalt itself. We have thought of the state as the instrument of our salvation. But we are finding that most states are manned by officials who are more remote from the currents of constructive thinking than are the majority of common men. A state ruled by belated men can never save us from anything. We have watched machines doing wizard tricks, and we have almost come to believe that our salvation is of the machine. "Machinery saved us in the great war," we say, "therefore, let us build machines." But the machine that does our work wants also to do our thinking; it wants to run our institutions, government, religion, and schools. We have not learned what a machine is for. We forget that the machine that saved us ruined Europe, and that it is going far to our own ruination.

And so I come, tonight, to speak for the reality, the dignity, and the freedom of the human spirit. There is no easy way out of the precarious position in which we find ourselves. We face the problem of world civilization. Social work is an item in that problem. Any program of social work that is laid out without reference to the future of civilization may be sentimentally admirable, but it will be intellectually futile. A social worker in some by-way of the world may be excused if he works and plans as for a narrow parish. But the social workers of a nation, gathered for the fiftieth annual meeting, must have achieved world-outlooks and the sense of world-responsibility. We face nothing less than the problem of world-civilization; a problem which grows greater with the years.

Education might be the way out, but education is asleep. Schooling is not the way out. Schooling is too largely training in the acceptance of the *status quo*. Schooling is too easily subordinated to institutions, to tradition, and to the sanctions of ignorance and old loyalties. Schooling glorifies the past! But the salvation of the world is not in the past; it is in the future, and schools know practically nothing about the future. Schools have, for the most part, never heard of the future. The school occupies a strategic position for holding the mind of childhood to futilities. The orgy of repressive legislation of the last five years indicates what the forces of intolerance and reaction think of the schools: they find them the best of all instruments for molding minds to dead pasts, to fixed institutions, and to ferocious loyalties that resolutely refuse to have anything to do with reason. Hence, if I am to say anything positive, I must pass by the school. I must rather discuss education in relation to the problem of civilization. Social work deals with some of these problems. Education *might* occupy a strategic position, not alone in social work, but in politics, industry, morality, and religion. If education should ever succeed in breaking through the institutionalisms of the school and in releasing the latent or repressed intelligence slumbering there, the school would become significant for the future, too.

Before speaking further of education, I want to mention some alternative programs upon which we are all more inclined to depend. We want short cuts, easy ways out of our problems. The long task of the ages does not thrill us; we want to find a way of getting the job done so we can go to the ball game! I speak of three alternative programs.

The first of these we may call benevolence. This program has many variations, but always it provides for control or progress by bribery. The bribe may be food, clothing, shelter; it may be money, social standing, the favor of the elect, or the shadow

of power; it may be the promise of a better life in some other world. But always it is a means of inducing some part of the race to remain in some form of *status quo* while the rest of the race enjoys large income from the invested bribe. Some social work has been and is benevolent. The second of these programs of control or of progress is legislation. This program has a considerable reputation among Anglo-Saxon peoples. It is a method of control, or of progress, in which the will of a few is not infrequently imposed on the many through the use of certain primitively compelling sanctions such as patriotism and loyalty, while in the shadowy background are the fears that always wait upon the symbols of authority. The "state" is a great power which various groups struggle to control, hoping to secure the use of its compelling sanctions for their own special purposes. Modern developments, in the direction of the control of individual conduct by legislation, give some basis for the charge made by Hillaire Belloc that we are moving toward a servile society with individual liberty completely subordinated to the state. Social work has championed a good deal of legislation that has had this taint, though legislation has its proper place even in a democracy. The third of these programs is militarism. Here, of course, the state appears openly as the expression of force. Not the state alone, however. Not infrequently groups within the state borrow the weapons of force and, in the name of control or of progress, practice what the state preaches. If this practicing reinforces the theory and prestige of the state, this usurpation is likely to be winked at. In a sense, indeed, the state belongs to that party, within its body politic, which can take charge of it. This is the doctrine of much of Europe, today; at least of South Europe. This is "fascism"; this is the method by which the Roman Empire civilized the barbarians in the German woods. Some of our best American "social engineers" are advocates of this program of progress.

There is something fascinating about each of these programs. But we must consider them critically. There is something better for men, more effective in social control and surer for social progress, than benevolence. If we could escape from our dero-gating benevolence, we might be able to achieve a little generosity and understanding. There is something better in the world than legislation, something surer for social control, more substantial for progress. If we could escape from our orgy of legislative intolerance, with its aftermath of non-enforceability, we might be able to achieve a consensus of opinion which would be self-enforcing, because it would rise out of the minds and wills of the people, not rest upon their ignorance and their inertia. There is something better than militarism for men, for progress, for civilization. If we could get rid of our worship of machines and our dependence upon force; if we could come to believe in the naked dignity of the human spirit, not as debauched by war or revealed in the writings of decadent poseurs, but as shown in a few great characters; if we could dare to ask ourselves what has produced great characters; if we dared to work for the conditions that produce great characters, disdainful of all short cuts, we might be able eventually to achieve understanding and love.

But of this we may be assured, benevolence never created love; love never was legislated into the heart of any man or woman; militaristic force never engendered an iota of love. Such programs work in the wrong direction. We hand down charity to people, expecting them to love us, we pass laws regulating the loyalties and conduct of men and women and we expect them to be grateful, we pour armed forces across the lives of men and we expect them to wake up some morning filled with love. Such things do not happen! But, on the other hand, there is nothing in the world better

than education, if we can understand what education means in the democratic sense. I do not mean schooling; nor inculcated information, nor propaganda; nor that servility of mind which comes of subordination to political, religious, economic, or moral sanctions that are mere survivals from the past; nor any imposition of a traditional program by the few upon the many. I speak of education as that word is used by the great prophets of democracy today. I mean that release and enrichment of the experience of children and adults, alike, by which constructive habits and skills in line with the individual's native tastes are developed; by which the emotions are freed and assured; by which the intelligence is exercised and judgment is practiced until it is ready to accept responsibility and the native energies and initiatives become operative in the criticism, the reorganization, and the progressive control of the world. Of course, we are not getting that education from the schools. Few schools understand that such an education is possible.

The most intelligent work in our schools today is directed to the care of ineffectives. The crippled, the blind and deaf and dumb, the stutterers, the retarded, the mentally defective, the neurotics, and the psychopaths—extraordinarily intelligent work is being done with these. Of course this work is directed to the cure of cases, not to the determination and elimination of causes. For example, some specialists hold that our schools help to produce cases of *dementia praecox*. We build many hospitals for the care of these cases. So far, however, we seem to hesitate to ask whether they ought to have become cases in the first place. But in dealing with normal children we are still in the academic drift. Our schools have a little vocational education and guidance; but we interpret the word "vocation" wholly in terms of jobs in industry, and existent industry at that. We have a few visiting teachers, but our schoolrooms are in almost total ignorance of what goes on in the homes or streets or back alleys of the community. We are developing a little formal-mindedness which we hope will become operative in the world, sometime.

We were stimulated by war-time problems to pay a little attention to sex education; but we are either stupidly unintelligent about most of this, or we are enthusiastically foolish about it. As for the social backgrounds within which the life of children goes on, we are careless and suspicious of knowledge. For example, a recent report of the bureau of education, based on statistics carefully gathered from 6,624 high schools in the United States having an enrollment of 1,183,048 pupils, shows but 36,652 of those pupils have any chance in the high school to study sociology or social problems. That is to say, a trifle more than 3 per cent of our high school students get even the slightest comprehension of the meaning of the social life that flows all about them. They go out into the complex industrial world with no understanding of its processes or its economic bearings. They live in the twentieth century, but their minds belong in the seventeenth century.

The school man is, in general, satisfied with the school, today, except that we would make it more efficient. He does not always realize that making a questionable instrument more efficient makes its deficiencies more effective. The educator would like to see education become the accepted and central program of national and world civilization. He wants to see all the science and the social wisdom of the race concentrated to certain great educational ends, even though that should make social work unnecessary. He wants children to have the chance to grow up healthy; with plenty of opportunity for vigorous play; with full opportunities to learn to work and to want to

work; with real responsibilities suited to their years, and by means of which they may learn to become responsible; with an accepted place in the life and industry of the community; with a surely developing appreciation of science and the scientific outlook on life and the world; with an appreciation of beauty and humanizing culture; with a belief in the value, the dignity, and the reality of human life; and with a growing sense of the international community of humanity. The educator knows, of course, that these things cannot be taught in schools. Schools kill such things. He knows that children can never secure such values except as we adults shall become willing to make a world in which these values shall be so real as to commend themselves to children as of the nature of the world. Until such time as we seek these things for ourselves, we shall probably have to be content to see our children growing up without them.

If, however, we should ever come to want them, we should find ourselves committed to a program of civilization that would envisage four changes, at least: first, government as the instrument of co-operation of all the people in the production of a good life for all, which would mean that government must be more interested in educating and so freeing the individual than in legislating him into intolerable subordinations; second, the church as believing in the dignity and worth of the human spirit, and as having the courage to speak for the values of the spirit against every encroachment of machines, whether of the past or of the present, which would mean that the church must be more interested in educating itself in the realities of the world than in maintaining ancient fortresses in a dim past; third, the home as something more than a biologically primitive institution standing upon metaphysical and religious sanctions; which would mean that any marriage must be recognized as a relationship within which education is not prohibited either by God or man, and if education should lead to the end of any particular marriage relation, then let that fact be accepted in all honesty; fourth, business and industry as instruments by which the materials for the support of these ideal values are provided; which would mean that industry, in respect of its aims, must be recaptured from the machine and turned to the service of humanity. The machine is an indispensable means, but an intolerable ideal, in industry.

Now, all this is a statement of ideals, not of realities. Realities are very different from ideals. But ideals may become realities. Not of themselves, however. Ideals are no longer self-realizing. If any ideal is to become real it must be organized into our living, into our attitudes of mind, and into our habits. That is to say, its values must eventually, get down into our education. But the establishment of such ideals as these calls for a different sort of mind in the common life: for a co-operative mind; a mind with a free, moral outlook on life and the world; a mind that can criticise and, if need be, forsake its former presuppositions and traditional prerogatives; a mind that can distinguish between gold and fool's gold in the values of life. The production of such a mind waits upon an education that can deliberately will to develop an intelligence that can become consciously operative in understanding, criticising, reconstructing, and extending the moral life of humanity. Not a subordinate mind, but an independent and, at need, a creative mind.

There is no ultimate hope for civilization in benevolent men, or dominant men or militaristic men, or in men who are merely strong. The human race has played and may long continue to play with such conceits as these. But, soon or late, we shall learn that there is no hope for humanity except in humanity itself. The *Deus ex machina* is a myth invented by lazy minds to justify their indolence. Humanity

demands freedom from its old ignorances, its fears, and its subordinations to dead pasts. We must have an education that deliberately attempts to enfranchise every human being for his intellectual and moral responsibilities as a member of the human community. No dead past, no mechanistic or intellectualistic present, may prevent this.

We can try, as we have tried, every other possible program. We can aspire and hope, and die of hopes deferred. We can legislate and violate all our own laws. We can work hard, producing more, and find ourselves poorer than when we began. We can patch and mend the holes in our social fabric, only to find that holes grow ever larger. We can love, and suffer for it. In desperation we can stir up a whirlwind of revolution and tear down all that the past has achieved, build a new society from the ruins, and find ourselves where we were at the beginning. In all such programs we are lost inside a vicious circle. If we really want that changed new world, we must consent to break the circle and let the new come in!

The school knows nothing about new worlds; it is a part of the drift. But the educator will face the new world. He will challenge politicians and statesmen to show cause why government should hold the loyalties of men unless it is worthy of those loyalties. He will challenge the churchman to prove that dogmas really protect the spiritual interests of mankind. He will challenge the industrialist to let the light of understanding into the grooves and routines of productive processes. He will ask social workers whether they cannot, in large measure, make themselves unnecessary. He will hold that such social problems as unemployment, poverty, and the disorganization of industry can be solved, little by little, as men are free to apply their intelligence outside all considerations of vested privilege. He will insist that social problems will begin to solve themselves as soon as we accept them as problems and admit that they are social problems. The educator will even go so far as to challenge the schools to become centers of free, social intelligence, believing that they can thus become real factors in the solving, not alone of our social problems, but all our other problems, national and international, as well.

Let no one assume that this will be a short cut, an easy way out. We face nothing less than the problem of future civilization. The solution of a problem means that conditions in which the problem does not exist have been set up. The solution of a social problem implies a social world in which that problem does not exist; that is to say, a solution of a problem implies change. But social change is not a metaphysical abstraction. It means that you and I, our social world, our institutions, and our relationships have been so reconstituted that our living, personal and social, will be, somehow, different in the future. Of course, we have prayed for this changed world, but we do not believe in prayer. We have written sonnets to it, but a sonnet is poetry. We have often legislated it into existence and ignored the laws. We have sent armies to fight for it and found that neither the armies nor the statesmen back of them knew what we were asking for. And we ourselves have never accepted this doctrine of change in our own feeling or will. We have never made our lives conform to it. We have toyed with it and recommended it to our children. We have hoped the next generation would relieve us from the necessity of changing overmuch our own ways.

Social workers are likely to be overimpressed by what they see in the schools, from a distance. They are likely to see the rather intelligent work for ineffectives, and to conclude that all school work is as intelligent. They are not likely to see that much

school work is now distinctly obstructive of social progress. They are not prepared to recognize that the school is largely engaged in protecting the minds of children from any real exercise. It gives them predigested opinions and facts and a few safe and sane ideas. It repeats the past. It occupies the strategic position of being able to prevent the development of that freed social intelligence without which civilization has no future.

If we could dare to have schools that believe in the freed mind; if our politicians would let us have such schools; if our homes would welcome such schools; if our churches were not so badly frightened by such schools; if our industry could endure the shock of reconstructing itself so as to make room for graduates from such schools; if our social workers were willing to lose their jobs for the sake of such schools; if our school men could become capable of creating such schools; if the very concept of school did not deny its own professions; if these things could be overcome, then we might expect our communities to become intelligent, and we might face the future of civilization with hopefulness.

We might even develop a social order in which, if there were less call for the benevolence of the few, there would be more room for the generosity of all; if there were fewer laws, there might be more self-government; if we should need smaller armies, we might have a more forceful citizenship; if we should have less use for poison gases, we might have more social science. If we could undertake the great community of humanity, with an intelligent program, inclusive of these desired goods, we should not have to spend so much time patching up the fabric of traditional society. We could use our released intelligence in making the world we desire.

GENERAL PROGRAMS FOR PHYSICAL HEALTH IN THE SCHOOL

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SCHOOL HEALTH WORK

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The development of health work is one of the most significant occurrences in the evolution of public education as a program of social service and preparation for citizenship.

The development and expansion of health education in the program of public education reflect the influence of the social ideas and principles underlying the whole plan of education, expressed in various logical and appropriate ways adapted to the differentiated phases of the entire educational field. The efforts of educational principles and administration to keep pace with the rapidly advancing ideas and influences in our modern society are well known to the members of this conference. A century after the great idea of compulsory intellectual education was established by law—in the various states the educational necessity and the social responsibility of our schools for health education and physical education of the children of the nation are being accepted by our educated leaders—it was approved by public opinion, supported by interpretations of our laws, and reinforced by new legislation in the majority of the states. No movement in education has been more rapid, more dramatic, more

widespread, or more significant in demonstration of beneficial results and possibilities than the advancement of "health in education and education in health."

The beginning of this entire program was developed for the most part under the term "Medical Inspection." As defined for our own country, medical inspection is an extension of the activities of the school in which the educator and the physician join hands to insure for each child such conditions of health and vitality as will best enable him to take full advantage of the free education offered by the state.¹ Its object is "To improve health conditions among school children, safeguard them from disease, and render them healthier, happier, and more vigorous." In England the board of education explains the object of medical inspection in schools "To secure for every child, normal or defective, conditions of health compatible with that full and effective development of its organic function, its special senses, and its mental powers, which constitute true education."²

Medical inspection in schools began about ninety years ago. In 1833 in France medical authorities were made responsible for sanitary conditions in schools. In 1834 a physician was appointed for a boy's school in Paris. In 1868 in Sweden the term "school physician" was first used in its modern sense. A medical officer was placed on the staff of each large secondary school. In the same year Denmark instituted a certain amount of medical supervision in schools in the larger cities. In 1873 Austria enacted the first effective legislation providing inspection in the elementary schools, and school physicians were regularly employed. Brussels is credited with establishing in 1874 the first system of medical inspection in the full modern sense of the term. School physicians were appointed, and inspected the schools three times a month. The pioneer work of school dentists and oculists began also in Brussels. In 1879 an improved form of medical inspection was organized in Paris. In 1882 some phases of this work were started in Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand. In this same year, 1882 in Egypt the first school physician was appointed in Cairo, and this has continued ever since. In 1885 Hungary passed an act establishing the office of school physician. In this same year Norway instituted the work of school physicians in a few localities. In 1887 medical and sanitary inspection were made obligatory in all French schools. In this same year school nurses began their work in Great Britain, but not in the modern sense until 1901. In 1888 a school doctor was appointed in Frankfort-on-the-Main.

The medical inspection movement in the schools of the United States began rather late, and has developed very rapidly.

In 1894 Boston established a regular system of medical inspection as the result of a series of epidemics among school children. In 1895 Chicago began medical inspection. In 1896 a department of medical inspection and child hygiene was inaugurated in Mexico. Since then it has been extended and reorganized, and the system in Mexico City is reported as very complete and notably efficient.

In 1896 the Wiesbaden plan of school medical inspection was developed and attracted much and deserved attention. This plan provided more thorough health and medical examination; a distinct advancement in follow-up and corrective health work. And even more striking was the use of the school-health program as a basis for vocational guidance as affected by physical abilities and limitations. New York in

¹ Encyclopedia of Education, Monroe, p. 182.

² Memorandum of the Board of Education of Great Britain.

1897 appointed 134 school physicians. Philadelphia began medical inspection in 1898. In 1899 Connecticut passed the first state law providing for tests of eyesight by teachers every three years. In 1902 New York City employed the first nurses in connection with the medical inspection of schools.

During the last twenty years the growth of this movement has been very rapid. In 1908 in Germany medical inspection was conducted in schools of 400 cities and towns, and 1,600 physicians were employed. In 1911, 443 city school systems in the United States had medical inspection, and twenty states had passed laws of various types relating to medical inspection. In 1913 the first health league was organized in the New York City schools and the first health center was established. At this same time 1911-1913, extraordinary development of school-health work occurred in Switzerland, and this has been maintained on a high level.

The modern idea of medical inspection and school-health work maintains the original phase of controlling communicable disease in schools, but goes much further by setting up a second aim, that of discovering health defects, and a third aim in working for the health improvement of each child.

The earlier method gave us records of disease, which is inconsistent with educational ideals which demand records of growth.

This modern ideal is indirect in character, as stated by Gulick and Ayres: "In the case of medical inspection the economics effected are the indirect ones of securing greater educational returns for the expenditure of public funds to support the schools, and the still more indirect saving effected by bringing about conditions which will render the future citizens of the state more efficient."¹

The development and broadening of this health program in our schools have been hastened and made more imperative in part for the following reasons: First, the movement of population toward urban centers where many aspects of personal health are changed from individual and home to community problems. Second, immigration with rapid change in racial stock and lower standards of cleanliness and health care; third, rapid development of the school system with lengthening of the school year, compulsory association of children from all types of homes and in some ways (most significant of all as pointed out by Rapeer) in paralleled opportunity for health control of the younger generation and their education to prepare them to live healthily, happily, and efficiently in a modern world."

Fourth, the industrial advance, (a) with work no longer healthy and muscular, due to the development of machinery and specialization of labor, (b) with the previous restriction of play when play time is curtailed by child labor; when space for play is commonly inadequate in city and in country; when games handed down for generations do not suit modern city conditions and when even the traditions for play are lost in the modern mixture of races and changed conditions. How shall school and community prevent if possible this tragedy of child life!

Fifth, the growth of democracy and development of the social consciousness and conscience have been accompanied by recognition of responsibility of the state for the health and welfare, as well as the education of all its young citizens; by the great advance in the science and art of public health; by constructive health in philanthropy; and by the greatly increased attention given to health by all the avenues of publicity, particularly by newspapers and magazines.

¹ Medical Inspection of Schools, Gulick and Ayres, p. 187.

Sixth and finally, the revelations of a long series of studies and examinations in showing that where school-health work has not been carried out, 75 to 80 per cent of all school children are handicapped by health defects, which are actually or potentially detrimental to health, education, and efficiency; that the great majority of these may be corrected or improved if discovered early enough; and that discovering and remedying these defects will result in impressive economy to the school and community and may prevent incalculable loss and damage, not only physical, but often mental and moral, to the children involved. One of the stunning and stimulating results of the world war was the lesson taught this nation by the draft statistics.

Time will not permit any detailed analysis of the development of the various phases of health and physical education in our schools. However, the general development of this work cannot be appreciated without some understanding of the legislation which has been enacted to meet this situation. Under our federal constitution every state must pass at least permissive laws, to enable communities within the state to conduct medical inspection, health examinations and the fundamentals of the school-health program.

At the present time thirty-seven states have laws on the statute books making provision for medical inspection, physical education, or some equivalent or part of this school-health work; twenty-eight states rest authority in the state department; and nine of the thirty-seven states designate local authorities to carry out the provisions of the law. In one state, California, the law is called "a Health and Development Act." The implications of this title are excellent and constructive. Twenty states have mandatory laws with permissive features, and seven states have laws which are essentially permissive.

These laws illustrate some of the disadvantages as well as the advantages of a democracy with states' rights and the privilege of indulging in all sorts of amateur as well as professional awkwardness and foolishness. In general, however, they show definite improvement in appreciation and understanding of the problems to be solved. These laws in the different states in one or more instances make provision for the following items: health education, physical education (in some cases with allotment of time), and physical examinations; examination of and for sight, hearing, nose, throat, ears, tonsils, skin diseases, lungs, teeth, tuberculosis, hookworm disease, intestinal parasites, communicable diseases, mental retardation; examination of teachers for tuberculosis, of janitors for physical defects, a record of growth and development and weighing and measuring; inspection and standardization of school buildings, sanitary appliances, school furniture, school-equipment supplies; the teaching of physical education, good behavior, indoor and outdoor games, and athletic exercise; the use of school grounds as community centers for play after school hours; a medical inspector who shall determine if a child is suitable to take courses in physical training.

Personnel authorized or provided in these laws includes the following: school physician, medical inspector, nurses, health commissioner, county health officer, teacher, teachers of competent ability, and superintendent. Personnel for administration includes state board of education, state board of health, state superintendent of public schools, school committee.

Some of the striking weaknesses and defects of the system as it has developed are: relative neglect of health program in rural schools, greater attention to discovery of health defects than to correction of the defects, failure to train regular teachers and

principals of schools for logical participation in health program, failure to provide adequate space, time, and supervision for play, games, and all types of rational big-muscle activities, lack of hospital, clinic, and other facilities for correction of health defects and for complete remedial program, lack of hygienic and remedial care of teeth of school children, failure to use available services of medical inspectors to give attention to defective pupils, and failure on part of school authorities to appropriate enough money for health and physical education in schools.

Prominent, valuable, and promising features of the present, progressive program of health service and health education in the schools include the following: first, rapid improvement in sanitary standards in buildings, equipment, and maintenance in both city and rural schools; second, gradually improving daily inspection of pupils, the most important elements in which are the co-operation of room teachers and school nurses in daily-health supervision; third, extension and improvement of the program of periodic health examination and follow-up health work illustrated by monthly weighing of pupils, more helpful and constructive methods in health examinations, and more effective co-operation of schools, homes, health authorities, and voluntary welfare organizations for the correction of defects and positive health improvement of pupils; fourth, better standards of health, and health supervision of teachers, with corresponding recognition of their health needs and provisions for these, fifth, gradual recognition of what is involved in the hygiene of educational management and administration, with slowly improved understanding of various factors involved in mental hygiene and morale, as well as the physical well-being of pupils; sixth, vastly improved methods of health education, such as emphasis on health habits, fascinating and dramatic development of incentives and motives for health conduct, standards and ideas, and socializing the health viewpoint even of children, and enlisting their interest in phases of home, school, and community health; seventh, great value in the comprehensive and enriched program of health education is the provision for play, outdoor activity, and the entire range of splendid large movements necessary to human health and efficiency.

MEDICAL INSPECTION IN THE SCHOOLS—ITS TECHNIQUE AND ITS RESULTS

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The object of medical inspection in schools is to produce well children, and it is of interest to the social worker to do the best for the child both in the present and in the future, for your social work at the moment may be absolutely negated by sickness in the family, and your hope for the future is to put yourself out of business. Of course in the millenium neither you nor I will have a job, and really it is this future phase that I am most interested in. It is the well child who is going to bring about that condition in the future that will leave us without work.

To be very fundamental, what is a well child? My idea of the well child is one built for the long haul. It is not the child of today or tomorrow. It is the child of the future, who is going to last through the long haul, and that means work, harder work every year; at least it gets harder for me to earn my living, and I can see no special

let-up in the future that will bring less competition or lower standards. It means the child has to have the vitality stored up sufficient to compete and hold his own in a very swift industrial system. It means he has to have some vitality left over to run a government, a very difficult government, too. He has got to raise a family if we go on. These are necessities. There is one more that seems to be somewhat important, and that is, every child should be built on such a foundation of health that he has enough vitality after these things are done to grow a soul, and about that we have thought very little.

As social workers what can we see as factors in the well child that we can actually base our program on? What is the well child? First, a well child is a growing child. It has to grow all the time. It has to grow as much as it can grow. It has to be as big as it can be. How are you going to know that your child is growing? It takes certain observations of growth which cannot be side-stepped. The social worker, to know her child is going right, has to have a record of the child to know it is growing, as growth is the fundamental thing in the health of children. The child has to be weighed and measured. If a child stops growing, something is wrong. This child, to grow, to make his optimum growth, and to be well has to have a certain nutritional balance; has to have a certain amount of meat on his bones, and we had not determined that until a few years ago, but we realize now that it takes a certain amount of nutritional balance to get the optimum growth out of him, and that optimum growth we must have. This nutritional balance on the child's part goes much further than mere growth. You people are too well up on your job not to know that conduct hinges on glandular secretion to some extent, and that glandular secretion is determined largely by the kind and quantity of the diet. If you do not believe it, take one reading reference, McCarrison, *A Study in Deficiency Diseases*, published by the Oxford Press.

Of course, as soon as you get in the field of conduct, and you, as social workers, are dealing with families who have fallen down in the line of conduct, health, or economic efficiency, there are other factors beside nutrition. But the nutrition and the kind of diets that have been given that family must be considered when you are dealing with the families that are subnormal in conduct. In this matter of nutrition and in this matter of health comes the element of sleep, which is the most difficult thing to obtain in the health of the American child, and the child has to have that sleep as a basis for proper nutritional and nervous balance. Sleep is also a matter of nervous control, and in no point is more thought needed than in this matter of nervous control in the American child.

Another factor in the healthy child besides growth, nutrition, and sleep, and it seems to me very important, is that the child should obtain his highest personal beauty. You know, I believe, if we had ever stopped to look at our high school children, we would have begun this health campaign and have done something about our children in our schools long ago. This matter of beauty in health is fundamental. The child has a right to his highest personal beauty, and not to be merely a bag of bones. That never is beautiful. He is not as beautiful as he might be. He is skinny. He gets the malnourished face. I would like to build that idea in your minds this morning, that idea of beauty. When you see a child on the street, think to yourself: is that child as beautiful as he might be, is he well nourished, do his eyes shine, is he the best child we can make out of the material, is he going to last for the long haul? These are the questions doctors and teachers and social workers must ask themselves.

To make this kind of a child is the job of school inspection, and it seems to me school inspection should function in three spheres of activity. The first sphere, of course, is the protective sphere. The school child should be protected from injury, and into this field the great bulk of school work has gone. We have almost solved the problem of protecting the child from communicable diseases. We have done quite a little toward tuberculosis prevention, though we have never really protected the child against chronic asphyxiation by artificial systems of ventilation. We have done very little against the deforming of children by seats and desks that do not fit. We have done something in my own state, at least, I am proud to say. There is one school in Illinois that I know of where every child is fitted to his desk and seat.

Of course much work has been done along this line of correctible defects. In the next field, the investigative field, we find the second sphere of activity in school inspection. What should be the aim in the investigative field? To find, record, and to make available for all workers the condition of the child and the terms on which he can be built into citizenship. That is going to take real work. It is going to take better work than we have ever done. It is going to take work that has to be built up in a different way.

On the technical side of the examination there are many difficulties. Our state has a law that we cannot take the clothes off the child in school. That is a good law. One way that we can take the clothes off that child is by having the parent present, and the school inspector should be instructed to have a parent present so that he can undress the child, because you cannot do a thorough piece of work unless you take the clothes off that child, at least as far as the waist. The parent should be present to get the best possible understanding of the child's needs and to give the necessary co-operation. Suppose the parents are working? San Francisco has done that part very well, and has put their special clinics at hours when working parents can be present.

Then we have cases where the parent takes the attitude, "I guess my child is all right," and refuses to bring in the child. The school has different ways of handling those parents. They might even suspend the child until the parents come. That would bring them in. Then you are going to meet your Christian Scientists. Many Christian Scientists are much afraid of the medical school inspector. I do not blame them, because many school inspectors are not thoughtful of their feelings. My personal experience has been that if you are careful of the feelings of Christian Scientists, and don't wish anything on them, you can deal with them with no irritation whatever on their part. The parent should be told the absolute truth, that this child needs treatment, if such is the case. If the actual condition of the child is known, the necessity for care can be emphasized without particularizing and results may be obtained.

Another factor in this physical investigation is very much overlooked: that is, the family doctor. He is not always an easy proposition, but I do want to put in a word for him, because I think he has sort of a hard time. The best management of the family doctor problem I have ever seen was in one of the northern counties of Minnesota, where the county nurse had a very fine health card which she used in her health work. The card was made for every child, and on that card was recorded the name of the family doctor. Every night after the children were examined, postal cards went out to each doctor whose name appeared on the cards, stating, "We have today examined Johnny Smith, and have referred him to you for treatment." That is fair to the family doctor. The next step in this family-doctor proposition is a difficult one and

belongs to the next field of work. You may want corrective work done. You may want tonsils out, and the family doctor may be like myself, absolutely unqualified to take out the tonsils, and in order to save his patient from his own operative measures he advises against it.

There must be a preliminary sorting. In that first sorting done by the teacher or nurse a certain proportion is found practically free from defects, and these must be set aside until the visibly defective can be brought up to standards of efficiency. The time of this inspection has heretofore been altogether too late. We must not leave this until the school age. That is bad business. Your repeaters are in the first grades. We have got to get that child ready for school. Kansas City has done more in this line than any other place that I know of. They have organized pre-school consultations within school buildings. As a matter of fact, I believe we have in the community all the forces that might make well children, but we do not get them together, and our results are not 100 per cent. In thinking this matter over, it seems to me that our whole attitude toward the child in this time of rush and hurry is somewhat centrifugal instead of centripetal. What are the forces that medical inspection has to organize into centripetal action in building up a child? Of course there is first the home. It has to devolve on the home to provide the child. The parent has to send the child to school, ready for education.

We have got to restrain social ambition in the American home. There are certain groups of Americans who use their children as ladders to climb socially. They throw their children in the social group that they wish to attain to. You will find such a child often a thoroughly nervous child. Perhaps that type of trouble would not come in your groups, but we must ask the family to restrain social ambition to an amount of social life compatible with the nervous and physical health of the child. Also we must demand restraint on the part of the home as to cultural development of children. The malnourished, nervous child cannot be subjected to three or four types of culture in addition to the school curriculum and come out fit for the whole program of citizenship. Then we have to find some way to modify in the American mind the demand that children graduate in some given time.

Next we come to the school. We must demand the needed air and cleanliness. We in Chicago examine the teacher first and then we throw her into our difficult school system, and she can catch almost anything after that. The health of the teacher is a vital demand in child health. On the other side, we have to restrain the school in this matter—I do not know that I would like to use the word "restrain" to express the idea I would like to get across—but the adjustment of programs to the possibility of each child's health and development.

Another factor, beside the home and school, is the church. In certain churches there must be religious education of the child at certain ages. That fact must be recognized, and in that period of religious instruction there must be a let-up in other lines for the less well-nourished child. The church feels perfectly free to call on the child for practice for shows, for Sunday Schools, Easter, Christmas, and all Church holidays. It is not right. The church has to restrain its desire for a show, or put it on itself.

Another factor yet to consider in child-building is that very fine organization, the Boy Scouts. I am very keen about this organization, but we have to realize that that is one of the demands on the child's strength and his nutrition. I have seen Boy Scouts sent out on a nineteen-mile hike and some of them come back so fatigued they

could not sleep for two nights. There is a line that no one must transgress; that line is a conservation of the child that gives the opportunity of growing well and becoming a citizen.

How can our medical inspection get these factors together? It is difficult. Of course medical inspection has got to know a great deal more about the child. It has got to be much surer of its ground. It cannot examine twenty or thirty in a little while, and say to other agencies interested in the child, "This you shall not do, and this you shall do." It has got to do real thorough work, and the result has got to be put down in a real plain way, so that all of us interested in the child can read that report intelligently and base our plans on what that child is able to accomplish. We have all got to have a more vivid visualization of the well child. We have got to exercise restraint when the child does not come up to that picture, instead of every agency rushing in and grabbing out a portion of that child's time and attention; and finally we have got to have an accounting, and add to that child such things as he can build into that central core which we call a person or a soul. I do not care what you call that central core, but that central core of the child must be added unto and not torn down. We have got to recognise this core of the child has to have time to grow. That core has, at its base, physical health, and you have to add unto that core the things that build it up and do not destroy it.

This visualization of the well child will bring about the giving of much attention and praise to the well child. That has never been done as thoroughly as it should be. Even in school studies you give praise to the children with the highest grades. So we can have in health effort the teacher praising the well child. One teacher has a very good plan to encourage the children to be healthy. She has a rubber stamp with the colors, red, white, and blue. The white represents the children in perfect health, the blue, medium, and the red, the skinny ones. As they build up, she changes their color, and all the children are so keen to get up in that white row that they do everything they can to build themselves up.

There has to be a point at which all the agencies interested in the child can come together on a constructive basis. What can we give this child to build him into a citizen? What can we do for him to save his soul, his personality, his health? What can be added unto him? And then together we can build up a vision of the citizen we are building, the reproductive citizen, the governmental citizen, the one who participates in the matters of state, the man who earns his own three meals a day and is not a drag on anybody at all—the person with a soul.

INSTRUCTION OF SCHOOL CHILDREN IN HEALTH HABITS AND IDEALS

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What do we want to teach children in school about health? Obviously, the answer is such facts as can be translated into action. Reading, writing, and arithmetic are taught in some form from the first grade through all the years of school attendance with what purpose? We readily answer, to enable him to read, write, and cipher. Certain mechanical actions repeated many times assure the child ability to write. A

repetition of words gradually builds up a familiarity with language and a vocabulary is formed which serves through life, additions being made from use of the ability to read as well as through conversation. All who have associated with children are aware of their pleasure in the use of new words as well as the use of newly acquired knowledge in any form.

It is very difficult to secure a good pronunciation when the child hears hourly words only half spoken at home, but we do not desist in the schoolroom because such is the case. We attempt to form good habits of speech and to increase the child's vocabulary through the habit of reading because these subjects are considered essentials.

We all agree that health is equally as important as the three "R's," but health has scarcely kept pace with the advances in methods of teaching these subjects. It is not necessary for us to analyze here the reasons for this but we must all recognize that it is not the fault of the educator alone. He has followed the lead of the medical schools, instructing the student in the formation of the body and its functions with particular attention to abnormalities and relief or cure of pathological conditions; formal physiology and hygiene are the result. Most of these textbooks for schools are prepared by doctors who know little of pedagogy and nothing of modern methods of teaching. The result has not been satisfactory and we have an adult population which is grossly ignorant of the essentials of healthy living.

With the change in curriculum brought about in our educational systems since the war, health has been given a new place, and educators are eagerly seeking systems to be grafted into their schools. The usual request is for a ready-made plan, a course of study. Hundreds of requests have been received for "Something I can put into the teachers' hands which will insure good health-teaching." There is no such course of study and there never will be, but teachers all over the country have been stimulated to make of their classrooms laboratories where methods are being developed for the establishment of health habits. Modern educators agree that health comes first; community service, second; skill (the three R's), third, and the use of leisure time, fourth. As there is less tradition in the teaching of health, the strides taken in this direction within the last few years have been greater. Teaching of facts, unrelated to the child's daily needs, has given place rapidly to the interesting of the child himself in health activities; training in health habits rather than teaching of health facts.

Professor Kilpatrick has said, "What studies correspond to the development of the will in the child from five to ten? It is the habit-forming epoch. It is the time when a large and useful store of motor-memory images may be acquired, and when permanent reflex tracts may be formed in the spinal cord and lower brain centers. This is the time to teach the child to do easily and habitually a large number of useful things." This period covers the first five years of the child's school life and carries him usually through the fifth grade, but until the last five years, practically no attempt to train children in health habits during this important period has occurred, though provision has been made to some extent for physical education, home economics, medical inspection, and school nursing.

We may say today that physical education no longer consists for the most part of formal exercises. Plays and games with athletic stunts for older children have marked a distinct advance in this field. Home economics introduced into the grammar grades has in the past been limited largely to the making of special dishes, and the younger children have been entirely omitted from any connection with this department.

This is still true to some extent, though home economics classes are concerned today with practical foods, and the younger children benefit by such courses given to their older sisters.

One of our large city high schools requires of its students a thorough understanding of the diets of normal children, the working out of menus for the family and actual marketing, as well as reporting on the health of younger children in the family which has been accepted as a routine part of the home economics department.

Medical school inspection was introduced to prevent the spread of contagion and to secure the removal of physical defects. School nursing was added as a link between the home and the school doctor. The effectiveness of the nurse's work, however, has been curtailed by the great number of children under her care; in some instances numbering as high as 20,000. This is recognized as an undesirable condition by the medical and nursing professions and cannot continue. Signs of improvement are coming from all parts of the country.

A chief of medical inspection in one of our eastern cities wrote recently, "Since I have discovered the teachers in our schools, my efficiency and that of my nurses has increased a hundred fold, and I believe that the responsibility which the teachers have now accepted brings about a new relationship between the school doctor, the nurse, the teacher, and the home, which is most desirable."

Universities and normal colleges are announcing health-education courses. It is rare indeed to find teachers' institutes where methods of interesting children in health do not have a prominent place. The health of the student teacher is assuming importance. One large teaching institution has found it possible to announce that graduate students would not be recommended for positions unless a fair standard of personal health had been maintained. "Out-door-mindedness" is credited in one normal college, while a clear complexion is recognized as well as knowledge of the circulatory system.

I have the privilege of announcing today that the American Child Health Association offers to teachers twenty-five fellowships and scholarships in health education in universities and colleges throughout the United States. We do not propose to encourage the training of special teachers of health, but rather to give additional training to supervisors so that they may include supervision of class-room teaching in health and to give an opportunity for teachers particularly interested in the development of class-room methods to secure such assistance as our universities and colleges are now offering. We believe this will stimulate greater interest in the development of methods in class-rooms and will also act as an inducement to teacher-training centers to offer courses to fit the supervisor and teacher for health teaching. Teachers' College, Columbia University, The School of Technology, Boston, and The University of Virginia are now offering a B.S. degree in health education, while Columbia has graduated one student with a Master's degree, and another student is now a candidate for her degree of Doctor of Philosophy in health education. The great need in this field, as in all of the professions, is for leaders, and we look forward hopefully not only to the preparation of supervisors with a knowledge of health teaching but to well-trained teachers.

We are nearer the goal of building strong-bodied children than has been the case since the days of Greek bodily perfection, but there is much work yet for us all.

Hold up the hands of the teacher who has the vision for health teaching. Stimulate those who are still slumbering peacefully. Rest not until every child in every

school is given an ideal of health through daily classroom training—is inspired to form the essential habits of health.

If the untrained teacher can inspire whole communities to a more healthful standard of living, as she frequently does, certainly the social worker may be expected to help carry the torch. Privacy, air, light, sunshine, and food are all required, but these are of little value unless the spirit of hopeful, positive-health ideas permeates the hearts and minds of all the people. A new type of human being is being developed in our enlightened schools today, and the theories of our foremost nutritional experts are being discussed by the children as part of the game of health they are gladly playing.

Advertisers are being influenced by the propaganda of the health organizations of the country, and we can safely welcome their advance. Whether the use of milk is increased through the man who wishes to sell more milk or through the health worker the child reaps the benefit. Dr. McCollum has said: "I have repeatedly asserted, during the last few years, that the white bread and other cereal, muscle meat and potato type of diet, which is so common in America and parts of Europe, is causing physical deterioration. No animal can grow satisfactorily on a food supply of this type, nor can one remain long in the possession of full vigor after growth has been attained. Only when such a food supply is supplemented with liberal amounts of milk or the leafy vegetables will it prove satisfactory."

This has been known for some time, yet what is the diet of the majority of people in America today? You are not satisfied with the answer! But unless our children are trained to eat the green foods and drink milk, we will have a new adult population repeating the mistakes of the old.

School lunches have been much overestimated, too much being expected of the plan. Children require hot food in the middle of the day, eaten leisurely, and when arrangements have been made to insure this, the result has been more than satisfactory. The school lunch, if properly handled, presents an unexcelled opportunity for interesting children in eating the right foods, and many hundreds of good school lunches are being served with the most gratifying results.

The mid-morning milk lunch has become well established and insures the actual drinking of milk. Usually, also, the milk habit is acquired. Many school systems are boasting of the amount of milk "devoured" daily; the records for which are kept by the pupils as part of their training in bookkeeping and mathematics.

Correlation of health with usual school subjects has been generally accepted by educators as the simplest method of assuring an interest on the part of the child. One teacher is now demonstrating in a practice school the possibilities of teaching health through history: the fourth-grade pupils searching out and developing the differences between the daily life of the Puritan child and themselves; what they ate; why did they eat so and so; what time they got out of bed in the morning; what sort of clocks they used to tell them the time. A daily schedule of the Puritan child offers a wonderful opportunity for interesting the boy or girl today. One of the items discovered in this teacher's research was the fact that Governor Winthrop in his journal listed the number of cows on each incoming vessel before he listed the passengers. You can help to bring about the combination of which Mr. Richard Roberts said some years ago: "The sociologist, the educator, and the politician should get together and make some attempt to discover the kind of work they want to create and then to order the process accordingly.

All social workers want to create healthy human beings. No one factor will insure this; doctors, nurses, good housing, good food, play spaces, and play time all are required, but training in health habits is essential during the school years. Accept the teachers as the fulcrum in raising the health standard of your families, and, as one of our prominent writers on emigration said lately: "With the conservation of the physical being must go the bulwarking of the national structure."

The whole world looks to the United States for guidance in health matters. We cannot afford to falter, but must press forward in the laboratory as well as in the school. Great strides in sanitation are of little value unless personal hygiene keeps the pace, and, to be sure that such is the case, children must be taught in every school of the world the desirability of health and a knowledge of how to attain it.

PROVISION FOR PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED CHILDREN IN THE SCHOOLS

PUBLIC SCHOOL CLASSES FOR CRIPPLED CHILDREN

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I greatly appreciate the privilege of discussing this subject before representatives from the great field of social service. Just for the minute I am excluding school people from this group, to take this opportunity of paying tribute as an educator to the other groups which first opened the eyes of school people to the need for special educational facilities for handicapped children. Both in Europe and in the United States special education for the crippled child was initiated and fostered by social service workers, both professional and volunteer. It was taken over very slowly by school people. It followed the education in public school classes of even the feeble-minded.

The theme of my plea for the past nine years has been for scientific care and better facilities for crippled children within the public schools. Such a plea to you would be "bringing coals to Newcastle." Every argument I use has been brought to me by social service workers. It is they who find helpless children shut-ins at home, and misfits in other schools. It is they who plead with us to take just one more and one more, until we outgrow our facilities and, in self defense, must demand additional ones.

I am going to try to tell you what we attempt to do with the children you bring to us. As an introduction, may I stress the fact that public school classes for crippled children will be successful in proportion to the co-operation they build up with every other kind of social service in the community. The success of our work in Chicago has been largely due to the skilful, unselfish assistance from every branch of this great field.

Twenty-five years ago a noted English barrister said: "The education of the crippled child is not philanthropy, it is enlightened self-interest."

It is a coincidence that the first public school classes for crippled children, supported entirely by boards of education, were opened almost simultaneously in 1900 in London, New York, and Chicago. In 1921 London had thirty-six centers, with 3,845 children; and England outside of London had twenty-four centers, with 1,808 children. I have no accurate statement of the number of cities in the United States which today have facilities for educating crippled children. I should say that thirty would be a

conservative estimate, not including those maintained at public expense in hospitals. Chicago, Jersey City, Detroit, and Cleveland have buildings designed, built, and used exclusively for crippled children. I believe I am correct in saying that New York has two special schools where the total expense is shared between the board of education and philanthropic agencies—the Rhinelander and the East Side Free School. With these exceptions, the work in New York is carried on in classrooms set apart in regular schools. Minneapolis holds a special school in a rebuilt church, while discussing plans for a new building. Other states maintain their classes as special departments of the schools for normal children. Six states have acts enabling local school communities to establish classes; Minnesota pays \$250 for every child in a special class; Ohio pays up to \$300 in excess of the cost of a normal child; and Missouri, where the law is mandatory, allows about \$75 for each child. Laws have been passed within the month in Illinois and Michigan which provide \$300 and \$200 excess cost, respectively. I have given practically all of my time since February 1 to this matter in Illinois, because I am convinced that until this specific education becomes a state matter, it will never reach all the children. Seventeen new schools have been established in the state of Ohio alone within two years.

Every crippled child is a potential tax consumer; properly trained, physically and mentally and morally, every child of normal intelligence can be a tax producer. To make tax producers out of potential tax consumers, is this not the function of the public school? What right has any school system levying taxes for all the children of all the people to overlook any child with this potentiality?

I find that Sir Robert Jones, the eminent English surgeon, begins his summary of the needs of the crippled child, with: "get them early," and ends with "aftercare in public school classes." He says: "Crippled children need the best, the most stimulating, interesting, and attractive education. They must have systematic physical treatment and education going hand in hand, neither without the other." This is the plan of the International Society for Crippled Children, organized by Rotary Club members at Elyria, Ohio, in 1919, with "Daddy" Edgar Allen, as we have come to know him, as its president and leader. State societies for crippled children, growing out of this international society, have been organized in nineteen states. These societies plan to find every child and bring facilities for care and education to him. The Ohio plan has had nation-wide recognition. It provides compulsory physical care, the cost to be borne either by the parent or the county, and aftercare in public school classes.

It has come to be recognized that the number of crippled children in any state may be found by taking .65 of 1 per cent of the population for the total number of handicapped, and that one-half will be below sixteen years of age. The number in cities will be somewhat higher. For a concrete example from figures compiled by the International Society for Crippled Children, New York would have 31,000, Illinois, 19,200, and California, 10,200. Not all of these children are uncared for or uneducated. Not all of them need special facilities for education, but not one of them should be neglected in this land of plenty.

Public school classes for crippled children are widely scattered from New York to Oklahoma City, but those of us working in them have a sort of fraternity through visits and correspondence. We are doing practically the same sort of work and so, instead of telling you in a theoretical way what I think should be done for crippled children in these schools, I am going to tell you what we are doing in Chicago.

Mr. Michael Dowling, the man who knew from experience, said, "One of the most piteous spectacles, I think, is the sight of some helpless, handicapped child looking out of the window watching the other children at their games on their way to school." Contrast with this the lives of 800 crippled children in Chicago, who, five days a week, dress as eagerly as their brothers and sisters, and then watch for the big green motor bus which drives up to the door. Strong men enter the house and carry them safely to their seats in the bus, where they are greeted by twenty-five other children as happy and noisy as only children can be. After a ride varying from ten minutes to an hour and a half, they reach their destination, one of the five centers for crippled children. Only one of these, the Spalding School, is used exclusively for crippled children. Our busses are heated and ventilated. The children cover long distances without seeming discomfort, and give evidences of enjoying the trip. Two hours a day in good air and sunlight will not injure any but a hospital case.

There are no brighter spots in Chicago's great public school system than its day-school classes for crippled children. Officially they are known as "centers for crippled children," though the word "cripple" is not used by the children within the doors of the Spalding School, nor is it used by members of the faculty within their hearing.

It has long been my desire to have this special work known as orthopedic; orthopedic, the hopeful word, meaning "to straighten the child," for this is our aim—children straight physically, mentally, and socially. We state it: first, to give every child the best physical condition it is possible for him to attain; second, to give every child the best education it is possible for him to assimilate; third, to help him to find his place in the world's work.

This means, in most cases, years of patient direction, but it can be accomplished without conflict of aim, with sometimes one phase in the ascendancy and sometimes the other.

In Chicago for many years only academic and some pre-vocational training were attempted. It was not until 1914 that the physical rehabilitation of the children in these classes was undertaken as a part of the public school work. Since that time, it has grown in scope, until today nothing but the refusal of a parent stands in the way of scientific physical rehabilitation for every child in these classes.

It is self-evident that so broad an aim as I have stated involving expert diagnosis, operation, hospital care, etc., could not be carried on with the facilities of even a specially equipped school. It is attained only by the closest co-operation with Chicago's many social service agencies; with her great surgeons and physicians who give their services as skilfully to the children whom we take to their free clinics as they do to the children who are private patients; with her generous hospitals and dispensaries with their efficient medical and nursing staff and social service departments; with the Visiting Nurses Association, between which organization and the Spalding School there is no mine or thine where the care of a child is concerned; with the municipal tuberculosis dispensaries, and, with the board of health.

Our threefold aim has developed three well-defined but closely related departments within the school: first, physical rehabilitation, commonly called "aftercare"; second, academic classes; third, pre-vocational or vocational training, commonly called "industrial work." I shall reverse the order and speak of the academic department first. In order that a child may be transferred back to the normal school at any time, without loss of standing, our work is graded and conducted upon the same standards as any

other elementary schools. It follows the regular course of study, and our results, based upon standard tests, compare favorably with those of other schools.

We graduate from the eighth grade each year about twenty-six children, most of whom continue their work either at the Spalding or in one of the regular schools. It is not a matter of choice whether a child stays at the Spalding for his high school work. We feel that the percentage that leave us prepared and anxious to face the strenuous life of the large city high schools measures our success in physical and social reconstruction.

We are offering our high school class of twenty a four-year general course, a two-year business course, and unit courses fitting them for some specific occupation.

We offer sewing, millinery, lampshade-making, fancy work, cooking, printing, cobbling, sheet metal, woodwork, scene painting, weaving, clay basketry, lettering, applied art and mechanical drawing. Not all of these are offered at one time, as we have but four teachers of handwork.

The equipment in our shops is all that could be desired: saws, lathes, planes, and a printing press motorized, forges, anvils, bending machines, a cobbling outfit with stitcher looms, and sheet-metal and wood-working equipment.

The time given to handwork varies with the grade, the subject, the season of year, and many times with the individual child. From first grade through third it is carried on in the classroom, except in individual cases; in grades above it is given in the shops under special teachers.

We have been attempting, and feel that we have succeeded in our group at least, in overcoming the idea that handicapped people should be trained for trades. We have reduced the time formerly given to handwork in favor of academic training and higher education for those capable of using their heads. On to high school and college is our aim.

Our work is no longer an experiment. We have demonstrated that it is an economic necessity, and that in the happiness and usefulness of the children who pass through these special schools and classes the returns are beyond measure. Instead of morose, unhappy dependents upon friends or charity, they have the educational advantages of normal children and are carrying on successfully their share of the world's work, in high school, in college, and in business. Our alumni numbers hundreds of successful young men and women.

The academic and industrial training differ very little from an ordinary school. It is in physical training that our work is unique.

It seems best to approach our discussion of the physical rehabilitation of the child, the aftercare which we give in the school, from the standpoint of distribution of diagnosis: thus, infantile paralysis (poliomyelitis), 42 per cent; T.B. bone, 18 per cent; spastic paralysis, 10 per cent; cardiac, 10 per cent. The other 20 per cent is a scattering of rickets, amputations, congenital defects, osteomyelitis, arthritis, obstetrical paralysis, sleeping sickness, accidents, etc.

We divide these cases roughly into three groups: wheel-chair children who must learn to use crutches or a cane; children on crutches who must learn to drop them; and all others who with braces or without must acquire the most normal gait possible. We have this measure of success: nine years ago we had twenty-eight wheel chairs among 175 children. Today we have twenty among 400 children, and of these, seven are muscular dystrophy cases, unknown entirely to us nine years ago, and the only hopeless cases that we have.

Our percentage of infantile paralysis has not changed in the seven or eight years during which we have kept statistics, while in six years T.B. bone has decreased from 33½ per cent to 18 per cent. Science has gained no control over the germ or poleomyelitis, but great strides have been made in the prevention of deformity and in the methods of aiding the return of power in weakened muscles.

As soon as a child is released from the hospital the nurses maintained by the after-care committee of the Visiting Nurses Association offer their services for muscle training until he is able to attend school. Once in school he goes at regular intervals to the treatment room where he is given baking, massage, muscle training, and later heavier exercise on apparatus. All of this work is under the direction of the child's physician. We take no responsibility. Muscle charts are kept according to the Lovett scale, from one to five possible points of improvement in each paralyzed muscle. Last year our charts showed 24 per cent improvement in the group attacked from 1916 back, a heterogeneous group of all ages and conditions. From 1916 forward there was 52 per cent improvement.

The decrease in tuberculosis of the bone, the tuberculosis of childhood, is nationwide, due undoubtedly to preventive measures, state control of dairy cattle, pasteurization of milk, and the isolation in sanitariums of advanced cases of pulmonary tuberculosis. During the acute stage our care is watchful; correct casts, shoes, crutches, food, and rest. For about three years under the direction of the attending surgeon we have been giving exercise to prevent ankylosis in healed cases. As tuberculosis of the bone has decreased, heart cases have increased, probably not in the community but in special school classes, because attention has been directed upon them. Under the Ohio law, children with severe heart affections are classed as crippled children, but whether they belong in schools for crippled children or in a class alone seems difficult to decide. I have been conducting an experiment for about two years with twenty-five cases under the care of five or six of our leading physicians who make a specialty of diseases of the heart.

The children whose physical rehabilitation is troubling us most is the group affected with what is commonly called spastic paralysis, due to a brain lesion at birth or shortly after. In our school they vary in mentality from children with an intelligence quotient of fifty, our lowest level, to our most accelerated pupil. Today we are working with this group under three teachers, one who gives the academic training, one speech work, (most of this group have speech defects), individual handwork, and games to correct deformity or gain muscle co-ordination, and a physical education teacher who takes them in groups in the gymnasium usually working to the accompaniment of music.

As we have said, every child enters the school only upon the advice of the specialist, is taken back to the same man for periodic examinations, and leaves to attend a normal school only when this doctor is convinced that no further benefit can be derived from the care obtainable only in the special school. During the year September, 1921, to June, 1922, the files for the Spalding School alone show that 1,622 children (always accompanied by a physical education teacher) have visited orthopedic and cardiac clinics.

Fifty-four children out of our average membership of 328 were transferred to normal schools as well physically as they could hope to be, and well able to carry on to productive citizenship.

I feel that this is the point at which to speak of the cost of the education of a crippled child, since this is the leading question in education today. It is far and above that of the normal child principally because of the transportation. The Chicago Board of Education contracts for this service. The contract provides for almost unlimited bus service to carry children to and from clinics and hospitals and for excursions to the woods, museums, the circus, etc. This generous bus service to clinics has made possible great strides in the physical care of the children. The total per capita cost of educating a crippled child in Chicago last year was about \$350, of which \$215 was for bus service. Contrast this with the cost of institutional care in Illinois, \$2,500,000 averaging \$600 per capita, the other alternative.

Again I quote Michael Dowling: "Scores of lives are being wasted because of lack of proper educational provision for these children. They grow up in an environment where there is no incentive to emulate their own kind. That, after all, is the secret of all human endeavor, emulating a fellow-individual. Why not a public school for crippled children?"

Why not? It is not only a humanitarian measure, it is economic. Poliomyelitis, infantile paralysis, T.B. bone, and rickets cause 60 per cent or more of deformity among children. Society is responsible for bad housing conditions where these diseases are bred, and it must care for their victims at one time or another. Childhood is pre-eminently the time for correcting deformities, and it is the business of the state to see that no individual grows up to be a social burden if prevention is possible. The public school can give, as no other institution can, the continuity of care and training through the 10 or even 12 years necessary to make self-supporting citizens out of potential burdens, and at the same time keep the child in his home environment. Public schools are not charitable institutions.

In our schools for crippled children we attempt nothing which is not taken as a matter of course for the normal child. We cannot stop to consider the immediate cost. We are building the foundations of state. Again let me quote: "The education of the crippled child is not philanthropy but enlightened self-interest."

THE BLIND CHILD—PROVISION FOR HIS SCHOOLING

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To the social worker the problem of a blind child in the home which is visited is one requiring knowledge of what may be done and skill in bringing to pass what ought to be done for the benefit of both child and family. First of all let it be known that even when blindness comes all is not lost. It is true that one means, and that the best, of physical contact with the world and its people is taken away, but there are other means. A wise parent, after the first overwhelming sorrow is past, seeks to find how the loss of sight may be made up for by special training of the other senses: how hearing may be made acute and accurate, how touch may grow keen and reliable, how smell may come more into its own through use and training, above all how a will to succeed in play and work may be encouraged in the child and the depressant influence of unwise pity may be kept out of its hearing and knowledge. Social workers should know what to do when a

blind child is found. Somehow the tragedy of its growing up in ignorance should be avoided. And yet it does occur.

Provisions for proper training of the young blind have been made almost universally in this country. Yet historically the education of the blind is a new venture. This is not, perhaps, the place, nor is there occasion for a full discussion of the comparative merits of public school classes and boarding schools in the training of the young blind. Yet I have some convictions after more than fifteen years' experience in this field of special education that lead me to say a few words relative to a false interpretation of institutional life as respects the blind. There is a strong current of sentiment running in social service circles against the institution as such. For this there is justification in conditions found in some institutions, particularly in some homes where life for years had the effect of "institutionizing," as the word goes, the children therein confined. Extremists have intimated that the home maintained by parents, however low and degraded, is superior to any Home (with the capital H) however well conducted. The inference is, of course, that maternal solicitude is incomparably better than foster maternality in the lump, so to speak. As a consequence of this very general sentiment against the grouping of children for care and support, it has become quite fashionable for social workers to seize upon any expedient that will abolish the institutions, making no distinctions among them. Such an extreme view as has been here indicated is, of course, untenable. Institutions for the blind, whose task is the education of children who do not see, are not to be put in the class suggested above.

Classes for blind children in the schools of their home city may be desirable, but only if they are well conducted and well supported. These are essential qualifications. If the instruction is not markedly superior and the teacher more than usually self-forgetful and devoted, unless the educational authorities are willing to spend lavishly—the blind child will fail of gaining his proper training. Only in exceptional cases will he be better off than in the established and liberally supported boarding schools so generally available.

Entered at school as soon as he is able to dress and care for himself, which is usually at seven or eight years of age, the blind child meets a teacher who is set apart for this special work by peculiar ability and self-sacrificing devotion, and a motherly woman who, too, is something of a missionary and loves little blind folks. He soon finds he is not in a queer world such as the one which he has left, the one where he is looked upon as somebody different, needing physical guidance and pity, and where he received too much attention. To his great surprise he learns there are other little boys who can not see and, wonder of wonders, they do not need a guide to get around. They run and romp, get bumps and experience falls; in short, live a normal life instead of a carefully sheltered one. Everybody is cheerful and he hears no longer the shuddering pity of the neighbors and friends of the family who weep as they sympathize with his parents over the hard lot of a blind child in the family.

A dozen or more years of school life are before him, packed with work and play, and these in the associations of his peers, so that after the high school courses are completed, he is fit to hold his own, to stand on his own feet, having developed mental, physical, and moral backbone enough to set forth on such a career as may be open to him or to continue in college preparation for some superior occupation. To enter college and complete its four years' work requires besides ambition dogged perseverance and willingness to work, more pronounced than in the case of the seeing student. One

sightless young man is to be graduated from Cornell in June, 1923, who won election in March to Phi Beta Kappa, and his career illustrates to a nicety the analysis given above.

Schools for the blind in this country generally follow in the main the courses of study of the public schools in their state or city. In New York we set for our pupils the same pace as in the schools for the seeing, using the same examinations as are given to all students, the examinations being conducted under the state authorities at Albany. It requires for a blind child a bit more time usually, and in the elementary and academic courses taken together a handicap allowance of two years is considered reasonable. However, while the intellectual development is going forward, these special schools also provide training of a superior sort in the manual arts, in physical development, and, if talented, in a special line, such as music, which is peculiarly acceptable as a means of education for those who do not see. In all the schools that I know of the moral training also is not neglected, though sectarianism is discountenanced.

The character of the instruction in scholastic subjects in schools for the blind is usually so good that the attainments of the intellectually-minded among the pupils are superior to those who attend schools for the sighted. Manual training is given a prominent place in these schools and is long continued, so that the sightless person may be able with skill to use his hands as his mind directs. In some schools this manual training becomes trade training and the students use the skill developed in their occupations after school days. Physical training is also made much of because freedom and ease in bodily carriage must be developed by long and patient instruction where such development is unassisted by imitation; it is mainly by ocular observation that most of us are influenced to do the things we do. And, finally, schools for the blind make a great deal of music instruction, first of all that the pupil may develop aesthetically, second that he may have an accomplishment whereby to interest and please his friends, and third, that he may perhaps find in the field of performance or that of teaching a career.

That the schools succeed is evidenced by many examples of competent sightless citizens whose training has been secured in them. Of one thing these schools are especially proud; namely, that few of their graduates are beggars. The blind beggar is usually a person who has lost his sight in mature years. Along with the education of these sightless youths in letters, manual arts, physical control, and special talent goes an inculcation of the spirit of independence or self-dependability, of ambition, of cheerful acceptance of the hardships so many and so cruel but still so surely awaiting their entrance on the field of self-support, a spirit that sustains what to most of us looking on is an inexplicably blind optimism, blind both figuratively and literally.

At the 1916 meeting of this conference the general superintendent of Chicago's United Charities gave utterance to this wise and true judgment: "To declare that those who have lost eyesight, unfortunate as such an affliction is, are necessarily a dependent class in vicious." Too many people look upon a blind man as either a wonder or a weakling. A new social consciousness with respect to these our fellow citizens is developing, but oh, so slowly!

What is blindness socially? Some make it a plea for alms. And the appeal is tremendous. I have been told by a blind beggar that he considers he would be a fool to work when he can take a place on the street corner and accumulate doles to the extent of as much as twelve to twenty dollars a day. Certain people have sympathies

that are easily stirred (and as easily satisfied) and they drop a dime or a quarter in the tin cup held out and go along with the thud of the coin resounding in their ears and a glow of self-satisfaction in their hearts over a good deed done. Whereas the really efficient way to serve the blind is to give them a chance to do their work in the world. A blind beggar is no better and no worse than a seeing beggar.

What is blindness socially? To many it is a thing repugnant, a sightless person is one to be avoided, passed by on the other side. These persons may be selfish merely and desire to avoid the call of awakened conscience. Or they may be hysterically sympathetic, as was a great actor whom I once begged to come over from the theater across the street from our school to speak some words of encouragement to our pupils. "Oh, I can never do it! You mustn't ask me. I could not act for a week after looking at a hundred blind children." (He invited us, however, to bring them all over as his guests to see the play.)

What is blindness socially? To a few, but I believe an increasing number, it is the appeal to Christlike sympathy and service. Best of all service we social workers can perform is to find the means if possible to prevent the occurrence of blindness or if it is coming on to find a cure. But prevention failing and cure being impossible, let us seek to open the way whereby the blind may learn to walk erect and confidently, trained to a life of usefulness, and then by our efforts, coupled with their own, given a place in the workaday world for the use of their developed talents. For nearly seventy years there has appeared on the title-page of the Year Book of the New York Institute for the Education of the Blind a motto and a quotation from the prophecy of Isaiah which I commend to all social workers as one to be made their own: "Lux Oritur: And I will bring the blind by a way that they knew not; I will lead them in paths that they have not known; I will make darkness light before them."

THE DEAF CHILD AND THE HARD-OF-HEARING CHILD

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Perhaps some of you are wondering why I have differentiated between two classes of children whose main educational difficulties arise from a common cause, deafness. For the sake of those who are not familiar with the two types, I will try to show, in a few words, why their educators make a sharp distinction between them.

Let us imagine two children nine years old. One of them has been slightly deaf since infancy; the other has never heard a sound. The little hard-of-hearing boy was slow about learning to talk. He found some words hard to pronounce and could not say them until his mother had gone over them repeatedly, speaking especially clearly and making sure that she was within range of his hearing. Occasionally now he makes a slight mistake in the pronunciation of a word or syllable. When he is near you, however, he understands everything you say to him, and his vocabulary is as adequate as that of his playmates.

The condition of the other little boy of nine, who is totally deaf, is entirely different. If he has received no instruction, he does not know his name, he does not know that he has one. He can see the things around him, but he has no idea that that object is a desk, this a table, and the wiggly one that follows and plays with him, Fido. Not

only is he unable to tell you what he is thinking about, but he is unable to think at all, except in pictures of things and sensations that he remembers. If he has been in school he has learned the names of a great many things. He has been taught, word by word, with infinite patience, the meaning of simple sentences and how to put words together to express some of his thoughts. He can speak and write the words he knows, and read them from your lips. But do you not see what a long, hard road he has to travel before he can pick up a book and understand what it says to him? And do you not understand that the difference between him and the little hard-of-hearing boy is one of language? Like the foreigner, the deaf child must learn what your words mean before he can understand or use them.

There are all grades of handicap between that of congenital total deafness and very slight impairment of hearing, but we shall consider only the two extremes.

The deaf child's education.—His need being more manifest, the deaf child was helped first. For centuries it was believed that he could not learn; then came an occasional successful attempt to teach the son of some wealthy family; finally in Paris there arose a man, the Abbé de l'Epée, who believed that all deaf children could be taught, and who set about teaching them.

From the very greatness of his devotion there arose a difficulty which has caused unending controversy ever since. He would not turn away any applicant, and so many came that he found himself unable to teach them by the slow process of speech and lip-reading. Therefore he devised a language of signs, by which he could give them ideas and an understanding of written language much more quickly, though it left them mute. These signs, still in considerable use, are an excellent means of communication, but they do not follow the English order of words, and consequently their use by a deaf child makes it necessary for him to learn two distinct languages, and confuses him in his effort to learn English. Moreover, if a child who is being taught speech and lip-reading is allowed to use signs, he does not rely sufficiently upon his speech and that of others to become proficient in its use. The signs are easier, and he, like most of us, is likely to follow the line of least resistance.

Dr. Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet, the great benefactor who founded the first permanent school for the deaf in the United States, imported this French method of signs. Other schools followed suit, and for fifty years the deaf children educated in this country were not taught speech and were regarded as "deaf-mutes."

In 1866, Miss Harriet B. Rogers undertook to teach a small group of deaf children in Massachusetts by means of speech and lip-reading. At first she only hoped to preserve the speech of children who had grown deaf after learning to talk, and to improve that of the partially deaf. Gradually, however, it became evident that the congenitally deaf also could be taught to speak intelligibly, and a new era began.

Just a little more than fifty years ago, Alexander Graham Bell, a young man of twenty-four, was invited by some teachers of the deaf in Boston to come to teach them the means by which he had so successfully taught speech to deaf children in England. Mr. Bell had been interested in speech all his life, having always lived among authorities on the subject. His father was a distinguished elocutionist. His grandfather had corrected defective speech. From his boyhood he had experimented with the mechanism of speech, and he knew, perhaps better than any living person, the technique of every vocal sound. He put new life into the work of teaching the deaf. His eagerness, his enthusiasm, and, above all, his ability to get results, inspired all who came in contact

with him. His interest in the deaf grew into an ardent championship, and it would be almost impossible to overestimate his influence on their education in this country.

His invention of the telephone was an outgrowth of his work in phonetics. He often said that it was his knowledge of speech, rather than that of electricity, that enabled him to make the first telephone. Perhaps you know of the letter he wrote to his mother when at last he learned that the telephone would bring him wealth. To me it will always bring the thrill and the feeling of humility that one has in the presence of true greatness. He said, "Now we shall have money enough to teach speech to little deaf children."

At the time Mr. Bell began his work in Boston more than 96 per cent of all the deaf children who were being educated at all were in schools where no use was made of speech and lip-reading. A mere handful, in four small schools, were being educated orally. Outside of school, receiving no education whatever, were more deaf children than the sum total in all the schools.

Now, very few deaf children remain uneducated. Also, speech is taught in every school for the deaf in the United States, except a few state schools for colored children. The time is coming when every deaf child will be given an opportunity to learn speech, in a speech atmosphere. And to Alexander Graham Bell, more than to any other one person, belongs the credit. Any estimate of the time and labor he gave for the deaf seems incredible. He answered personally every one of the hundreds of letters that came to him from parents of deaf children; as long as he lived he never refused to see a caller who came to him on behalf of a deaf child; he traveled thousands of miles at his own expense and made hundreds of speeches in order to arouse the public to the needs of deaf children. Always and everywhere he preached the doctrine, "First, educate them, give them language; second, give them speech."

In 1887 there was no place in the world where one might go for research work in regard to the deaf or for accurate information about their education. Dr. Bell, with the money from the Volta Prize, awarded him by the French government, and with other money which he added, founded such an institution, calling it the "Volta Bureau for the Increase and Diffusion of Knowledge Relating to the Deaf." In 1890 he organized the American Association to Promote the Teaching of Speech to the Deaf, and gave the bureau to the association. The work he thus began is growing to such an extent that even his generous endowment is far from sufficient for carrying it on.

The hard-of-hearing.—Learning of the lip-reading work for deaf children, adults who were deaf began to apply it to meet their needs, and schools for them are being established throughout this country. From the work for deafened adults, a realization has come of the importance of the other child with whom this paper deals—the hard-of-hearing child.

At home such a child is not especially noticeable. His playmates readily accept the fact that they must speak a little louder to him than to each other, and out of school he is a happy, apparently normal, little fellow. In school the situation becomes entirely different. He misses parts of the teacher's quiet explanations. He cannot tell her what Mary Jones said yesterday about the verbs and the adverbs, because Mary is shy, and mumbled. He begins to take poor marks home on his report card. Then, if he is a spirited lad, with qualities of leadership, he is likely to become defiant. He adopts a "don't care" attitude. Instead of pretending to pay attention to the explanations he cannot hear, he employs his active brain in originating methods of making him-

self the object of the children's interest and the teacher's wrath. He becomes known as an idler and trouble-maker.

If he is by nature a more retiring child, he dreams when he cannot understand the speech around him. Having formed the habit, he often continues to dream when, by making an effort to hear, he could follow the lesson. If he tries with all his might to understand, and still cannot, he acquires the dazed, strained, hurt expression that we often see on the faces of elderly persons who are growing deaf. And all the time he is falling behind the class, and feeling that somehow he is inferior.

Manifestly a school for the deaf, with its slow language-teaching, is not the best place for children of this type, with their normal command of English. And yet many of them are sent there, simply because there is no other place for them.

Within the last ten years a realization of two facts has become apparent: first, that most of these hard-of-hearing children, given a knowledge of lip-reading, could keep up in public school; second, that there are far more of them than of the deaf children. If anyone still doubts the second fact, he has only to look at the evidence produced by the recent investigation in the Washington public schools. Two expert teachers of lip-reading, believing that many hard-of-hearing children could be found, offered to teach a demonstration class without pay. The school authorities replied that there were not enough such children to make the effort worth while, only eight having been encountered. However, an investigation was made, and the number of cases reported by the teachers was 1,400 in the elementary grades alone.

Less than half a dozen cities in the United States are doing systematic work for hard-of-hearing children. Rochester, New York, was the first to undertake it, in 1916, thanks to the efforts of Dr. F. W. Bock, an otologist of that city. Lynn, Massachusetts, followed in 1918, when Miss Caroline Kimball, herself hard of hearing and a lip-reader, was appointed to direct the work. Other cities are taking hold gradually, and we are beginning to hope for the time when every child whose hearing is subnormal will be given lip-reading just as promptly as a lame child is given a crutch or a brace. First, however, the public must be brought to realize the need for the work, and this brings me to the last point to which I wish to ask your attention. It is the most important of all, for it suggests what you can do.

What you can do.—First of all you can inform yourself, if you do not know already, about the conditions existing in your own community. Where is the nearest school for the deaf, and is it a good school? Can the children in the upper grades understand and use good English? Can they read your lips when you speak naturally, and can they talk intelligibly? Are they given industrial training that makes them independent citizens? If you do not know where the schools in your state are, write to the Volta Bureau, and you will receive a list of them. If you hear of a case of deafness, suggest to those concerned that the Volta Bureau will gladly send literature to help a parent start the home training of a child, or information about lip-reading for hard-of-hearing children or adults.

You can interest yourself in the slightly deaf children in the public schools of your town. If the superintendent says there are none, tell him what happened in Washington. The same thing has occurred in many places.

May I ask that you will take home with you this purpose: to see that every child handicapped by deafness, whether slight or profound, is given the training he needs; and that every adult, oppressed, discouraged, or morbidly sensitive because of defective hearing is told that he may learn once more to understand the conversation of his friends.

SCHOOL PROGRAMS FOR MENTAL HEALTH

THE RELATION OF THE SCHOOL TO THE MENTAL HEALTH
OF THE AVERAGE CHILD

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There has been a tendency to think of mental health or mental hygiene as something related primarily to subnormal, psychopathic, delinquent, or markedly peculiar individuals, and to consider a mental hygiene program in the schools pretty largely from the standpoint of a psychiatric service combined with a visiting teacher, school counselor, or social worker to make the connection between child, clinic, home, and school. That this is a valuable and necessary part of the mental hygiene movement in the school system there is no doubt, but it does not for a moment constitute the real and essential relationship of the school to the mental health of all of its children, which is something organic and involved in the very concept of education itself.

Do we not think of mental health as practically identical with good adjustment? By the well-adjusted person we mean an individual who is able to enter into personal relationships with sufficient ease and comfort to make him a source of growth and happiness, and whose energy is free enough to find happy and effective expression in real work and objective interests.

It is obvious that the person whom we call average may fall almost anywhere between two extreme limits, if only he manages to maintain himself in society. We accept him, no matter how unhappy or strained, no matter how peculiar, as long as he conforms sufficiently to keep afloat. Few individuals are so well adjusted that mental hygiene can be taken for granted in their lives. Under the label "average or normal" we can find in our schools children who are unhappy, timid, self-conscious, jealous, ill-tempered, solitary, day dreaming, moody, domineering, antagonistic, cruel—children in every possible state of unfortunate adjustment, but still tolerable to the group. Adjustment, however, is really a process, not a state, and never stays put. The child who is average today may be a problem tomorrow, depending upon the changes that are taking place in the interplay of organism and environment. Likewise the child who seems to be a problem turns normal before our very eyes under the magic of changed social stimuli. Personality is dynamic, is a response, a growth, an ever changing organization of forces which at best only approximates complete success of adjustment. From this point of view mental health is as much a need of the average child as physical health, and must be just as consciously a part of our plan for his development.

Our question is then, What part does the school take in the building up of the child's adjustment to life and what responsibility is involved as compared to the influence and responsibility of the home? Psychiatrists all agree that the effect of the first four or five years of life is vitally determining. Some even go so far as to say that nothing counts after that time.

The school is the first adventure of the child into the real world, the first break from the family circle, the first experience in an impartial impersonal atmosphere, where he is judged on his own merits by a group of his peers. The school is, of course, not as fundamental as the home, but one can hardly overemphasize the crucial nature of its effect upon the child in this, his first standing alone. For the success or failure of

the child in his first attack on the larger social environment, the school and the primary teacher in particular are to a great extent responsible. For the mental health of the average child it is absolutely necessary that teachers of beginning children in kindergarten or primary class, understand the critical nature of this experience in a child's life and deliberately try to control results, so that no child is allowed to experience overwhelming failure, fear, shame, ridicule, or praise if it can be avoided, nor permitted to stand out from the group in unwholesome ways either for punishment or reward. Every child who enters school for the first time needs to get the feeling that he can maintain himself with a fair degree of success in the school environment.

Teaching, particularly in the elementary grades, is primarily the gradual adjustment of a group of individualists to each other and the idea of playing and working together. Success in the imparting of information will depend largely on how well the former is done. In fact, the best teaching is impossible in any grade or with any group without some understanding of mental hygiene and the meaning of the child's attitudes, failures, successes, interest, or indifference, in terms of the earlier determining influences in his life and of present effect of home life as well as school upon his behavior. John's failure in arithmetic, his favorite subject, may be due to laziness, or it may be upset over the arrival of the new baby.

Few teachers realize the determining influence, not only of the class routine and other children, but even more of their own attitudes and personal adjustment upon the child. If only one factor in a child's maladjustment at school can be changed, the attitude of the teacher will usually be found to be the most important, and its alteration most immediately effective in bringing about improvement. In the teacher the child finds the parent, and if his relationship to his real parents is infantile or antagonistic or fearful, he will often tend to set up the same pattern with the teacher, perhaps taking out on her feelings which he has to restrain with his own father and mother. This means that the teacher has here not only the necessity for understanding the mechanism but the opportunity for altering it. If the child can work out with an adult whom he respects a satisfactory and successful relationship, it is bound to affect favorably his entire adjustment. Not only does this demand tact and wisdom on the part of the teacher, but it also requires a good personal adjustment. She must be free enough of her own complexes not to let them determine her reaction to the child.

There are two obstacles at present to the development of the attitude in the teacher which would make for mental health in the child. First, there is lack of knowledge and experience in the principles of mental hygiene. Normal schools are not teaching students how to interpret the irritating behavior of the bad boy or girl, nor are they making any attempt to apply mental hygiene to the personal problems of our future teachers. The second obstacle is the inevitable conflict between the mental hygiene interest and the teaching interest as it exists today in most public schools. According to our present policy, the attention of the teacher is supposed to be directed toward the teaching of certain subject-matter to every child, in the same way and within a limited time. The behavior of the child receives attention only when it interferes with what the teacher is struggling to accomplish. Only an interest in educating the child as a whole substituted for the interest in teaching a subject to the child would permit a development of the mental-hygiene point of view in the teacher. If the teacher were allowed to think of education as primarily a matter of the child's growth and adjustment, and concentrate on the process whereby he could most successfully develop in the school environment,

his bad behavior would be a legitimate part of her job and as full of scientific interest as his good behavior.

Justification for the expense of such a revolutionary shift of emphasis and attention, requiring, as it would, smaller classes and more and better-trained teachers, lies in the fact that without it teaching is bound to fail pretty completely in many cases and partially in many more because of uncorrected misunderstood emotional maladjustment. If the interest and attitude of the teacher could be taken for granted with all that would thus be contributed to the advancement of a mental hygiene program in the schools, there still remains a connection between the school and the mental health of every child which is unique, and can be supplied by no other agency, not even the home, except in very limited ways.

According to the psychiatrist, next to the type of love and hate patterns which are laid down in the first social experiences of the child in the home, the most important factor in his sound development is the appearance and growth of sublimating interests. It is obvious that by "interest" is not meant any subjective inner state, but rather an active freeing expression of energy in definite organized ways, which leads ultimately to a practical control over some phase of the objective world. It is only through the development of actual controls, definite techniques for getting himself over successfully, that the child is able to free himself from the infantile dependence and subjective methods of control which he exercised over his family when crying, or tantrums produced desired results with no related effort on his part. At home everything the child does is the subject of personal praise or blame rather than impersonal criticism or appreciation of the product. It is usually not "What a good boat," but "What a good boy to make such a fine boat." The adoring parent can hardly keep from referring praise or blame back to the child or from contrasting the work of one child with that of another to the disparagement of one or the other. In the home atmosphere, where personal approval or disapproval counts so supremely, and where the friction among brothers and sisters of different ages and dissimilar interests interferes constantly with the attainment of results, it is hard for the child to become entirely objective in the carrying out of his interests. The approval of loved ones or the discomfiture of rivals is too inevitably an important part of the end sought.

It is true that in the ordinary school today the same subjective appeal and motivation by competition, praise, or blame, punishment, or reward still persist. With the commonly accepted idea of education and methods of teaching, no other way is possible. Transferring attention from personal achievement to objective results is almost impossible of attainment when the work of the school is such that it is pursued individually and independently by each child, with competition as its chief motivation. Only when the child is one of a group working together to attain a common purpose can the balance of attention be kept away from the person and on the process and its outcome. Freeing the energy of the child for objective uses, through group development of as many interests as possible, is in my opinion the school's primary obligation, and would in itself constitute corrective treatment for children seriously maladjusted, as well as improve the adjustment of ordinary individuals.

An illustration will do more than anything I can formulate to indicate what is meant by teaching, which of itself not only educates the intellect, but promotes better balance and adjustment of the emotions. Carson College, an institution for the care

and education of orphan girls, located in Flourtown, Pennsylvania, and directed by Miss Elsa Ueland, has developed an experimental school for its own children which covers grammar grades. It conforms to public school standards sufficiently to be able to enter children who are going to high school in first or second year. It also provides, in the same school, for children who are not suitable for high school training but who are in no sense below the dull-normal level. Various schemes have been tried for separating the classes into groups according to intelligence ratings, but such division, particularly among the older girls, was the cause of much unhappiness, sense of failure, and humiliation. In so small and intimate a group (there are about seventy-five or eighty children altogether) it was impossible to prevent comparisons and derogatory labeling. From successful experiments in combining younger children of varying degrees of intelligence in one class, they came to the opinion that if older girls could be organized about a common project, which would offer possibilities of functioning on many different levels, the feelings of inferiority and failure could be greatly reduced and the brighter girls could still do just as much as their ability permitted. The teacher who undertook this task had taught in our regular, public school system, and had, of her own experience, come to the point where she wished to abandon old methods. She had no special training to fit her for the task, and it was for her as much of a project as for the children. The class work was to center about a printing press and the development of real workmanship in printing. The children understood that they were working out an educational experiment, and entered with enthusiasm upon the activities which were to result in the final printing, illustrating, and binding of a book of their own making. About the technique of printing and the writing of the book were organized history, geography, spelling, composition, word study, and the like. The children went to other teachers for arithmetic, science, music, and physical training.

The class consisted of ten or twelve girls from thirteen to sixteen years of age, with intelligence quotients ranging from 75 to 105. Several of the duller children had never done academic school work well and had been as badly adjusted as they were retarded. Two of them were well up to average in ability, but had been serious behavior problems in school and at home, and had, consequently, done poor school work. The rest were average, ordinarily well-adjusted children.

It is impossible here to indicate the richness and variety of material which were drawn into this printing project, and how the children from the first worked at it as a common job. No one activity was deemed any more important or valuable than the rest. They were all after certain results, and got their joy and satisfaction from contributing to the process in any way, from cleaning the printing press to writing a chapter in the book. There was no one who did not find expression in some phase of the job, and no one who did not get something out of the general work of the class. Each one worked independently, and yet all worked together. Everyone got credit for accomplishment, yet no one got a sense of purely personal failure or success.

There is no doubting the reality of the poise, self-direction, and objectivity of the work which is going on in this classroom. The effect on the visitor is instantaneous and convincing. But what is not apparent, unless one knows the previous histories of the children, is the change which has taken place in certain individuals through this opportunity for objective expression in an impersonal-group activity. The effect on the duller girls has been striking. They have actually learned to do things of which they

have never before been capable in the way of ordinary reading, spelling, and composition, and the self-respect which they have found in successful functioning side by side with the girls who are destined for high school has had a marked effect on happiness and general behavior. It is noteworthy that this change extends to other classroom work which is not a part of the printing project and has even been felt in home adjustments. No one at Carson College will claim that these adjustments are due entirely to the printing class and its rarely impersonal objective teacher. They only know that somehow problems have been solved this year which they have worked on in vain before, and the center of these adjustments seems to be the new experiment with printing.

In this account of everyday children one can see that mental adjustment, positive mental health, depends upon getting impulses and intelligence at work on realities, objective situations, always with the understanding that objective situations are essentially social situations. The expression and organizations of the energies of the child with reference to his home and family are, of course, of prime importance, and if they are misdirected, repressed, or overweighted, will make the school's task doubly hard; but the fact remains that it is in such cases that the school is the child's best hope of salvation. If the school offers no freeing process, no actual development of powers which will give the child at least some genuine contacts with and control over realities, what basis has he for any but a subjective or destructively objective growth?

The young child finds the expression of every interest fraught with difficulty: talking, eating, walking, running, throwing, catching—all are problems to be solved. Every creative idea or potential interest has to be materialized with effort, because of inexperience, lack of tools, habits, and even the requisite motor co-ordination. Just stop to realize how intense a child's desires are, how comparable to an adult's in strength and how ridiculously ill equipped he is to realize them. You can see how necessary it is not to put obstacles in the way of those driving impulses, not to make reality any harder than it is, so that fictitious or subjective forms of satisfaction alone are available, but to assist them to acquire definite tools for getting expressed factually in as many directions as possible.

Children are full of desires to act on every kind of environmental situation. There is no limit to what their interests may include and never any one fixed necessary form of expression. They can find creative outlets—a sense of successful activity, control, development, and joy in manifold directions. It remains only for the educational process to provide the suitable environment, the material on which to work, and the guidance which prevents the acquiring of tools or technique from being an insuperable or overdiscouraging obstacle. Children thus educated to an objective use of their powers have the best chance of acquiring a balance and control, a confidence and freedom, a capacity for dealing with the environment in terms of fact, which are fundamental to social adjustment and which, unless family relationships or early conditions are unusually hampering, will make the defense mechanisms common to childhood less and less necessary.

The only practical and effective way to increase the mental health of a nation is through its school system. Homes are too inaccessible. The school has the time of the child and the power to do the job. It is for us who represent mental hygiene and its application through social case work to help the school and the teacher; to see their vital responsibility for an education which shall mean the personal adjustment of the individual through the activities of the group.

SCHOOL PROVISION FOR GIFTED CHILDREN IN THE
UNITED STATES

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We must assume at the outset that superior mental achievement manifests itself over a wide range of degrees, that giftedness shows quantitative differences all the way from an amount of superiority just perceptibly good enough to be called superior up to an amount of superiority that is found perhaps in only one man in a million or one man in several million and that attracts the attention of the entire civilized world. Just what provision ought to be made for gifted pupils in our schools depends, then, evidently in part upon our definition of giftedness upon the point in the scale of merit at which we conclude to divide the gifted from the non-gifted pupil.

A rather common definition of the "gifted" pupil is: "a pupil whose intelligence is such as to place him in the top 10 per cent of the pupils of his chronological age." It has been asserted frequently, and the evidence seems on the whole to corroborate the assertion, that pupils in this range of ability can accomplish two years of the ordinary school curriculum in one year without undue pushing and without detriment to their health. Accordingly, in some cities the provision for gifted pupils has to deal with pupils of this type.

Turning now to the administrative devices whereby special provision can be made for gifted pupils, we find all degrees of flexibility in vogue, from none at all to thoroughly individualized instruction. One of the commonest methods of providing for the gifted child is by special promotion. A recent inquiry which I conducted showed that particular attention is paid to this plan in such cities as Denver, Atlanta, Tallahassee, Newton and Lawrence, Kansas, Kansas City, Springfield, Missouri, Montclair, Chester, Pennsylvania, and several other cities. There is no attempt to present a complete list.

Four or five years ago a study was made under my direction of eighty-four college students and forty-four school children who had skipped grades in their school career (sixty-seven of the eighty-four an entire grade). The idea of the investigation was to discover what kind of pupils were grade-skippers, how they came to skip a grade, and what the result was. The summarized results show the following features:

Eighty-one per cent had "gifted" ancestors, 83 per cent had healthy parents, 90 per cent were healthy children, 93 per cent were very regular in attendance, 93 per cent were undoubtedly unusually able in school work, 88 per cent were urged by the school authorities to skip a grade, 87 per cent believed that the skipping had been advantageous, 75 per cent skipped grades below the fourth, and 3 per cent only ever repeated a grade. As a group, these grade-skippers were found to be rapid readers, quick learners, earnest, industrious, able to concentrate their attention, and given to the exploration of material on their own account. They were kept in good condition physically at home and early had had instilled into them by their parents a good attitude toward the school and its work.

This study showed that only occasionally was any intellectual difficulty experienced by the skipping of a grade, and that a little time and energy devoted by the teachers or the home could have obviated most of that. Some of those who felt the jump had been disadvantageous voiced objections to the plan on the score of difficulty in making a

satisfactory social adjustment to the higher grades. Both Mr. Hoskinson, the student who carried out this investigation, and the speaker, who directed it, feel that for country, village, and small town schools, where other devices for facilitating the work of the gifted are difficult to apply, this method of facilitation is to be strongly recommended. We concur in recommending that the top 10 per cent of the pupils, provided their health is sound, should be encouraged to gain a half year to a year in their school progress between entering school and the completion of the seventh grade. A few hours, even, of special assistance at home or in the school will go far toward bridging the gap pedagogically.

Another method of providing for gifted pupils consists in dividing the pupils within a given grade into two or more sections, oftenest perhaps into three sections. This sectioning is now frequently made primarily upon the basis of intelligence tests. In the junior high school, where the individualization of instruction and of the selection of courses is supposed to be a special feature of the plan of organization, sectioning of this sort is a natural development. Sometimes the better section undertakes more work than the other sections; sometimes it undertakes similar work at a faster pace. We have, then, a choice between speed, or acceleration, on the one hand and enrichment on the other. One of the problems in this field of the education of the gifted that is now receiving much attention lies just here in the choice between the policy of acceleration and the policy of enrichment. The tendency appears to be growing to conclude that acceleration is on the whole more obvious and natural in the lower grades, say between the kindergarten and the fifth or sixth grade, whereas enrichment is the more obvious and natural in the grades above the sixth. Consequently, the sectioning of classes just mentioned as a growing tendency in the junior and senior high school appears to be making on the whole for an enrichment rather than for an acceleration of the work of the more competent pupils.

I chance to have more information about the sectioning plans in Detroit, and I shall therefore take it as a sample of this method of dealing with superior pupils. In September a group intelligence test is given to every pupil who enters the first grade in Detroit. From the scores secured the pupils are classified into seven degrees of general intelligence, ranging from a rating of A through B, C plus, C, C minus, and D to E. The A and B pupils are then grouped together and designated as the "X" section, and the D and E pupils are similarly grouped together and designated as the "Z" section. The remaining pupils, those with average ability, form the "Y" section. Roughly, the X section contains the best 20 per cent, the Z section the poorest 20 per cent, and the Y section the middle 60 per cent of the first-grade entrants. The pupils are taught, then, in these three sections, X, Y, and Z. The type of work, its pace, and the methods of presentation are supposed to be adapted to the needs of superior, average, and inferior pupils, respectively. Transfers of pupils whose classification by the intelligence test turns out to have been unsatisfactory are made upon re-examination and joint recommendation of the staff of the psychological clinic and the teachers and principals concerned. One of the cardinal features of the Detroit plan is that "grades" come to mean, to all intents and purposes, the number of years that pupils have attended the schools. That is, in theory every pupil advances one grade a year. (It perhaps should have been said that the very poorest intelligences, those that are on the border line or downright feeble-minded, are removed at the outset for instruction in special classes.) It is obvious, then, that the X pupils will more or less rapidly draw

away from the Y pupils in their actual scholastic progress, and that the Y pupils will similarly draw away from the Z pupils. At the end of a few years, say after six years of work, it will be seen that, despite the designation of "sixth grade" that would then be applied to all the pupils who had been six years in the schools, the X, Y, and Z sections actually will have arrived at quite different attainments. I say "will have arrived" because as yet this Detroit plan has been in operation only about three years, so that just how much differentiation will occur between the sections remains to be seen.

One of the numerous obstacles that have been encountered in the administration of this plan in Detroit consists in the tendency of the grade principals to concentrate their attention upon the Z section. In many of the schools the best teachers were assigned to the duller pupils, apparently on the theory that skilful teaching would accomplish the impossible for them and the correlative theory that the bright pupils could get along anyway and hence did not need particularly skilful teaching. The fallacy of this theory has been recognized, and attempts are being made to focus attention upon the needs and the possibilities of the X sections. Another of the obstacles that has been encountered, not only in Detroit, but in other cities where serious attempts are being made to provide for gifted children, consists in the decided lack of information or agreement as to what alterations should be made in the course of study and in the methods of instruction of the X group.

The National Society for the Study of Education, of which I am secretary and *Yearbook* editor, has a committee now at work upon the whole matter of the education of gifted children. The committee will welcome information or suggestions that will contribute to make more helpful the *Yearbook* it plans to issue early in 1924.

A third method of providing for gifted pupils consists in the formation of definitely segregated special classes. Because of my personal acquaintance with the teachers in that city, who are reporting details of their work in connection with university courses, I shall take Jackson, Michigan, as an illustration of the operation of segregated special classes for the gifted. Jackson is the more interesting because both types of special classes for the gifted (speed classes and enrichment classes) may be seen in operation in the same school building.

Of these two types the former were the first to be established. Thus, in the fall of 1921 there were in operation three speed classes, enrolling ninety pupils. The grades represented were from the lower third to the upper sixth. All the pupils who were admitted had been found upon examination to rank in the top 15 per cent in their age group in a group intelligence test, such as the national intelligence test, or the Haggerty Delta I, or the Whipple group test, and most of them had also been given individual Binet examinations. Substantially, they formed a group with mental ages equal to the grade to be attempted and with IQ's of 115 or better; or, in other words, they were about 1.5 years or more mentally accelerated. The general plan of operation was to keep pupils in these rooms for one semester during which they did the work of two regular semesters and were then returned to the regular classes; occasionally unusually capable pupils remained two semesters and did the work of two regular years in one. In these speed rooms a certain amount of accessory work characteristic of the grades in question was reduced in quantity or temporarily eliminated; thus there was less time devoted to music and drawing and the manual arts than in the regular grades.

The general results of these speed rooms have been satisfactory. They have demonstrated that properly selected pupils can accomplish two years' work in one year

without detriment to their health. The method is undoubtedly superior to the rougher device of grade-skipping already described, and which was shown to be successful despite its roughness. On the other hand, even in this method of bridging the period of acceleration, there is obviously a jerky "feel." The hiatus and the jump of the grade-skipping is removed, but the gifted pupil speeds for five months out of his elementary career only, and for the rest of the time he must keep the slower pace of the average pupil. The administrative advantage of the speed room is that it makes it possible in a smaller school system to bring together under one teacher a sufficient number of pupils of superior ability to form a good-sized working group. The atmosphere of these rooms is remarkable. Problems of discipline disappear; records of attendance and punctuality are high; the morale is unusually fine. There is obvious opportunity for a competent teacher to do much for these pupils in the direction of training them in methods of intellectual work, in habits of study, in attitude toward the school, and toward life that shall greatly increase their power to work and go far to insure that they shall reap the fruits of their potential capacities. It might be well to say at this point that one of the primary arguments for the segregation of the gifted lies in the development of proper attitudes; I mean attitudes like industry and hard work, co-operative-ness, responsibility, and initiative. If these wholesome mental attitudes are secured, segregation is worth while regardless of actual gain in time or in amount of information secured. At the present there are in this city of 50,000 population four special classes for the gifted; one, the speed class, is now confined to Grades 3 and 4, whereas the three enrichment classes (known locally as "opportunity classes") are now confined to the work of Grades 5 and 6, thus illustrating a point, brought out a little earlier, that acceleration seems more obvious in the earlier grades and enrichment in the higher grades.

The general plan of operation of these enrichment classes will be understood from what has been said. The pupils have been selected by intelligence tests and usually with confirmation from teachers' estimates. Many of them have already attended the speed school. Those who enter the classes in the lower fifth grade will retain in them two years, that is, until they leave to enter the intermediate school. The work includes the regular tasks of the fifth and sixth grades, but this is supplemented by various types of enrichment. The question as to what enrichment is feasible and most desirable is an interesting one, and only by trial can a finally satisfactory solution be gained. Among the things that are being attempted in some detail are: first, numerous visits to industrial establishments and institutions like banks and libraries; second, practice in the use of parliamentary procedure; third, excursions into Greek mythology; fourth, development of an elaborate study, by the project method, of the problem of transportation, including the construction of highways and the use of the modern automobile and motor truck; fifth, a study of some of the more general features of local geology, including fossils and glaciation. The classes have also done more than the ordinary amount of work in connection with city-wide musical-memory contests. Considerable attention has also been paid to exercises in which the pupils themselves take the place of the teacher in hearing reports and leading class discussions. Similarly, there has been more than the ordinary amount of dramatization and like activities to which the pupils of other rooms have been invited. While it is not always easy to say just where the line is to be drawn between regular work of the fifth and sixth grades and the enrichment work, and while you may say that all the lines of work I have mentioned are being carried on in other regular classes in these grades, it is evident that these selected pupils

are receiving a considerable amount of enrichment which would be impossible were they not segregated in these special classes. It needs hardly to be added that many of these pupils are also engaged in various forms of additional training in their homes, as by taking piano lessons, violin lessons, dancing lessons, and the like.

Visitation of the "opportunity classes" has confirmed my conviction that for the fullest success teachers of superior pedagogical skill and equipped with a considerable stock of general information are needed. These superior pupils are especially characterized by a wide range of spontaneous interest. They are nearly all of them omnivorous readers; most of them, indeed, could read well when they entered the first grade. If teachers of similar classes in other cities could be induced also to keep careful journals or logs, of their daily work, we should in a few years arrive at a better understanding of the possibilities of this type of provision for gifted pupils. We should know where and how to save time and energy in their instruction and how best to utilize this time and energy once it has been saved.

Still another form of provision for gifted pupils is reported from one of our smaller cities, Appleton, Wisconsin, where pupils of special ability who display special interests or aptitudes are grouped in clubs for the study of some phase of activity not directly or not fully undertaken in the regular school program. Among these clubs are the Forestry Club, the Photography Club, the Radio Club, and the Teaching Club.

Mention has been made thus far primarily of provision for gifted pupils in the elementary schools. It seems to have been taken for granted that the secondary school exercises so decided a selection that the problem of providing for a portion of its pupils is not very pressing; indeed, the most common complaint against the American high school is that it is laid out for the superior pupil and takes too little heed of the needs of the average or somewhat-below-average pupil. Nevertheless, perusal of the interesting monograph by Dorothy Yates¹ shows that even in the senior year, when the operation of selection is presumably at its maximum, the top 3.8 per cent of the seniors differ from the average seniors decidedly in respect to precocity, amount of reading, range and vitality of interests, intellectual attitude, and social qualities. Miss Yates believes that these superior students need superior teachers; that more opportunity should be provided for the exercise and development of leadership; that they should early be urged to aim for a college career; and that every effort should be made to provide a full and wholesomely stimulating environment with care to protect against the frittering away of time on trifles.

Similarly, there exists a real problem of guiding and stimulating the work of gifted boys and girls when they have entered the college. Every college administrator is conscious of the lamentable extent to which even our best institutions fail to enlist the full intellectual co-operation of the potentially superior students. Other colleges might do well in this connection to follow the example of the University of Iowa, where the students who had secured the highest scores in an intelligence test were "hailed on the carpet" and given to understand that in the light of their demonstrated superiority of endowment the institution would not feel satisfied with ordinary achievement from them.

Educators have come to realize the truth of the seeming paradox that under our present scheme of education it is precisely the gifted child who is most retarded peda-

¹ A Study of Some High School Seniors of Superior Intelligence, *Journal of Educational Research Monograph*, 1922.

gogically. The very fact that a request was made for a paper on this topic in this conference of social workers is evidence of this interest and, I hope, evidence that contributions toward the solution of these problems will be forthcoming in the not-distant future.

SPECIAL PROVISION IN THE SCHOOL FOR THOSE WITH MENTAL HANDICAPS

THE RELATION OF THE SCHOOL PROGRAM FOR FEEBLE- MINDED CHILDREN TO INSTITUTIONAL CARE AND TO EQUIPMENT FOR COMMUNITY LIFE

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All of us are agreed that no social program is complete that does not take into account the problem of the feeble-minded. We find less agreement in regard to practical methods of dealing with this problem. It is urged on the one hand that all the feeble-minded should be segregated in state institutions. It is argued that, though this segregation would be expensive, it does not involve any greater financial burden than society now has to bear in caring for these persons on account of dependency, delinquency, and crime. Segregation would also prevent the propagation of these mentally defective strains, and thereby lessen the problem in the next generation.

Various programs of dealing with the problem are urged. These programs are not mutually exclusive nor are we agreed upon the methods of carrying out any particular program. Segregation may be for life, or during a period of training, or during the child-bearing period in the case of women. It may be accomplished in large state-supported institutions or in supervised colonies. Institutional training may be followed by parole under supervision. The prevention of marriage by legislative enactment or the prevention of propagation by sterilization are methods frequently advocated. Public school systems are encouraged to establish special classes with appropriate education and training.

A practical program should take account of all of these plans and have in mind as its objectives: first, the education and training of all feeble-minded persons, so that they may develop as high a degree of social competency as possible; second, the prevention of dependency, delinquency, and crime; third, the prevention of the propagation of the mentally defective; fourth, the protection of the individual from exploitation; fifth, the removal of these feeble-minded persons from classes in our public schools where they not only are not benefited by the school work but are a serious handicap to the progress of normal children; and sixth, economic aspects of the problem must be considered and, other conditions being equal, one objective must be to lessen the net financial burden to the state of the care of the mental defective, and to distribute this burden as equably as possible.

Much misunderstanding has arisen from the tendency to assume that it is only necessary to consider the mental level or intelligence of mental defectives. The development of psychometric methods has encouraged this point of view. If a mental test or series of tests shows that a child has a certain mental age or intelligence quotient, the result has been assumed to be equivalent to a diagnosis of feeble-mindedness. This

emphasis has to some extent replaced an earlier emphasis on physical abnormalities or stigmas. Of course we may define feeble-mindedness in terms of intelligence level, but such definition gives only one factor necessary for the solution of the practical problems involved. The practical problem is one of social competency and social conformity. No matter how low the mental level of an individual may be, he ceases to be a serious problem, if he is competent to get on in the world, earn his own living, manage his own affairs, and keep out of trouble with his fellows.

Social competency and social conformity demanded for such self-sufficient membership in the social group depend upon certain native endowments, upon education and training, and upon the environment in which the individual lives. Beside native endowment in intelligence we must consider emotional stability. The excitable, unstable individual needs a higher level of mental capacity if he is to become socially competent than the stable individual who readily conforms to the requirements of society. Psychopathic tendencies or other abnormalities of mental functioning, inadequate personality, and the like are all handicaps to the development of social competency and adaptation, no matter what the mental level may be on the intelligence scale. That these factors of emotional stability and personality are influenced by training and by environment is clearly recognized by those who have had experience in training the mentally defective, but is too often forgotten when sweeping statements are made about the mentally defective. Mental deviation not only shows itself in different aspects of intelligence, ability for abstract reasoning, ability for manual skill, ability in music and the like, but in degrees of self-control, capability for social living, reliability, and in other aspects of human behavior. The influence of intelligence in determining human behavior in life situations is frequently exaggerated. Far more than is often realized such behavior is determined by habit and by emotional reactions. Physical vigor, health, and freedom from physical handicaps are also factors which determine social competency.

Furthermore the social environment is also a determining factor. Where home conditions are favorable, where community problems of public health, recreation, and social welfare are approaching the standards which you who attend this conference are working for, a person who would be classed as border line on an intelligence scale may well be socially competent who would fail of social competency and adaptation in a less favorable social environment. In other words, the practical solution of the problem of any given individual must take all these factors into account. There is no such thing as a person who is first, last, and all the time an "institutional case." Even if it is impossible for him even under favorable conditions ever to become socially competent, it may still be better for him to be cared for in the home or under some other form of extra-institutional social control. Each case calls for individual study and analysis. In each case the social environment as well as the individual himself must be studied.

Let me submit an outline of this analysis and some of the questions which should be answered in each individual case before we decide whether the child or adult under consideration should be placed in an institution for life, or for a period of years, or get all his school training in a special class and be allowed to remain in the home. It is on the basis of a thorough analysis of this kind that we should determine the disposition of any individual case.

A. Alleged purpose of institutional care.—First, some cases are incapable of self-help. They must be dressed, fed, and cared for generally as infants are cared for.

Can this care be given in the home? Would better care be possible in an institution? Which is less expensive?

Second, training and education. Can this be given satisfactorily by the special class and the home? In what way would institutional care and training be better?

Third, protection of the individual. Is this person likely to be ill treated, or unhappy, or exploited if allowed to remain in the home?

Fourth, protection of society: from spread of disease, delinquency, and crime; from dependency; and from the propagation of the mentally defective. Is this person less likely to become a menace to society if placed in an institution? If he is allowed to remain at home is he any more likely to become dependent or delinquent than if placed in an institution? Is it fair to raise the eugenic argument for institutional care in the case of the low-grade mental defectives who are not physically developed and so are incapable of reproduction?

B. Competency of the home for maintenance and control—First, economic status and home conditions. Are the parents living? Are they employed? What other dependents? Is income adequate?

Second, intelligence and other mental characteristics of parents. How do they care for their children? How are the children controlled? Can the parents be taught to care for a feeble-minded member of the family?

Third, degree of social responsibility. What are the standards of industry, thrift, moral conduct, and citizenship generally?

C. Character of the community—First, educational opportunity. What special classes are provided? How are graduates of these classes getting on?

Second, industrial conditions. Are there good opportunities for employment in occupations requiring unskilled or semiskilled labor? Are these occupations likely to prove injurious? What success in an industrial way has been attained by former members of special classes in the schools?

Third, recreational facilities.

Fourth, welfare organizations. What agencies? Are any of these in a position to do follow-up work in assisting these mental defectives to be self-supporting, to prevent delinquency, and to assist parents in proper care and control in the home?

D. The individual himself.—First, physical condition. (a) Abnormality or physical handicap. Is this person blind, deaf, crippled, or constitutionally inferior? Does he look "different?" Is sexual development normal? (b) Health. Is he syphilitic, epileptic, tuberculous, etc.?

Second, intelligence level. (a) Intellectual. What is his ability for school work? To what extent is he educable? (b) Practical. Even if he fails in formal school work can he acquire manual skill?

Third, social competency. What is his present status? Can this be improved?

Fourth, emotional stability, adequacy of personality, etc. Is he emotionally stable and self-controlled? Is he capable of social adaptation? Is he reliable up to the limits of his mental capacity?

Fifth, possibility of improvement, through medical treatment, through education and training, and through change in home or other environmental conditions.

Sixth, sex. The social aspects of the problem in the case of females is often different from that in the case of males of the same mental level, degree of emotional stability, etc.

As I have said, the answer to our question in regard to the best disposition of any case of school age will depend in part upon the organization of special classes for these mentally subnormal pupils. The class for subnormal pupils characteristically enrolls just such pupils as one finds in the school department of any state institution for the feeble-minded with a small number of border-line cases, congenital illiterates, etc. The competency of these pupils for regular school work seldom exceeds third- or fourth-grade standards. In the best-organized school systems practically no attempt at restoration teaching is made. Formal school work is very elementary and is made as concrete and practical as possible. Increasing emphasis is placed on health education, training for citizenship, and pre-vocational, industrial, and household arts.

Pupils of very low mental grade, the idiots, and those of the imbecile group referred to as "custodial cases," do not properly belong in these classes under trained teachers. If cared for during school hours, they should be brought together in what are really day nurseries in charge of a matron.

It is desirable for a visiting teacher or psychiatric social worker to co-operate with the medical inspector, the school nurse, and the supervisor of special classes in securing the co-operation of the homes from which all the children, in classes for the subnormal or in these day nurseries, come.

Among the causes that have prevented these classes for subnormal children from being as effective as one might wish have been the following:

First, late entrance. Too many school districts have no psychological or psychiatric service for the early detection of any but the more marked cases of mental deficiency. Boys and girls are not transferred to these classes until they have become hopelessly discouraged, have acquired a dislike for school, and in many cases have become behavior problems. Provision for early diagnosis and transfer to special classes should be made.

Second, failure to recognize the importance of habit and emotional control. Special classes fail when they emphasize knowledge and the development of certain skills and give little attention to habits, emotional control, and the development of social conformity and adaptation.

Third, no supervision on leaving school. One of the main reasons why our special classes have been disappointing in their results is that we send mentally defective boys and girls out into the community at sixteen years of age without supervision other than that of the home.

No one should attempt to draw hard and fast lines limiting the part that either special classes or institutions should play as agencies in our mental-hygiene program. Individual cases will have to be considered in a practical way. Whatever our point of view, we can agree on the fundamental principle that the state has a responsibility in the supervision throughout life of all who are mentally defective.

The program for which this conference should stand includes: first, the early identification of all cases of serious mental deviation, either in the pre-school period or soon after admission to school; second, an early analysis of the medical, psychological, educational, and social aspects of each case, with a tentative outline of procedure; third, a thorough follow-up service, through public health, public school, and social service agencies; fourth, adequate provision of special classes in the public schools with teachers with professional training in this work; fifth, some follow-up agency organized on a state or county basis should keep in touch with each case that leaves school, includ-

ing trained psychiatric social worker to visit each case at least twice a year; sixth, state-controlled institutions will still be needed, and in most states their number should be increased, to serve as training schools from which inmates may be sent out after a term of years under some colony plan or supervised parole, or where inmates may be retained for life as the individual cases require. They should serve also as laboratories of scientific research. Provision should be made for follow-up work for cases on parole where this is not provided locally.

Other things being equal, institutional care is more advisable: first, for those from unsatisfactory home surroundings rather than for those from good homes; second, for those whose parents have meager incomes and many dependents rather than for those whose parents have better incomes and fewer dependents; third, for the mentally unstable rather than for the mentally stable; fourth, for adolescents rather than for pre-adolescents and adults; fifth, for girls and women rather than for men and boys.

A SPEECH-CORRECTION PROGRAM FOR THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

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The problem of speech disorders and their treatment in the public schools may be understood best if study is made of the beginning of these disorders in the pre-school period. In the pre-school period there are certain fundamental things which the child must learn: first, correct food habits must be learned, and food must be taken regularly in the right amounts and varieties; second, correct sleep habits must be learned; third, correct general muscle habits, the learning of general movement, such as crawling, walking, running, and the general use of the hands, the most important of all these being the learned movement in speech.

Speech is not the simple "local" process it is sometimes supposed to be. It does not concern itself solely with the movements of the larynx and the tongue. The mechanism of speech is widely spread over the body, involving muscles all the way from the pelvis to the head. The elements of speech are also quite complicated. Speech is composed of sounds, of language (which is the relation between words), vocabulary, and, finally, the associated meanings. In order to acquire speech the child must learn what the sounds are, then the relationship of one sound to another, then what the meaning of the individual word is, and last, and most important of all, he must learn what speech accomplishes. Speech is not an inherited process. It requires that the sense of hearing and, to some extent, that the sense of sight be normal. A child must also have a normal nervous system. Brain injuries or nerve injury will prevent the proper development of speech.

Dividing muscle movements, for the purpose of study, the first part is movement, the second part is tension. The majority of fears which we have thought of as racial or inherited are largely learned tensions handed on through parent, teacher, nurse, or playmate. If the child is not wisely handled, it very quickly develops feelings of inferiority, inadequacy, and timidity. Morbid fears and chronic worry are often developed through the unconscious imitation of muscle tensions in the parents. Muscle tensions are an expression of our emotional attitude toward things, and these muscle tensions are shown very largely through speech. Fear and anxiety tensions will block off and

interfere with the easy normal flow of speech. Because of these tensions caused by fear, anxiety, and similar emotions, the child often gets confused in his learning. The muscles do not work easily and smoothly and so when he comes to make the very complicated co-ordinations necessary for speech, a speech defect develops.

The speech disorders are of two kinds—organic and functional. The organic speech disorders are due to such conditions as cleft palate, malformed jaws, and palatal arches, paralysis of the nerves governing the organs of speech, and injuries to the brain. It is very commonly supposed that most speech disorders are due to some organic difficulty. But when we study a series of cases as they come to us in the children of the schools, we find that not more than 10 per cent of those with speech disorders have any organic difficulty. The other speech disorders are due to functional causes, that is, confused learning processes or some emotional difficulty—feelings of fear, timidity, anxiety, and inferiority—which are expressed in muscle tensions, which in turn interfere with the speech. The organic speech difficulties require the attention of the neurologist and surgeon as well as the service of a phonetician. The functional disorders however are the chief problem with which the public schools must deal.

Many surveys have been made concerning the number of children who have speech disorders. If we include in speech disorders such conditions as monotonous and false-voiced voices and other marked vocal difficulties due to abnormal muscle tension, then we find that about 5 per cent of the children of the public schools are suffering from speech disorders. This figure is based on a personal survey of more than 50,000 children in the schools of the Middle West.

We tentatively, and for the purpose of study, classify speech disorders under the following heads: first, delayed speech; second, letter substitution, usually called lisp-ing; third, oral inactivities; fourth, stuttering.

Delayed speech is not a problem for the public schools, since children without speech do not get into the school system.

For letter substitution the common term is lisp-ing or lalling. It is the substitution of one letter sound for another, such as *th* or *sh* for *s*; *t* for *k*, etc. This difficulty is often due to a confusion of learning. It sometimes represents a childish residue which the patient hangs on to long past the time when it should have been eliminated. Only a small percentage of these cases are caused by abnormality of the jaw or palatal arch. It is not sufficient in the treatment of these cases merely to give phonetic drill. We always find that the child must have emotional training and re-education as well as phonetic drill.

Oral inactivity is a third type of speech disorder. There seems to be some general organic condition back of this disorder. We find a child eight or ten years of age speaking with such indistinctness that he cannot be understood. In most of these cases we find there is history of rickets and food difficulties reaching back to infancy. It may be due to faulty hearing. That it is not outgrown is shown by the fact that we had twenty-nine such cases out of a personal examination of 1,400 university freshmen. It is usually found that the children with this speech defect are suffering from feelings of inferiority, timidity, and anxiety. It may be of course, that the emotional condition is secondary to the speech condition, but in the treatment for this condition it is not wise to use phonetic drills directly. Whatever training is given must be given indirectly in plays and games; speech must not be made conscious. Many cases who are given phonetic drills in a direct way develop stuttering.

Stuttering, under which we include stammering, is very largely a question of tensions. Many of us may become speechless or stutter under the influence of fright. The question is, why does the stutterer feel anxious, fearful, and timid? The stutterer has a temperament which makes it difficult for him to make social adjustments. When we go back into the childhood of the stutterer, we find that for the most part he has been dominated too much at home, and that when he gets out into life, he is unable to meet various situations. Even where the child is an only child and everything is done for him in a physical way, he is still suffering from a psychological domination. He never wins any success through his own efforts, and soon he feels inferior and inadequate. Stuttering is a type of behavior and hence we cannot treat the disorder merely as a phonetic difficulty.

An historical survey of the methods used in the treatment of stuttering is melancholy reading. First surgical operations were freely used on the tongue; the root of the tongue was cut and sometimes a V-shaped piece was cut out of it. Treatment of stuttering by operative procedure still continues. Today the stutterer very often has his adenoids and tonsils taken out because he stutters. Later the pedagogical method came in vogue. These methods still hold the stage. The method usually used is breathing exercises in various combinations with vocal exercises. The new "methods" that are constantly being advocated and exploited are really not new at all, but really hundreds of years old.

The treatment of stuttering necessitates a very careful analysis and re-education of the child's emotional life and the problem of the teacher is twofold. The teacher must first be able to analyze the mental mechanisms which underlie behavior. She must be able to pick out the thing that has gone wrong and to re-educate the child to have better and more useful types of behavior. Second, she must have the knowledge and skill to adjust the child's environment, or if the environment cannot be changed, then to adjust the child so as to get along in his environment.

It has been our experience that the teachers do best in speech-correction work who have had experience in the primary grades. It is better that they should have had at least two years' training in general teaching before they go into speech-correction work. It is recommended that they devote at least a year in preparing themselves to teach this work, although it may be accomplished in two or three summers' work. The teachers should be trained to know something of the physiology of the speech mechanism, and have a general knowledge of the anatomy of the speech organs. They should know something of the nervous mechanism of speech and have knowledge of the physical development of the child and the time at which the fine-and coarse-muscle development is necessary. Since the speech mechanism was developed primarily to express the emotions, and since disturbed and poorly controlled emotions may give rise to speech disorders, careful training must be had in the development of the emotional life and in the avoidance of abnormal types of emotions. The teacher should know something of voice training and how to develop the various vocal modulations—pitch, volume, rhythm, and quality. She should also know something of English sounds and how to develop these sounds in children with defective speech. She should be able to make a careful and complete case history. The case history should include the family history, taking up the medical and social history of the parents, their temperaments, and their types of speech. The case history should also include the patient's medical history, his emotional reactions, and such fundamental reactions as curiosity,

disgusts, type of imagination, his school history, social history, and a very careful analysis of the speech conditions. Finally the teacher should have some training in mental analysis and be able to use the Jung association and other tests for the emotional reactions.

The teacher should make a brief case history for each child. She should have a conference with the parents and should have a physical examination made of each child. Each child should be given individual appointments from time to time. The children should be grouped together according to their emotional and speech difficulty; i.e., the children suffering from letter substitution should be in one group and the stutters in another group.

The question often arises as to whether these children with speech disorder should be segregated or whether they should be allowed to remain in their classes. We are convinced that these children should be allowed to remain in their classes.

The work in speech correction should be divorced absolutely from the work with the mentally deficient and feeble-minded. The children who suffer from speech disorders are for the most part children of good or excellent intelligence. The difficulty is very largely emotional.

In concluding we should like to emphasize that the functional speech disorders are the earliest signs of emotional maladjustment. These maladjustments should be diagnosed and treated at the earliest possible moment. It is not good economy to wait until the children have a nervous breakdown, or reach the juvenile court, or become definitely abnormal before treatment is begun. The great majority of these children show, at some time or other, speech symptoms indicative of their adjustment difficulty, and since this speech symptom is one of the earliest, it certainly seems the most logical and convenient channel of approach in the effort to stop at its source the stream of social maladjustments.

These speech disorders are in some cases but an indication of some underlying emotional difficulty. Speech is one of the earliest signs of abnormal tension and beginning fears, timidities, and inferiority feelings. If all of these children were cared for in the very earliest stages, it would not only be a great value to the children as regards their speech, but it would also be a forward step in introducing mental hygiene in a practical way into the public schools.

THE RELATION OF THE SCHOOL TO OCCUPATIONAL LIFE

CHILD LABOR AND EDUCATION

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Associating my topic with the general subject of the meeting, it appears that my function is to point out the negative nature of this combination—the relation of the school to occupational life. We need first to define child labor, then to discuss the kind of educational opportunity we think children need, and then try to relate the two. First, we distinguish rather sharply between child labor and children's work. Let it be understood that opponents of child labor do not advocate idleness. To say that society has no suitable tasks for little children, which shall develop their bodies, stimulate their minds, kindle their imaginations, clarify their moral conception and develop

their esthetic nature, is to confess our own intellectual barrenness and the sterility of our modern industrial organization.

Our confession is not usually so frank. On the other hand, society condones a recognized system of exposure of children to labor by avowing that many children have to work, that family poverty must be recognized, that in their section of the country the evil is much less extensive than elsewhere, that in their locality it is not an evil but a great educational force, that most of the children who work are foreigners and are better off than they would be in their native country, or that they are Negroes. The net result of our general condemnation of child labor, minus our specific defense of it is an army of child workers—over a million in number—in whose case it doesn't matter very much what kind of school system we have in America, for they get none of it. These children are not the casual employees, the chore boys, and errand girls who add useful tasks to their school days. They are not in school; they are at work; this is their daily experience. The only other duties they perform besides work are eating and sleeping. Let us get this straight.

These children are employed in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits, in coal-mining and quarrying, commerce and transportation, in city street trades, tenement home manufacturing, domestic service, and agricultural pursuits. Their hours of labor vary from eight a day, in states having the most advanced restrictions, to ten, twelve, or more. In many occupations no restrictions of hours give them any protection from a day limited only by utter exhaustion or the demands of the industry itself.

No effective regulation of employment of children in tenement homes exists anywhere. The employment of children in street trades is theoretically regulated in a number of states, but nowhere, to our knowledge, with an effective administration backed by public support. Mr. Bruce Watson of the Pennsylvania committee has aptly said that one result of the legislative war on child labor has been to bring it into secrecy and develop a system of industrial bootlegging. And no state has recognized the needs of the child in agricultural labor to the extent of furnishing a law with reasonable regulation of hours and with an administration that would be effective.

All our discussion of vocational education, manual training, and apprenticeship systems, of work-study-play curricula, etc., are entirely beside the mark when it comes to a consideration of the overwhelming majority of these million children of whom we are now speaking.

We cannot dismiss this discussion, however, by the flat declaration that the kind of school does not matter, for it is obvious that one of the most potent agencies in the cure of the evil against which we have here complained is the school itself. The nature of our educational institutions, therefore—the curriculum, the physical equipment, the administration of school attendance, the quality and training of teachers—all are of vital importance.

Second, we should like to urge, therefore, that in order to appeal to a part of this army of a million child laborers to get them into school and in order to hold those who are already in school, as well as to serve a fundamental function in the development of our American democracy, certain considerations should be involved in any program for improving or extending our school system. We offer the following suggestions: (a) that the school building and school premises should be safe, comfortable, attractive, convenient, and the highest achievements of safety and sanitary science thus far realized should be made applicable to every school building in which children are detained; (b)

that the education of the whole child should be the goal, not merely the pouring into his mind of certain lessons drawn from abstract fields, but the linking of his whole being to life and its problems; (c) that the whole atmosphere of the school should be inspiring for children need enthusiasm, and the studied methods by which this is crushed in many localities are perhaps quite as responsible for the breaking away of childhood from what would ultimately result in substantial development as are the attractions on the outside that tend to pull the child away; (d) that education should be American, and by this we are not urging that our children should be taught to talk like the king of England or look like the Pilgrim fathers; we are urging that old-fashioned principle of Americanism, so feared by a multitude of our modern 120-proof Americans, but so precious to men of the type of Washington, Adams, Jefferson, and Madison—the right to freedom. We should not only have the courage to think for ourselves, but we should grant to children the right to think for themselves; (e) that we recognize the importance of an instructed public. Obviously the race is still too ignorant, Americans with the rest. And there is real point in the argument that children should be taught to do something useful so that in later life they will not be devoid of a method by which to maintain themselves and to care for those who will later become dependent on them. We do not belittle this claim. But it should be borne in mind that the teaching of the child to do his own thinking, to use the facilities of what we rightfully call our system of English education, to learn to use the tools of expression—the ability to read, to write, to communicate with past ages and with our contemporaries—are also of prime importance. On the other hand, we should like to see the entire curriculum for all the children of school age shot through and through with vocational significance, not primarily for the purpose of teaching these children how to earn money by engaging in one or another vocation, but for the main purpose of giving them an appreciation of the methods by which the human race has maintained itself on the earth in past ages and is likely to take its next steps forward. To learn to think, to develop vision, to develop social appreciation—these are the greatest tasks before the educational forces of our country, and these, curiously enough, are the tasks most likely to stimulate a spirit of co-operation on the part of the children themselves and win multitudes of those we have neither been able to drive or frighten.

Third, granting all these improvements in our educational system which we have urged, the question still remains how to connect the two, how to relate the American school to our army of child laborers. We simply urge that education shall be democratic. By this we mean that it shall be available to every child within our boundaries. Such a statement sounds terribly obvious! But it lives thus far only in theory. The oft-repeated assurance that a liberal education is available for every child is not only a stupid distortion of the facts but is a flagrant insult to multitudes of ignorant children who have no way of combating its insidious counsels or are unconscious of the actual facts. There are multitudes of children in this country who have no available opportunity to participate in the advantages offered by our school system.

Education must be undertaken as a national enterprise. The theory that our government has no right to intervene in the interest of an enlightened citizenry is as unsound as an objection to a state compulsory school-attendance law.

If a local community has the right to invade a private home to compel children to go to school; if a county has the right thus to invade a community, and if a state has the right to thus invade a county, then the government of the United States has a

right to invade a state if that state fails or refuses to produce its quota of educated citizens. There is no escape from this logic. If this means a federal appropriation of funds to encourage educational improvements, we must face the issue. No money can be more safely invested than in the training of American children for life.

Considerable uneasiness has recently been expressed by the mounting costs of education, especially college education. We are told that too many youths go to college who have no place there. Granted! But it is also true that too many youths are denied even a look-in who ought to be there and who would make fabulous social returns on the investment if they were there. But we are not here discussing college education. We are down on lower levels. We have heard no complaint that too many children are in the grades or in the high schools. On the other hand, our census schedules teem with the unschooled of school age. In 1920 the following children between seven and fifteen years of age were not in school:

Alabama, 108,443; Florida, 33,534; Louisiana, 102,387; Massachusetts, 50,934; Mississippi, 86,873; New York, 140,565; Pennsylvania, 129,633; Rhode Island, 11,663; North Carolina, 86,647; Texas, 169,556.

This census shows a total of 1,437,783 children from seven to thirteen years old out of school, and 2,221,364 between seven and fifteen out of school.

These children are for the most part child laborers, although the census unhappily did not discover them. Imagine a census of child labor in agriculture gathered in January! It will be noticed that the point at which child labor is most prevalent is precisely the point where our educational system most completely falls down; viz., in our rural communities.

This is partly due to our inadequate system of rural schools: a school house which is an architectural miscarriage, erected on a little spot of desert; a curriculum built in the city; a teaching force without normal training and hired at less than a janitor's pay; an attendance department which is a neighborhood joke and is adjusted to the exigencies of local industry; and a school board made up of the three leading citizens with three duties to perform: to keep the school house in as poor repair as possible without having it fall down on the children, which would cost more; to protect the curriculum from change; and to keep the teacher's salary down. This is the combination the rural child laborer has to break if he is to break into the world of education.

The effects of this impoverished system of rural school life are beginning to be felt by our educational statesmen and to be met by the modernized curriculum, the consolidated school, state attendance departments, etc.

Unless we hasten this program, we face the depopulation of our rural communities by that enterprising type of pioneering idealists who have laid the most substantial foundation of our national greatness. Serious attention to rural needs which shall make farming both profitable and attractive is vital to the solution of both the problem of child labor and the problem of education.

Indeed, it is only when we come to recognize that the welfare of the child both as a citizen and as a factor in our social and industrial future is the one desideratum that we shall develop such a comprehensive program of child welfare as shall guarantee both the emancipation of our child laborers on the one hand and the emancipation of our educational system on the other.

THE SCHOOL AND ITS RELATION TO THE VOCATIONAL
LIFE OF THE NEGRO

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A discussion of the school and its relation to the vocational life of the Negro brings us to the consideration of two of the most vital activities of human life,—learning and earning. These are vital to all, and to the Negro, who is like all other folk, the effort to secure a chance to learn and to earn has brought about an heroic change. Within a year 84,000 Negroes left the states of South Carolina, Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, and Tennessee. It is significant that all of these states rank in the lowest third of states in educational progress in the nation. After years of patient endurance, the Negro, by migrating, has made the problem of education and vocation a national rather than a sectional one.

No matter how white America may estimate him, the Negro knows that he has contributed sufficiently toward the building up of this country to warrant his claiming a respected place in the nation. Still more than that, he feels he is a factor in the work of the world. He has reason to be proud of the fact that in making these contributions he has benefited other groups in the nation even more than he has his own. Since we are considering the questions of learning and earning, let us note what the Negro has meant to America along those lines. He has played a vital part in the educational system. In the educational philosophy of the Negro, Booker T. Washington is the outstanding contribution, among the contributions of educators, white or black, to education in America.

As has happened in other contributions of the Negro to America, entire good has not been the result where he is concerned. So tremendously forceful was the philosophy and personality of Washington, that he swayed the thought of the nation to the extent that other educational programs for Negroes were greatly discounted.

White educators are still dazzled, to a large extent, by a one-sided program of vocational education for all Negroes. This enthusiasm has not as yet found full expression in actual practice. This is pointedly true of the educational officials in the employ of the city and state. The suspension of effort in vocational education is doubtless due to the deterring attitude of the white labor unions who greatly fear competition in the skilled trades. The actual trade training now given in the public trade schools in the North and the South to Negroes is still insignificant.

The public elementary and high schools of the North provide a better chance for preparation for vocations other than trades. The same standard is maintained for both races who, for the most part, attend the same schools. The chief drawback is the lack of money among the masses to support the child through a lengthy course in school.

In the South, however, the situation is the other way about. There the Northern philanthropist has taken care, to a great extent, of the vocational education of the Negro, not only in Hampton and Tuskegee, but in many other smaller schools throughout the South. This, however, does not come as it properly should under the state. As far as elementary education for the Negro in the South is concerned, the reports of the several state superintendents of education show that the amount of monies used for the Negro is criminally below that used for whites. This is having the moral effect of casting scorn upon the lowered rating which the southern states get in the scale for

all states. High school education for Negro youth in the South may be said to be practically non-existent as a state function. Negroes are paying state taxes and in addition paying sums to private Negro colleges for the secondary education they cannot get from the state. This tragic situation in the educational system of the South is reflected in the almost insurmountable handicap met by the migrant youth when he enters the northern public schools.

This brings us to a discussion of the second phase of our subject: a consideration of the vocations in which the Negro is engaged. In the North almost any study will show that the largest numbers of Negroes are engaged in the unskilled processes in industry. For these he needs only elementary education for use while on the job. This, however, does not mean that he possesses only such education as he uses, for it is now a recognized fact that there is a great waste to the community in the lack of opportunity for the Negro to serve to his maximum capacity. The entrance of the Negro into the semi-skilled and skilled trades is generally slight in the North. The greater progress has been made in the North and Middle West. In New York City a recent study disclosed them to be in 285 various occupations. However slight, the fact that entrance has been made and is being held is significant. If the promotional policy of the northern employer can be gradually made more favorable, Negro workers will make a normal progress. Where merit and examination systems have prevailed, healthy progress has been noted. This tendency in industry to force the Negro downward is most noteworthy for a body of social workers. It is at the root of many of the problems which the social worker is called upon to help solve. In passing, consider just one; because of it, the women of the Negro race are compelled to supplement the low wage of their men. They enter the laundries, shops, and factories, or continue to labor in the homes of the more fortunate women, to the neglect of their own. This forced neglect of the home during the day necessitates undue freedom for the children and lack of care as to feeding, recreation, and discipline. As social workers, many other problems will immediately come to your mind which arise from this condition of the Negro mother.

A picture of the vocational life of the Negro in the North is not complete if only industrial lines are included. In that section Negroes are following almost as many vocations as are the whites. The numbers in any of the skilled callings are perhaps unduly small. The variety is nevertheless great. They hold not only positions seldom associated with Negroes, but also attain distinction for the character of the work done. One does not usually think of the scores of Negroes in commercial work (in 1920 there were 1,200 Negroes in the post office, whereas 28 years ago there were only 50) or of the many officials of city and state when one discusses the vocational life of the Negro.

To have a true picture, it is absolutely necessary to touch up the dull gray of trade life and personal service with such high lights as the following: the largest Negro community in the world, Harlem, is fairly typical as to variety of occupation. There among the 152,000 Negroes we find 63 physicians, with a need for many more; 28 dentists who are anxious for students to study that profession to meet the needs of the future; over 900 musicians, mostly entertainers, who are kept busy amusing the pleasure-seeking crowds at inns, restaurants, and theatres; 250 or more public school teachers who find constant employment among white and colored children, and who have risen to positions in the high schools and on the administrative staffs in the ele-

mentary schools; over 200 nurses engaged in the service of the city, in clinics, in tenement house inspection, in public schools and city hospitals, as well as in private duty and in settlement work. There is one private sanitarium, owned and operated by Negro physicians, where a Negro nurse has supervision over other Negro nurses. One should not forget that the vocational life of the Negroes of New York includes 50 lawyers with representatives in the legal employ of the city and state and one in the state assembly at Albany. One should also bring to mind such positions as collector of internal revenue of the port of New York and municipal civil service commissioner.

Turning to the southern section, progress along business lines is even more marked. There commercial enterprises along practically every line have grown up and Negroes have attained wealth and culture as a result. The Negro is now weighing the cost of this progress in terms of nerve strain and spiritual drain, and is expressing his findings in the migration mentioned before.

After this brief summary of conditions, North and South, in school and industry, one realizes that constructive work is under way. Education is on the increase. The Negro must get his just share. Industry is becoming more humanized. The Negro must also be regarded in the new light. The two agencies for human good, the school and industry, must work together more effectively. It has gradually become apparent that an additional agent must step in and make the transition from one to the other less difficult and to keep the spirit of the school alive in industry. Especially is this necessary in the case of the Negro youth. They graduate by the hundreds and go to work or to a trade school or a high school. When the time comes to seek a place in the work of the world, they meet the greatest difficulty. Lack of innate ability on the part of the Negro boy or girl is not the underlying cause of these difficulties. Limited opportunity, a lack of knowledge of the opportunities which exist, and a lack of help in making the necessary adjustments are the potent factors in the trouble. It appears that one of the greatest needs of the Negro youth is not only training in all branches of learning, according to ability and interest, but adequate coordination and guidance, both in education and work, toward the fullest use of that training.

An experiment to meet just this need has been tried for the past four years by the board of education in New York City. In the district where the majority of Negroes live one teacher was assigned to three elementary schools to guide the upper-grade boys and girls as to choice in courses in high school and as to work and vocation.

In the doing of this experimental concrete work, a constant effort was made to unearth the larger needs. Vocational guidance led to the adoption of administrative measures used successfully with other groups. As will be noted in the following statements, it led to the inauguration of new and untried work to meet new situations. Among them are these:

Mental tests, at first used in two schools only by a counselor to help in the diagnosis of educational and vocational problems, were later made the basis of grading of classes into slow and rapid groups within the grade. These tests clarified the understanding of teachers as to the wide range of intelligence among Negro children.

A special class was established outside of school to give instruction to a special group of over-age and mentally slow girls in semi-skilled domestic work. These girls were tired of school and expressed but one choice, and for this there were no classes in school. They must go to work with no preparation. At the end of the course they

were placed and watched over by the teacher, who adjusted wage and other troubles. One of these girls worked in one place for three years and is being replaced by this teacher this month in order to secure for her higher wages.

To meet the demand for trained directors of cafeterias, dietitians, and household managers, a completely equipped cafeteria was installed in the pre-vocational departments in one of the elementary schools. This work leads to the higher courses in the same lines in the high schools.

To foster the work of vocational guidance, the North Harlem Vocational Guidance Committee was formed.

As a result of the need for wider policies in placement and guidance, the United States Department of Labor and the Board of Education made a survey of the occupations open to Negroes in New York City. This is now being edited for publication as a government bulletin.

The high school placement department of the Board of Education was induced to make an equal effort for the Negro youth in its questionnaire campaign for larger opportunities for the high school pupil. Favorable advertisement was therein given to the colored child.

As a result of this work, the percentage of children going to work has been steadily reduced, and the percentage of successfully guided pupils is shown in the records being made by these students in lessons and character-rating in the high schools. Sixty-seven per cent of the girls guided in the first year of the work are still there, and, to mention only one side, they have attained an average of B plus in personality and character. There has been a keener interest on the part of teacher and parent in the future life work and education of the colored child, and the community in general has become a part of the work. This has been brought about by talks at public meetings of all kinds, at churches, fraternities, clubs, and mothers' meetings.

This much has been accomplished in one community, and its chief value lies in the light it sheds on the possibilities for other communities. What has been done in one place can be adapted to another. With such efforts to improve the methods in learning, and to tie them up to the efforts to improve the opportunities in the field of earning, there can be no cause for depression over what can be done to improve the relation of the school to the vocational life of the Negro child.

VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

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Vocational guidance is commonly confused with vocational education or considered as a function concerned only with the child who leaves school for work at an early age. Hence the history of its development the last fifteen years is entangled with that of various educational processes and child-labor regulations and its real purpose is just beginning to be understood. This purpose is to help each individual child, no matter what his status, to become "a self-supporting and contented unit of the occupational world."¹ The interests of the movement are in the professional as well as in the industrial and commercial occupations; its functions are concerned not only with the working

¹ Policies of the National Vocational Guidance Association, Helen T. Woolley. *National Vocational Guidance Association Bulletin*, May, 1922.

child but also with the child who will enter high school and college. For the child who enters industry, vocational guidance hopes to secure a refashioned curriculum which is based on experience, not on authority. For the child of high mental endowment, vocational guidance attempts to show the need for an enriched course of study, for acceleration; and for liberal scholarships.

Dr. Brewer^{*} has given us an illuminating history of vocational guidance, taking us back into the early centuries to find the beginning of its theories and practices.

The term vocational guidance has rarely appeared in programs of the National Conference of Social Work; not at all in the Index until 1915, unless I have overlooked some previous entry. Since then the term has become not only familiar, but of increasing importance to social workers. They constantly see the necessity for knowledge of the child as an individual and for extended facilities in school systems through which such information may be put into practice. The difficulties of family, rehabilitation, industrial exigencies, and much else relating to the instability of the adult in his environment can be referred back to the maladjustment of the child to his school and also pre-school conditions. If methods in education had been devised or adopted for assisting the child more clearly to understand his universe, more frankly and intelligently to encounter his daily experience, his occupational life would have been at least less burdened with friction and defeat, and fewer problems would now be presented to the social worker.

At the present time vocational guidance suggests several methods which will enable the child to become more happily and satisfactorily adjusted to the occupational world.

First, knowledge of the individual child, his physical and mental ability, his home environment, his leisure time, and his economic status. This fundamental information should be made the basis of all school programs in order to serve the greatest need of children. Facilities for securing this information are slowly, but much too slowly, being acquired by school systems. Psychological and psychiatric laboratories and clinics are being established both for research and for treatment. A personnel other than the teaching force is becoming an integral part of the educational staff. Visiting teachers, vocational counselors, and socially trained attendance officers are vitally augmenting the teacher's opportunity for reaching the child's real life. A continuity in teaching and guidance is obtained by cumulative records which register not only the child's academic standing but also his disposition, behavior, physical condition, and social environment which, passing with him from year to year, give a carefully drawn picture of the child's procedure throughout his entire school life.

Second, as the schools are now constituted, several groups of children emerge from the elementary classrooms: those who go to work at as early an age as the law permits, those who will go through high school and college, and the many who drift along scarcely knowing where they are going.

For the group of children who go to work, as careful a guardianship should be maintained as for those who remain in high school. In the elementary grades the courses should be less rigid and better adapted to the child's vocational life, taking into account the probability of his entering a routine job without educational content. At once we see that the teacher's knowledge of industry, its advantages and disadvantages for the child, must be greatly extended. This requirement has caused several beginnings to be made in occupational studies, which seek to give to the child through the teacher

* The Vocational Guidance Movement, John M. Brewer.

definite, accurate information concerning industrial processes and opportunities. Material thus presented cannot fail to help the child develop opinions and observations concerning the occupational world which he now enters very early, totally uninformed and unsupervised.

In explaining the purpose of these studies issued by the Vocational Guidance Bureau in Cincinnati, Miss Addams states: "The information thus brought together supplemented by exhibit material secured from the business world will be used by teachers in the schools in discussing with their classes the different ways in which people earn a living. The primary purpose is that of giving information to children with regard to a realm which is of vital importance to every one of them; that of future wage-earning opportunities of every variety. It seems as though it were the school's responsibility to give children a chance to look over the whole field of occupations, show the signposts, explain the methods of travel, and stand ready to advise or give practical aid in regard to the best next step."

Third, an important function for the guardianship of this group of children is that of placement. Unaided they cannot find jobs as suited to their capacities as the placement secretary can. Having in mind the teacher's estimate of the child, the financial need, and the chances of his further education, this secretary becomes the child's adviser and guide. When he is placed, he understands he has recourse to this adviser's wisdom, knowledge of industry, and constant interest in his advancement. Through the medium of placement, invaluable contacts are made with employers and employment managers. Indeed the point of view created through this function undoubtedly has and will have an important bearing on co-operative and continuation courses. The extension, adequacy, and enrichment of these courses should be attempted, using the valuable research material secured through placement as significant regulative principles.

Fourth, the psychological and research laboratories, through analysis and study of individual children, have made life happier and more endurable for the discouraged and retarded child; they have also disclosed many a brilliant, promising child about to relinquish its most cherished dream of education because of economic conditions. The sacrifice made by these children and the loss to society cannot be exaggerated, when they are forced by poverty to enter industry at fourteen or sixteen years of age. Men and women of wealth have always assisted, in a sporadic fashion, individuals who were brought to their attention as deserving. But the establishment of permanent scholarship funds for children is a recent development, and one which vocational guidance has earnestly urged upon the public. Here again the child finds a counselor in the secretary or director of such a fund; the discussion of family problems, cost of living, possible adjustments, and hopes for the child's future proves again and again the benefit of this personal, "social" work with the child.

Fifth, legislation has only indirectly been a part of vocational guidance, and this in the spheres of child labor, compulsory school attendance, cooperative- and continuation-school classes, subsidies of vocational training, and training of teachers. Legislation bearing upon and the method of the issuance of employment certificates has been of great importance to the child's training and to school procedures. These methods have been made the subject of interesting studies by the Children's Bureau and of a conference held under their auspices in 1922 in connection with the annual meeting of the National Educational Association. This function of employment certificate issuance long neglected by school systems, has a vital bearing upon all school problems, and

proves a rich field for research for vocational guidance. In the position of the issuing officer, there is a strategic opportunity for assisting the child in its initial contact with wage-earning and with occupational choices. The appalling amount of retardation shown through these certificates should make immediate and far reaching changes in classification and in the reorganization of the elementary grades. An absence of correlation between the grade completed, and the job and the wage of the working child is cause for vocational guidance to insist on a more careful analysis not only of the job, but of the purpose and content of so-called "vocational" courses. The fact that routine jobs are greatly in the majority of those open to children, that the child becomes an adult in the same monotonous routine task, should be disconcerting enough to force "vocational educators" to re-state the purpose of these courses, many of which evidently should be planned with reference to the child's leisure time, to his life aside from his job, more than for actual occupational training. The vocational guide should be thoroughly familiar with industrial and educational legislation and the enforcement of compulsory school attendance should be of educational and social value, not merely of legal interest. The latter can be in the main accomplished through the personnel of the attendance officer, who we hope will soon have the training and attitude of the visiting teacher.

Sixth, although many changes have been made in courses for training teachers, constant effort must be made for modification and fundamental reconstruction, and many different points of view need to be considered for the training. Of course, the chief requirement is as broad a training as can be planned and given. But more concretely, as those interested in vocational guidance believe, the teacher should be given an opportunity for study of those conditions and exigencies which influence the child's school experience so profoundly, that all teaching is in vain unless curriculums are based on these realities. This attitude on the part of the teacher is our only hope of breaking into the rigidity and smugness of our present school system. Courses for teachers must in the future include training for these social contacts: vocational counselors, visiting teachers, placement, co-operative and continuation classes directors, and many forms of social and industrial work.

From these suggestions and methods, it is seen that vocational guidance extends its scope and interests over a wider field than vocational education, for it is concerned with every form of training and education. The children who share in its efforts are dull and brilliant, rich and poor; they will be found in the industrial and in the professional world. Their leisure time, their life as a whole, is just as important as their vocational life to vocational guidance. While we do not seek to accomplish the impossible, we do desire to maintain a certain definite policy, in order that we may permeate educational and occupational forces with the desire to use any known scientific and social avenue for finding the way toward a more adequate educational theory and practice, a practice that will enable every child to enter his occupation with infinitely greater chances for happy adjustment than he now has. In Miss Spurgeon's review of the illuminating reports on education, issued by various groups in England during the war, she writes: "In general, it may not unfairly be said, the report continues, that 'education is regarded as a suitable occupation for the years of childhood, with the further object of equipping the young in some vague and little-understood way for the struggle of adult existence in a world of material interests.'" In contrast, this conception of education is presented by the report: "True education, the 'drawing out' and

training of already existing faculties, is really guidance in the acquiring of experience. For the gaining of experience, physical, mental, and spiritual, is the one thing which matters; it is in this continuous gain that life itself consists, and the full garnering and expression of this experience is the highest end we can see for man—"ripeness is all."

Vocational guidance hopes to find a way "in the acquiring—in the gaining of experience" whereby to each individual will come increasing contentment, promise of fulfillment, and an ability to adjust one's self even to life's sternest disciplines and shattering tragedies.

SOCIAL CASE WORK AS APPLIED TO THE SCHOOLS

THE HISTORY AND PRESENT STATUS OF THE VISITING-TEACHER MOVEMENT

Howard W. Nudd, Chairman, National Committee on Visiting Teachers, Affiliated with the Public Education Association of the City of New York

However efficient the school may become in utilizing the time allotted to its specific purposes, the fact remains that it is but one of the forces which educates the child. During the months when schools are in session, the child is in attendance scarcely 20 per cent of the time. Taking the year as a whole, during which the child is at school not more than 200 days, the proportion of time in attendance is much less, hardly 12 per cent. This means that of the eight years of elementary school life only one-eighth of the time, a period equal to one year, is spent in school. The rest of the time, equal to seven years, is spent in the home or in the neighborhood, under influences that are either strengthening or undermining the work of the school. The school must not only improve its own procedure but take account of the other forces which are affecting the whole child. The educative influences in the home and neighborhood, which operate during 88 per cent of the life of the child, must, as far as possible, be intelligently co-ordinated with those of the school, which operate during only 12 per cent of the time.

Particularly is this true of those problem children, the non-conformists, whom the school can no longer eliminate even if it desired to do so. To understand such children and give them their full chance in life, it is essential that the school should not only be aware of what their life is like when not under its control, but also co-ordinate that life with its own constructive purposes.

The work of the visiting teacher has grown out of a recognition of this need. With the twofold training of a teacher and a social worker, the visiting teacher is a member of the school staff who seeks, on the one hand, to interpret to the school the outside life and interests of the child, and, on the other hand, to inform the parents of the aims and demands of the school and the reaction of their children to them, in order that they may be able to co-operate with the teacher in giving their children the consistent and wholesome twenty-four-hour-a-day education essential to their full development.

In practice, her special charges are those children who present problems of scholarship or conduct of a troublesome, erratic, or suspicious nature, or who show signs of apparent neglect or other difficulties with which the regular staff of the school finds itself unable to cope unaided. Such children include those whose conduct is below standard and who more or less show tendencies to delinquency; the over-age who are restive in the class room, counting the days until they may go to work; those who,

finding it necessary to go to work, need advice; the adolescent; the indescribable, who are always in need of counsel; the precocious and gifted children who do not find full scope for their interests and abilities; and those whose home conditions are so adverse that they need special supervision or guidance. All such children, if early adjustment is lacking, not only miss the full advantages which the school affords, but, if permitted to drift from bad to worse, arrive only too frequently at the children's court or other corrective agencies.

I should not attempt to describe the technique which the visiting teacher employs in handling such problems, even if it were within the province of my paper to do so. The chairman of this meeting and the speakers who follow me are far better qualified for this task than I. Suffice it to say that she seeks to enlist the co-operation of every agency and device within and without the school that can supplement and reinforce her own efforts to enable the school to provide that individual attention and treatment which its growing conception of the pupil as a child requires.

It is evident that work of such a character is not the province of the school nurse, for the child's health may or may not be a factor in the child's difficulty. Nor does it fall within the province of the attendance officer, despite the great importance of that officer's work, for a child may have a perfect attendance record and yet present problems of behavior and scholarship for which the special help and advice of a specially equipped teacher is needed. It certainly should not be expected of the class teacher, for she is already fully occupied, if not, indeed, overburdened, with her regular classroom duties, and, even though she may have time (as she should) for social calls, she cannot, without great injustice to the majority of her pupils, spare the time for the follow-up work out of school that is needed for the proper treatment of the type of problematical children referred to the visiting teacher. Furthermore, such work involves not only visits to the homes during the regular school hours but also emergency calls to various social agencies. It also requires a degree of experience in social case work that the regular teacher cannot be expected to acquire while performing with full efficiency her regular duties. It is essential, of course, that the visiting teacher should co-operate closely with all school departments and that she should frequently secure results through them, but her work is not a substitute for theirs, nor can they take her place. Her services are supplementary to theirs and help to make them more effective in the light of a broader understanding of the social and educational needs of the children in question.

The first visiting teachers began work in the school year 1906-7 in New York City, Boston, and Hartford. In these cities, and later in other places, as has frequently happened with other educational experiments, the impulse came from outside the school system. Private organizations like the Public Education Association, settlements, and civic organizations first supported the work, until the school authorities recognized its value and made it part of the school system. Subsequently, in other places, like Rochester and Mt. Vernon, New York, the boards of education introduced it directly.

At the present time there are about 140 visiting teachers, including those on the staff of the National Committee on Visiting Teachers, in about 50 cities and counties scattered through 26 states of the union. The majority of cities have adopted what we regard as the most satisfactory method, the assignment of a visiting teacher to a single school or to two or three small neighboring schools. This enables the visiting teacher to become identified with the interests of the school and neighborhood, and better to act

as the representative of one to the other. The assignment of a visiting teacher to a whole city or to a too wide area defeats the very purpose of her work, which requires intensive study of the cases that come to her attention. An essential part of her work is studying the neighborhood, knowing its resources, its lacks and potentialities, its traditions, ambitions, and dangers. She must also, as a member of the school staff, be thoroughly familiar with the school's facilities and possibilities, and come to know intimately the teachers and principals with whom she must co-operate and through whom much of her best work is accomplished. The magnitude and intricacy of this task makes it obvious that scattering her efforts would unduly dissipate her energy, tend to make her work superficial, and focus her attention upon the more "advanced" cases rather than upon those where her best preventive work can be accomplished.

As to the National Committee on Visiting Teachers, affiliated with the Public Education Association, you doubtless know that, as part of the Commonwealth Fund's program for the prevention of delinquency, we are establishing visiting-teacher demonstrations in thirty communities of varying size, representing different types of school and community problems. Our aim is not only to extend the work to the communities selected for our program but to make available to other communities that may be interested in undertaking the work on their own behalf our experience in establishing it under as great a variety of local conditions as possible. We have already selected twenty demonstration centers, in seventeen of which visiting teachers are now at work. These centers include Birmingham, Alabama, Bluefield, West Virginia, Burlington, Vermont, Coatesville, Pennsylvania, Columbus, Georgia, Detroit, Michigan, Durham, North Carolina, Huron County, Ohio, Hutchinson, Kansas, Kalamazoo, Michigan, Lincoln, Nebraska, Monmouth County, New Jersey, Omaha, Nebraska, Richmond, Virginia, Rochester, Pennsylvania, Sioux City, Iowa, Sioux Falls, South Dakota, Springfield, Illinois, Tulsa, Oklahoma, and Warren, Ohio. The remaining ten centers will be chosen within the next few months.

The Public Education Association also maintains seven visiting teachers in the New York City schools, in addition to the fifteen employed by the board of education. Five of these co-operate with the Bureau of Children's Guidance, conducted by Dr. Bernard Glueck as part of the Commonwealth Fund's program, in submitting, for psychiatric diagnosis and treatment, cases involving behavior problems which require such intensive study. By means of this invaluable work it is confidently expected that the technique of the visiting teachers in handling such problems will be greatly enriched. Another visiting teacher is working in connection with a grading demonstration which we have been conducting for several years in one of the public schools. By means of the psychological tests and physical and psychiatric examinations conducted in connection with this work, this visiting teacher has been enabled to get at many problem cases before they reach the stage where the teachers are forced to become aware of them, thus enhancing the preventive character of her work. Our last visiting teacher is working in co-operation with the Vocational Adjustment Bureau in the treatment of special types of problems with girls.

I trust that I have conveyed to you my conception of the status of the visiting teacher in the great forward movement the schools are making toward understanding and educating the individual child. I trust, also, that I have given you a glimpse of the steady and substantial growth of the work from its early beginnings and the promise which the future holds for its wider extension. I conceive the visiting teacher to be one

of the most potent of the forces in the school system that are endeavoring to realize Abraham Lincoln's desire for the children of America: "To all an unfettered start, and a fair chance in the race of life." I commend her to your thoughtful attention and invite your co-operation in her behalf.

COURSES OF TRAINING FOR VISITING TEACHERS

*Anna B. Pratt, Director, White-Williams Foundation,
Philadelphia*

Visiting teaching, or school counseling, as the work of the White-Williams Foundation is called in Philadelphia, is the newest branch of social case work, and is only just being recognized by the schools of social work. Although it has become a national movement and in the last two years has grown by leaps and bounds, many still question its value. Even social workers have had little knowledge of it until recently.

On March first of this year, there was a significant suggestion made by the committee on character education of the National Council of Education. Their report recommended that "during the training of teachers for character-education work, there should be provided what may be called 'conduct clinics.'" "In describing these the report says, 'This plan is what is known in social work as 'case work.''" This is, I think, the first public recognition by educators of the value of social work, although the committee did not mention its connection with visiting teaching.

This spring letters were written to the superintendents of education in each of our states and territories, and when they answered by referring to normal schools or universities, letters were sent to them, in all 170, asking: first have you a course in social case work for the training of visiting teachers? And, second, have you a course which aims to give students who intend to teach an understanding of the individual child in his school setting and in his social background?

Not one reported the training of visiting teachers. Twenty-six states and Honolulu reported courses in sociology, psychology, civics, or history, which aim to make the teacher understand something of the child's social problems. Three of these states and four others have courses in rural education that study the community life of the child. It is impossible to tell from the letters and description how much of this work is theoretical and how much is gained by studying the children and visiting their homes, but since no field work is mentioned, it is probable that the greater part of it is through lectures. Perhaps the reason that Philadelphia has recognized the value of social work in the schools is because for the past three years there have been courses for attendance officers and teachers at the Pennsylvania School of Social and Health Work, under their department of educational guidance, whose chairman is the director of the White-Williams Foundation. These carry credit at the University of Pennsylvania and at Temple University. The field work for the teachers is with special "problem" children encountered in their own classroom, and is carefully supervised by visits made to them in their schools. Last fall a course was also given to school nurses.

In the survey made by the National Association of Visiting Teachers in 1921, thirty-two out of fifty-eight visiting teachers had had teaching experience and six, who had never taught, mention the need of teaching experience "in order to understand the school's point of view."

The recommendations of the survey for a course of preparation for future visiting teachers are as follows: first, a good educational foundation at either college or normal school; second, special study in psychology, psychiatry and child study in its various phases, and other courses as needed, such as foreign language and vocational guidance; third, training for social work including study of sociology, case work, industrial conditions, and racial characteristics; fourth, experience in teaching a sufficient length of time to understand the school problem, and in social work, especially case work and if possible varied experience, in order to cope with the various phases of the visiting-teacher work.

In Philadelphia we have also felt the need of understanding health conditions. In a primary school where there was no nurse when we entered the school, our counselor was constantly confronted with serious health problems. We worked for what is now an accomplished fact, more school nurses. In spite of this service, there are often health problems which must be recognized by the visiting teacher, and, like the regular teacher, she should have some training for this work. We have also emphasized more than others the need of studying industrial conditions. Last year 7,392 children fourteen and fifteen years of age left the Philadelphia schools for industry. In 1917, when the White-Williams Foundation first entered the public schools, we worked among children of this group as they went into the shop and factory. The counselor saw what a big part of the child's life was bound up with his job. Fourteen-year-old children in Pennsylvania are allowed to work during vacation and after school even though they may not be eligible for general working certificates. This brings their school and work lives even closer together. If a counselor wants to understand the whole child, she has to take this work-life into consideration, and be ready to advise about that as well as about his home and community life.

Naturally there are not many available social workers with teaching experience and a knowledge of industry, and the few who may have this need some co-ordination of their experiences in school counseling under supervision before being sent out to demonstrate the work. For this reason, in addition to their gift to the New York School of Social Work, the Commonwealth Fund gave the White-Williams Foundation last fall \$16,000 to equip them for training and to provide fellowships for properly qualified students.

Five full-time and two part-time college graduates with teaching and social work experience were carefully selected and began work in February. Two classes at the Pennsylvania School of Social and Health Work are required of the fellows, one in school counseling and one in behavior problems. We are fortunate in having as a teacher of the first course a former New York visiting teacher who is now associate director of the school. Four of the full-time counselors are assigned respectively to four schools—the primary, the grade, the junior high school, and the trade school—under the direct supervision of the White-Williams counselors. One of the two men selected for training had had social work and sociology, but not case work, so his early months were spent in the Society for Organizing Charity. Others supplemented any gaps in their training by courses at the Pennsylvania School or at the University of Pennsylvania. The two part-time workers are high school teachers, one in a large high school for girls and the other, a man, in a boys' high school. They had already been released from a full roster of teaching to do counseling with the chil-

dren. They had had some group social work, but no case-work training, and were anxious to secure it.

Recently the more progressive high schools have been appointing teachers to do this counseling, calling them advisers, or deans. Being selected by those who have had only teaching experience, it is natural that nothing more than the usual teacher's equipment is generally required. If those already doing the work learn how necessary case work methods are, even though it may take them a long time to acquire the principles and methods, and if they can make their school principals see this, a demand for such training will spread far more rapidly in the high schools than it would by placing workers there already trained. The courses which the White-Williams Foundation has prepared for these Philadelphia high school counselors are the same as those for the others in training and their field work is with the children referred to them by the school in which they are teaching, and is under the supervision of the White-Williams Foundation.

In the summer it is planned to give field work in newer educational methods and vocational guidance at Carson College to those fellows who do not need additional social case work, and in the early fall to give field work in the junior employment service to those who have had no industrial experience. Each full-time fellow will then have an opportunity to go back to school counseling that he may see how to use the educational and vocational material which he has acquired since June. The two required courses at the Pennsylvania School in the fall term will be in education and in vocational guidance. In addition to the New York and Pennsylvania schools of social work, last year the Smith College summer school offered a course of visiting teaching, but there were no students. No other schools of social work included this in their catalogues.

For this training in Philadelphia we are finding experience in family case work the most solid basis on which to build. We have therefore been interested that through the school contact these fellows see that they are uncovering needs of children which offer opportunities for going deeper and farther into constructive social work than they found when doing social case work in a private agency. This, I think, is one of the big advantages of visiting teaching.

One of the fellows said the other day: "These families are above the poverty line. In my experience with a charity organization I had to spend so much time bringing my families up to economic independence that I could not make plans for helping them to acquire some of the finer values of life." She had just returned from a visit to fourteen-year-old Frank, whom she was trying to persuade to remain in school. She had not succeeded, but she had found the cause of the trouble and had discovered four younger brothers and sisters who might be saved. As the parents were not at home when she called, the children had entertained her by showing her pictures of their five older brothers and all their relatives. When each boy was 16, there was a picture of him with his arm around a girl. The children explained that he was engaged to her. The next picture showed a happy bridal pair. All the brothers and nearly every relative had left school at 14 and were married at 18. Twelve-year-old Jim looked up at her and said timidly, as she was inspecting the picture of an older brother, whom he admired: "I'm going to work in two years and then I'll find a girl." The children showed great respect for their father, a successful cabinet maker, who had gone no farther than the sixth grade. He had given the children a victrola and a piano. All loved music and

several could play by ear, but none of them thought of taking music lessons nor did any of them enjoy reading. It is the fashion in the neighborhood to leave school as soon as the law permits and to marry almost immediately. Since the children in this family were unusually bright, the worker determined to see that a new ideal of life was given to them before Jim had a chance to find his girl.¹

Recently a study was made by the Juvenile Courts' Committee of the National Probation Association in which Judge Samuel D. Levy, of the Children's Court of the City of New York, is quoted as saying: "The problem of delinquency and anti-social conduct of children should have its intensive study in the schools, commencing in the kindergarten." In concluding their report the committee suggests that "a resolution be considered registering their approval of the principle of assumption by the educational system of education responsibility for the study and treatment of malbehavior problems as primarily educational or re-educational problems," and they urge "that this be made possible by means of adequate special equipment and personnel attached to the educational system."

If these suggestions are carried out and if the impetus given to visiting teaching by the Commonwealth Fund gains the momentum which it promises, this new branch of social work will soon offer as large if not larger opportunities for employment than any of the older fields.

A DAY WITH THE VISITING TEACHER

Emma G. Case, Director, Visiting Teacher Department, Department of Public Instruction, Rochester, New York

The visiting teacher is a member of the school faculty, a case worker for the principal of the school.

The children to be studied are referred to her by the principal of the school, the teachers, and other co-workers within the school; i.e., psychologist, health education teacher, nutrition worker, nurse, school doctor, attendance officer, and social agencies outside of the school.

She is directed as to policies and methods of handling situations through the department of visiting teachers from the central office of the board of education. This is done by means of staff meetings and individual conferences either in the separate schools or the central office.

When a visiting teacher enters upon her work at a school, she first studies the school equipment at hand, the school organizations in regular grades, then special classes for the handicapped, and becomes acquainted with the special teachers or workers appointed to meet any special need of the child. Next she studies the immediate community to know the resources at hand to meet the needs of special life of the families, and then the city as a whole in its equipment to care for the life of its people. Her true interest being the child, she wishes to know the tools with which she has to work within the school and in the city outside.

¹ This new ideal of life does not mean giving the children a desire for business or office work as opposed to the trade or factory. The present desire of labor unions for an all-round education is leading to the creation of labor colleges. The question might well be asked, Why are not these cultural opportunities made so attractive to the children that they will want high school education before entering the trades?

She arrives at her school at 8:30 with the other members of the faculty and the children, and holds office hours for about one hour. During this time, names of children with data concerning them are referred to her by the teacher, who is supplied with a pad of special form in duplicate used with a carbon. Both blanks are sent to the visiting teacher. One is returned to the teacher and the other is filed with the visiting teacher. The reasons for referring children may be necessary school adjustments, home conditions, behavior problems, or various minor reasons. School adjustments are made for several reasons, and are generally accomplished after conference with parents, principal, or teacher.

Since entering the city schools, John had made fourteen changes in schools and had lived at twelve different addresses. He was a healthy, robust child of eleven years, with a bright, winning smile and mischievous eyes. He entered the present school at promotion time with low marks, but a trial promotion was urged nevertheless. No teacher had had him long enough to discover his possibilities. All had been guided by his permanent record card, which registered failure. In conference with his father, foster mother, and teacher, a splendid co-operation for John's interest has been worked out. He is now working for a double promotion in June.

When her office hour is ended, the visiting teacher goes into the field. The districts vary according to the location of the school, and each has distinct characteristics. The largest has an area of two and one-half by two miles. While one portion is wholly rural, another has a fairly good residential section, in which are located several large manufacturing concerns and a slaughter house, but no playground. The children play in the dump and canal bank. Thrifty Italian peasants occupy the farm land, while German Americans are in the residential sections. The visiting teacher covers this field on a bicycle.

Another type of district is a congested, foreign one. In registration it ranks third among the grammar schools, although geographically speaking it is the smallest district in the city. However, on account of the foreign department and various special classes the district limits are somewhat extended. There are fourteen nationalities represented in the foreign class. About 59 per cent of the people are Jewish.

Other types of schools covered by visiting teachers are the normal school, with opportunity to give social vision to normal students, grammar and high schools combined, and a grammar school located in a down-town rooming-house section.

Home conditions are the second cause for referring cases to the visiting teacher. Her method of improving them is by educating parents and relatives of the children through repeated home visits. For example: Lena, an orphan, age thirteen, living with her married sister since her mother's death five years ago, was reported for irregular attendance and poor work. She was the child household drudge, receiving in return, beyond food and a place to sleep, the scantiest of clothing, little appreciation or affection and no recreation. The family was in comfortable circumstances according to medium Italian standards. Visits in the home and talks with the child gave the family a feeling of interest and, finally, more important still, of friendliness. Lena's classwork improved. The married sister and brother-in-law became more appreciative of her and saw her in a different light and as a child. Their ideas broadened to include the playground and to allow her to spend occasional afternoons with the "Big Sister" who had been found for her. She now makes her own clothing and is proud of it. Her personal appearance has improved, and, best of all, she takes a more normal place in the

home and looks happy. She now attends a dancing class at the settlement and even takes her long desired violin lessons.

The visiting teacher returns from the field and gives an hour to conference within the school, telephoning and keeping records. She uses a daily-monthly sheet which tabulates her daily doings. The history sheet is a record of every child studied covering his school status, home environment, the need, and how it has been met. Some visiting teachers keep records in long hand while others use a typewriter. In some cases a volunteer or "V. T. aide," assists in this work.

In the afternoon session, the visiting teacher holds another office hour, after which she again goes into the field.

Some schools have agreed to issue newsboys' permits and work permits only after an investigation by the visiting teacher. As a result, in one school 87 per cent of the children applying for work permits have remained in school. In a case of economic difficulty a child is enabled to remain in school by means of The Children's Memorial Scholarship Fund. Many such cases are discovered when a child applies for a work permit. A violation of the child labor law was discovered as follows: Paul, 4A, had been gradually failing to hold his own in scholarship. He seemed unable to keep awake during school hours. There was a suspicious odor of tobacco about him. After several questionings the story came. It was that he was working every day after school in a home tobacco factory in the neighborhood, stripping tobacco. He went to the workshop directly after school and stayed until nine o'clock or later, before going home for supper. All day Saturday was spent at the shop. His payment was twenty to thirty cents per week. Other boys and girls were doing the same.

The visiting teacher went to the home with a permanent record card, report card, and health record proving to the family what was happening to Paul. Finally the family saw for themselves that the twenty or thirty cents per week earned at the tobacco was making useless the money they spent for milk, books, etc. Later, mention was made of the child-labor laws. The family had sent him to the shop because it kept him off the street and "made him want to work." The visiting teacher substituted the playground and the boy scouts for the illegal work. Paul's school work has shown improvement and he is certainly no longer the sleepy, listless lad found in the school-room two months ago. Furthermore, the factory is now under legal inspection.

Trial promotion for pupils whose marks were slightly below standard was given special attention by one visiting teacher. By explaining the significance of trial promotion to the parents of the children concerned, she was able to gain their interest and co-operation.

When necessary the visiting teacher resorted to remedial measures consisting usually of suggestions as to individual study or classroom help and appointment of a big sister or brother as tutor. Occasionally she asked the help of an outside agency and often dealt with conditions of health, recreation, or home conditions. Six of the nine children studied remained in their grades.

In one school the older girls presented a problem. Many mothers worked and left them to themselves, rarely going home for lunch. Behavior was bad in the streets. Later, six of the older girls formed a nucleus for a scout troupe, with the visiting teacher as captain. There are nine scouts in the troop now. They are making their own suits and are all going to camp. They show marked improvement in classroom work and in behavior everywhere.

In another school a gang of boys was broken up by placing them in different shops according to their interests and qualifications. Their leisure time was utilized by the formation of a scout troop, under the leadership of the physical training director. They are now active assistants in the school government system.

From four to five o'clock the visiting teacher may attend a faculty meeting, community gathering, or staff meeting. As an accepted member of the faculty she makes her contribution in all discussions that pertain to school organization. The "on-time" campaign was worked out as a stimulus toward acquiring the habit of promptness. She is consulted before free tickets are issued for the children's lunch. She helps plan a corrective gym class with the physical education director. She presents the need of a nutrition class when imperative.

In our experience one distinct effect of systematic home-visiting is the more frequent visiting of parents to the schools. The visiting teacher stimulates the desire of parents to attend parent-teachers' association meetings. In one school, the object of these meetings was to be a serious study of the welfare of the children everywhere—in home, school, and community—and to encourage a true understanding and co-operation between parents and teachers. These meetings averaged 500 in attendance.

The give and take of the weekly staff meeting in the central office is a source of inspiration as well as a substantial aid. Here we see our special children and district in the light of the larger whole. A special lecture given by heads of allied departments of the school system or of social agencies fill some of the Wednesday staff days, or a study of case work. Here a good social service library is at hand.

THE RELATION OF SOCIAL CASE WORK TO SCHOOL PROGRAMS

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A present summing up of the relation between the school and the social agencies would reveal that, while in theory their development is along converging lines, in method their advance is still along diverging lines, with at best certain more or less well-established paths of intercommunication. In theory the relation between education and social work is one of approaching merger; in practice the best relation we have yet achieved does not go beyond a rather one-sided co-operation. But even perfect co-operation would not be enough. No matter how far we develop co-operation, it will not do for the school and the social agency to continue radically different methods in practice.

Social case work, the distinctive method of social work, should be related to the school program, the method of education, as an integral part thereof.

Catholic philosophy teaches that man is made in the image and likeness of God, for God's extrinsic glory ultimately and for man's own happiness proximately; that each of us is in his nature an image of infinite knowledge, infinite goodness, infinite skill, and infinite beauty, and that in being this, in realizing this to the fullest of our capacities consists here and hereafter our happiness and our destiny. From this it necessarily and apparently follows that man's chief business in life is to bring his person,

his whole nature—body, will, and intellect—to the highest possible perfection and to do, moreover, what in him lies to further that end in others.

The particular implication in this belief that is to the point here is that one which is pertinent to educational theory in schools or out of schools. That implication is that with the right emphasis and in the right order, it is our business in this life to attend to the health of the body and further to its beauty and its grace; to attend to the training of our material productive capacities and to the development of the social virtues; to attend to the cultivation of our intellectual faculties and further to the culture of our aesthetic powers; and finally and above all to attend to the nurture and strong growth of our wills, in order that the beautiful and true and good of body, mind, and soul, having once been won against the inhuman cravings of our animal nature, and the reasonableness and Godlikeness of service to others having been wholly accepted against the selfish and anti-social propensities of our weakened human nature, they may be steadfastly adhered to, and in them our enjoyment found and our completeness of life realized. That is how to live, that is what is needful to know, that is what education should teach.

So much for the theory of education. Now, what of method? The education of the middle ages was founded on that idea of the complete and right-ordered development of the child for life in society. Neither do we need to refer to the system of education flourishing under the direct aegis of the church, which flowered into the first great popular universities. We may refer rather to that contemporary system too little regarded and too little studied today—chivalric or knightly education. This education was, of course, not at all confined to the sons of princes; it included all in the lord's household: his sons and daughters, his wards, and the sons and daughters of his vassals. The chivalric training of the boy was devoted exclusively to the fitting of the child to the life of his times, with due attention to virtue and conduct. The chivalric method of education was characterized by a development of the child by individual training for social life. It was the case method of education, the tutor giving personal attention to individual development. But as this method was carried over into modern times, especially after the acceptance of the idea of general popular education, it did not work. The first popular elementary schools were disorderly gatherings of children presided over by a tutor, who had had no experience in group teaching. Crowding children into a room to be educated individually and separately was quickly seen to be infeasible.

Then Jean Baptiste de la Salle originated the simultaneous method of teaching the young, developed his training school for teachers, and founded a religious order, the Brothers of the Christian Schools, to put these programs into effect in general popular education. The schools became orderly assemblies where children were graded according to age and capacity, each grade was taught simultaneously, and the foundation of the modern elementary educational method was accomplished. The two great features of that system remain to day: the normal school and the simultaneous method of instruction to groups. Not only does the latter remain but it has been developed in some instances beyond the bounds of anything De la Salle could have or would have permitted himself to image.

I am not so stupid as to deny the present necessary place of the simultaneous method in modern elementary education. Moreover, the group method of education

properly practiced offers such an opportunity for character building and for the early development of a social consciousness that, though it should be modified, it should never be supplanted.

So far, therefore, we have seen that the purpose of the school is to develop the complete nature of the child with general attention to the social virtues and with special emphasis on the special talents of the individual child. We have seen further that the method of accomplishing this purpose in use, today, is mass education, education in groups, simultaneous education. We have seen that education began with the case method, the training of the child by a tutor; it has ended in the mass or group method.

Now what of social work? First, as to method. The story is just the other way about from the story of the educational method. In the late seventeenth century, education was beginning its development along simultaneous mass lines. About the middle of the nineteenth century, social work, which had hitherto been committed to mass or group treatment, was beginning to work out the individual method, which has developed into our modern case method. The development of case work as a scientific method of dealing with human problems has gone steadily forward. Social workers do not use the case method exclusively; group work is still an important process. But the great contribution social workers have made to social science is the development of the technique of the case work method. The carrying on of their work in all its various lines, painstakingly and laboriously, dealing with case upon case, each one as a separate and distinct problem—it is this more than anything else that has gained the admiration of thoughtful leaders in other professions.

We have grown beyond the idea of case work as a formula for solving social problems, or a maneuver in adjusting maladjustments. We, some years ago, broadened our theory and said prevention was its purpose. Still more recently we again revamped our theory and said promotion was the purpose of case work. Well, what is case work? The old definition; the investigation, diagnosis, and treatment of the client's problem, does not satisfy any more. We have come in the last few years to see that if the case work we practice is really a sound, scientific method, then there must be something essential, something the same, to be found in all types of case work. We began to observe case workers doing case work in children's agencies, case workers doing case work in relief agencies, in courts, in hospitals, in health visitation, in connection with psychologic clinics, etc.; we looked over the personnel of social workers and found some called themselves probation officers; some, psychiatric social workers; some, visiting nurses; some, hospital social service workers; some, visiting housekeepers; and some, visiting teachers. And we asked ourselves, What is there the same about all these different types of case work? We looked for unity, we looked for a common denominator. And we found it, we found the unifying thing, the common thing, the essential thing. We found it and we were afraid to call it by its right name. We called it "promoting personality," or some such combination of words. Let us call it by its right name this morning. Case work is a method of education; it is that or it is a gigantic hoax.

An examination of Ozanam's method in his first case, ninety years ago, discovers that the new thing he did was to apply knowledge to remove ignorance. The mother in that case had endured such poverty and brutality, and had seen her children so endure them, that she had lost her identity; she continued to endure because she did

not even know she did not have to. It was Ozanam's professional knowledge of the law particularly and his own well-trained capacities for education generally which enabled him to call forth the woman's long latent personal traits of resolution and self-assertiveness, and so opened the way for the development of the woman's personality and her children's in a new and opportunity-filled environment.

Our average of successes in case work will not be enhanced by an acceptance of such a definition. Every honest case worker, or every case worker in her moments of honesty, knows, and the more skilled and experienced she is the more truly she knows, that her percentage of successes in developing the natural capacities of the adult client is not high. Indeed, in most cases, our case work with an adult finds its final triumph in one or other of two very modest achievements: our agency is saved from being imposed upon or we have adjusted a temporary derangement of his affairs. Case work and good case work with adults enables us to change our attitude toward him, to adapt ourselves to him, but it does not very often succeed in changing his attitude toward anything, or in promoting his personality, or in developing his latent capacities. However, we need not conclude that this failure is attributable either to ourselves or to the method. It is simply that in the instance of most adults with whom case workers have contact, it is too late to educate them; too late to develop capacities too long latent. On the other hand, case workers who have had a varied experience in various types of social work know that the best opportunities for successful case work in this real sense are found in work with children. And this simply because the method is employed not too late.

So, the end of social work and of education being the same—namely, social betterment through individual development—and the proper immediate purpose of case work being the development of individual capacities for complete living in the right sense or, in other words, case work being, at present even, a method of extra school education, having its best success in children's cases, then the reasonableness of our original proposition appears. Then, we see a natural and intimate relation between the two. Then we conclude that social case work should be an integral part of the school program.

Some inroad into the strongly entrenched position of the group method in education was effected as early as 1906, with the beginning of the visiting teacher movement, and the visiting teachers have since done most to demonstrate the advantage of a modification of the method of mass education. But even this is not finally enough. The visiting teacher is still more a social worker than a teacher; she is at best a liaison officer between home and school and social agency. Social case work must be made a part of the technique of teaching itself; it must be used by the teacher herself and not in the case of the "problem" child only but of every child.

And the first and practical thing to be done to bring this about is to teach social case work, by instruction and field work and with the necessary background studies, in the normal schools.

The promise of the schools to the social workers today is that the schools are training this generation to social efficiency so that in the next generation the social workers will not have so many cases of socially inefficient adults. Now, education for social efficiency can be furthered in no more practical, realizable, and effective way than by teaching social case work in the normal schools and by its use by the teacher as a part of her teaching technique.

SCHOOL PROGRAMS FOR SEX EDUCATION
AND FOR RECREATION

SEX EDUCATION IN THE SCHOOLS

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Open discussion of social hygiene and sex education is so recent, and there are so many special aspects to the problem, that it is always necessary in a popular treatment of the subject to begin by outlining its meanings, values, and purposes.

Four main lines of emphasis have been followed in respect to the human problems which cluster about sex and reproduction. These are: first, the medical approach, which seeks by cure and prevention to control and finally to eliminate the venereal diseases which have grown out of illicit and promiscuous sex relations—the goal of the physician in social hygiene is health; second, the approach of legislation and reform, which seeks to repress prostitution and other abuses of sex which threaten society, and to protect the inexperienced, subnormal, and underprivileged from sex exploitation; the goal in this case is to secure sex conduct in conformity with certain minimum social standards and needs, and to protect society against grossly unsocial individual behavior; third, the eugenic approach, which seeks by better understanding and use of the laws of heredity and breeding to produce gradually a better stock of human beings; the goal is an improvement of racial characteristics in respect to sex as well as other inherited qualities; fourth, the educational approach, which seeks to give to each individual information, interpretation, inspiration, example, and training in respect to sex and reproduction that will fit him most wholesomely and happily to meet his sex-social problems as they arise—the goal in this case is the development of adequate individual, mental, and social health and character.

What then does sex education mean?—From the point of view of sex education of youth this group of problems may be simplified and be brought a good deal closer to our consciousness by defining it in concrete terms thus: In practice, sex education involves the home and family, which is the normal human institution produced by sex and reproduction and expressing sex and reproduction at their best, and shall (aided by all possible community help) gradually reveal to the child, by example and by instruction, its own forces, meanings, and methods, and shall interpret its value in such a way that he in turn will desire to build and will know how to build a still better home of his own. This means an understanding loyalty to all the home of his parents' stands for; warm purpose and sure knowledge as to the making of the new; and for all the time between these the personal character and the mastery of self which alone can make the success of his own home possible. Anything of information, of interpretation, of inspiration, of example, of training to this end is sex education. In such education, desires count as much or more than knowledge; habits and attitudes mean more than facts. It is even more a matter of emotion and aesthetic appreciation than it is of instruction in biology and physiology. To be sure, to be of any value the desires and tastes and attitudes must all be based in fact and not merely in prejudices.

The agencies of sex education.—While every person and agency in the community which strongly touches the life of children and youth of any age, has its part to perform in sex education, it is quite clear that the heavier part of the task rests upon the few

more common and more permanent social institutions as the home, the schools, the church, and the organized and unorganized agencies of play, recreation, and amusement. One of these agencies cannot, and must not try to, shunt its responsibility to any other agency. No one agency, not even the most perfect and intelligent sort of a home, can do all that needs to be done to adjust even one child completely to the sex problems within and about him. All agencies must come to study the task together and to work at it co-operatively. Among these agencies of effective sex education the school, for various reasons, is of first rate importance.

What the schools are doing in sex education.—I fear I am not planning to say under this head what the maker of this program had in mind. I do not purpose to give you statistics about courses in this or that school, nor to outline the experiments which various schools have made in sex education. My wish is to call your attention to some thing quite a bit deeper than that. All schools of all grades are, all the time, giving sex education to youth. Most important in this are the extra-curricular activities. Any co-educational school is rich in sex relations which are important in character development. The specific interest of boys in other boys and of girls for girls is as definitely a normal sex attraction and as fruitful for character education as the attraction between boys and girls. That is to say the "gang" has as vital sex elements in its organization and influence as a "petting" party has. Consider the active sex relations in such a school: of girls with girls, of girls and boys, of girls and women teachers, of girls and men teachers; of boys with boys, of boys with women teachers, of boys with men teachers, of men and women teachers. These are not merely logical or fanciful relations. Each of them is potent with a special type of sex influence which is continually, even if unconsciously, molding for better or worse the understanding, feelings, tastes, ideals, control, and guidance of sex in all the people in the school. For example, take the special sex influence of a woman teacher upon the girls, or for that matter of an older girl upon the younger girls. Such a teacher, in all the school activities and contacts, is arousing admiration, repulsion, or indifference to her illustration of womanhood. This may register itself in the younger person as actions and habits, or it may become merely a part of the total tastes and prejudices of the girl about sex life and relations. While the same thing is broadly true of the influence of the woman teacher on a boy, there is a distinct difference in the two cases, and this difference is itself due to difference in sex.

In a quite analogous, and probably in a more powerful way the boys and girls of different ages, different sex development, and different sex sophistication are continually molding the sex ideals and attitudes of each other. Unless all this is definitely organized and guided and refined by those who understand, the school becomes merely the meeting place of all the "streets" of the town in the character of its sex education. This means of course that the worst emphasis and interpretation of sex in any part of town tends to become the common property of all the youth, and that the young are prematurely miseducated by the older children. All this is to say that, unless the school is suitably engaged in constructive sex education, the "street" interpretations and attitudes about sex become dominant in the community of the young and largely through the agency of the school.

In the second place, and similarly, all our schools are giving sex education in the curriculum, whether they are planning to do so or not. Every curriculum carries subjects which cannot ignore sex and be complete, such as physiology, hygiene, nature

study, biology, psychology, the social studies, home science, agriculture, literature, etc. Even when a course in one of these subjects omits sex, the children sense the omission, and in the very act of doing so the courses thereby teach a view of sex, and add to the prejudices and false attitudes toward it. Such omissions and repressions only add to prudery or pruriency, the two extremes of vulgarity.

What should the schools do?—If this is true, the question before the school people is this: Shall both the curriculum and the school activities be organized and used consciously and as scientifically as can be done in order to get the best possible results from all these natural contacts of the sexes and from the subjects which can effectively be made to bring the most wholesome sex interpretations to youth? Or, shall we continue to allow the sex stimuli, incentives, relations, situations, motives, attitudes, conduct, and habits to be unguided, haphazard, or determined chiefly by incompetent or sinister influences? These are the only alternatives; and it would seem that to ask the question is to answer it.

Sex education and play.—These two things are brought together on this program and wisely. The relation is close and profound, more so than is usually realized. The thought about it is ordinarily something like this: sex within and without is continually tugging at the life of youth; whenever time and energy are free, the youth is in danger; if, therefore, we keep the boys and girls busy with play, recreation, and exercise we shall diminish the time during which they might fall into bad ways, and we shall leave them so tired that they will not be so active sexually! This is illusory. Sex is too pervasive and powerful a force to be circumvented in this cheap way. Furthermore, the tired and overworn youth is less likely to meet temptations sanely than the fresh and interested one. The connection is much deeper. The real facts about sex and play are these: they both present basic and normal interests and stimuli to young people; organically and emotionally they seem to have evolved side by side; at any rate play and sex now interlink in the "gangs" of boys, in the "cliques" of girls, and in the mixed "sets" of boys and girls; the stimuli and response in both are profoundly educative of the whole nature of youth because of the profound interest youth has in them. Wholesome play and recreation, pedagogically guided, but always from the point of view of the child, are the surest most normal instruments for the training of all the elements of character, including control. For these reasons scientific use of these play impulses may be made to give the very inner spirit and attitude which must finally be depended upon to win the day for sex soundness.

Finally sex education and education by play can and should be joined pedagogically because both call for the inductive method rather than the method of laying down general principles by the mature mind and demanding that these be applied by the young to particular cases. The inductive method starts with the particular stimulus and reflex and reaction; it "conditions" this reaction by seeing that sound reaction is satisfying and that reactions unsound for the child himself are unsatisfying; it builds habits of reacting wisely through repeating these satisfying experiences in acting well; this brings permanent tastes and ideas and attitudes in accordance with such satisfying actions; and, finally, through this process the child erects standards, principles, and aspirations for life which are not artificial and superimposed, but are intimate and self-convincing.

Of course wise adults will help the youths who trust them to short-circuit the long course of experience by interpreting sympathetically and not dogmatically perti-

nent racial experience to them during and in direct connection with their own learning. Thus only can we safely transfer to them a portion of our own experience, without which there is no progress.

This is the basis of the high union between sex and play in character education.

METHODS OF INSTRUCTION IN SEX EDUCATION

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All progress in education has been the outgrowth of first conviction and then experimentation. For the last ten or twelve years, the conviction has been growing among educators that something should be done in the line of sex instruction for our children, and several of the boldest ones have tried experimentation, some successfully and some otherwise. For years instruction concerning sex and reproduction was called sex hygiene, obviously referring to health. This phase is entirely inadequate, without emphasis being laid on the ethical and social aspects. Much better terms are sex instruction and sex education.

The home naturally suggests itself as the proper agency for giving young people such information and guidance as they should receive regarding the meaning of sex in life. The sad fact remains, however, that parents on the whole have entirely failed to give this information and children have been left to obtain it from other sources outside the home. The school and the home are not intended to be antagonistic, but co-operative and mutually helpful. Much can be accomplished, either directly or indirectly by school instruction. This should be introduced in the grades to obtain a proper background and attitude, and used as a preparation for more direct teaching in the high school.

The courses of study best adapted for indirectly imparting sex education are, first, the biological sciences, because of their frequent dealing with sex and reproduction in plants and animals; then physiology and hygiene, general science, physical education, the social studies such as history, civics, sociology, etc., English and home economics. All of these studies have been used successfully by teachers interested enough to try them out.

Biology should include a study of the following subjects: reproduction in plants and animals, elementary embryology, internal secretions, infancy and the care of the young, secondary sex characteristics, principles of heredity, and elementary eugenics.

General science should include, plant reproduction, seed distribution, good and poor seed, artificial selection, limiting conditions, survival of certain forms and extinction of others, problems of successful living, and communicable diseases including syphilis and gonorrhœa. If no course is given in biology, then some of the subjects under the heading of biology might be included in this course.

Physiology and hygiene should include function of cells, ductless glands and hormones, bony and muscular systems of both sexes, reproductive system, nervous system and its control, bacteria, communicable diseases including syphilis and gonorrhœa, and conservation of health.

Physical training should include intimate talks by teachers, as follows: to boys, Seminal emissions, continence compatible with health, promiscuity leading to venereal

disease; to girls, hygiene of menstruation, care of the reproductive organs, problems of conduct, health in its relation to marriage and child-bearing.

Social studies, civics, history, social science, sociology, etc., should include history of the family, woman's status, influence of war, industry, geographical expansion upon sex standards, biographies of great men and women, racial menace of venereal diseases, gonorrhœa as a depopulating factor, syphilis as a source of insanity and degeneration.

English should include the discussion of family problems in such standard books as *Adam Bede*, *Silas Marner*, *Lorna Doone*, *The Mill on the Floss*, *The Scarlet Letter*, *Idylls of the King*; and discussion of social life from the modern viewpoint in such books as *The Iron Woman*, *The Awakening of Helen Ritchie*, *If Winter Comes*, *This Freedom*, *The Bent Twig*, etc.

Home economics should include family budgets; food, its clean preparation and handling, stimulating diets, etc.; home planning and furnishing; clothing, modest, tasteful, or vulgar, which makes a sensuous appeal; art, pure thought in contemplating the nude in pictures and sculpture; home management; and child study.

Office practice, commercial department, should include talks on suitable dress for business girls; proper and dignified behavior with employer and co-workers; warnings against accepting favors, presents, meals, trips, etc.; value of individual drinking cups and paper towels; and care in the use of public lavatories.

A direct course in sex education may be given by a physician, either resident in the school or from outside, but well known to the pupils. This is most desirable if other indirect information is being given in various courses in the school. The physician can then knit together the loose threads and answer the more intimate questions that the lay teacher usually finds very difficult.

In the William Penn High School, Philadelphia, a course in sex education was started in 1911. So far as I have been able to obtain information, this was the first attempt to make an integrated, graded course, required of all senior students. The course has been enlarged and changed from time to time. As it now stands, it is called "a course in domestic sanitation, home nursing, and sex education." A better name would probably be "home health and home making." It is required of all senior students, one period of forty-five minutes per week for forty weeks, or two semesters.

In the first semester are given domestic sanitation and home nursing, ten weeks of each. This includes a study of the family, its civic, economic, and moral values; the home with its furnishings; heating and lighting; special care of kitchen, cellar, bedroom and bathroom; disposal of garbage and sewage; a study of germs, their entrance into the body and its methods of defense; infectious diseases, with the early signs of some of the most common ones; quarantine, bureaus of health, municipal hospitals, etc.; and disinfectants and their practical use in the home.

The home-nursing course includes a study of the sick room, its preparation and cleaning; the nurse and her general appearance; behavior in the sick room, visitors, presents; rules for giving medicines; practical demonstrations of the hot water bag, ice cap, clinical thermometer, hot foot bath, mustard plaster, etc., surgical dressings and their application; asepsis and antisepsis. The nursing lessons present a fine opportunity to give the pupils a decent, scientific vocabulary, which is often lacking, even in well-educated adults.

The regular sex instruction in the second semester covers the following topics: a general talk on the four periods of life, viz., infancy, childhood, adolescence, and adult

life; adolescence in the girl and boy—physical and mental changes—ductless glands, and the study of hormones; review of reproduction in the flower, fish, frog, bird, cat, and human being—general laws and similar terms used; number of offspring, parental care, and helplessness of newly born; reproductive organs in woman; demonstration of life-sized model, with an explanation of childbirth; marriage—history of, suitable age, length of engagement, license, runaway and secret marriage, essentials for happiness; hygiene of pregnancy; the baby—its care, clothing, bathing, food, emergencies, etc., with demonstration on a life-sized model; the racial poisons, viz., alcoholism, tuberculosis, and the venereal diseases; results of venereal diseases on husband, wife, and child, and family and state; connection with prostitution, and how girls get into the life; the United States Government's campaign and how girls can help; heredity, feeble-mindedness—Kallikak and Edwards families; general discussion of dress, dancing, general behavior, theaters, movies, books, paintings, etc. A good bibliography is appended.

To summarize the situation, the first information on sex facts should come to the child from the parents, thus cementing the very strongest bond possible between the parents and child. Later, this should be supplemented in the grade schools by such nature work, reading, history, geography, etc., as will give the child a proper background and a wholesome attitude toward the sex life. On such a foundation may be given, then, in the high school, the more direct teaching where the scientific study of reproduction, heredity, child study, and many social problems will round out an adequate sex education.

It is not to be expected that sex education will solve all the sexual problems of civilized life, but even the most pessimistic must admit that knowledge of sexual life would be helpful to the great majority of people. Each succeeding generation of young people should be prepared by educational processes to face intelligently and bravely the manifold problems of sex that are sure to come into every normal life.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE SCHOOL TO SOCIAL WORK WITH ADULTS

COMMUNITY CENTERS IN SCHOOL BUILDINGS

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As an illustration of one of those curious balances of human thought and action, it can be pointed out that in this year, 1923, when the mind is sweeping toward tremendous and fundamental issues of world inter-relationship, thinkers everywhere are also coming to two great lines of analysis and of action: first, to the intensive study of group organization and power on a neighborhood basis; and, second, to a consideration of what bearing the leisure life has on individual development and on group participation in the structure of society. The facts point to the truth that only as neighborhoods come to function co-operatively with other neighborhoods on a basis of wholesome soundness, intelligence, and vision can the nation meet the challenge of a better municipal order, and it has been demonstrated that national strength rests on efficient municipal units, within which there must be a strong citizenship.

Neighborhoods are, in a sense, personifications of people, and present similarities as to traits of weakness and of strength, and, like individuals, have suffered from the lack of opportunity or have profited by every educational and civic means. True as it is that the largest political unit, namely our national government, represents the highest form of co-operative action and influences every small unit in a great degree, nevertheless, history has again and again proved that national strength cannot be gauged by government action, but only by the response of the small units that make up a nation.

This train of thought has had very much to do with the development of the community center idea as it is before us today. According to the last statistics that are presented by the Playground and Recreation Association of America, 183 cities and towns now have publicly supported community centers opened under leadership, and 152 cities provide for the use of school buildings.

Two other lines of thought began to emerge into prominence in the early 1900's namely, the relation of the individual to the group, and the focus of leisure—free-will action under free time. Many of the values of free time are now fully realized, but we are probably just at the beginning of notable developments in group reactions.

What is the overtone of the group that is clearly more and sometimes less than the sum of the characteristics that might be arrived at by adding the characteristics of the individuals that compose the group? It is not uncommon, we know, to see a group do that which no single individual would think of doing. Just what the relation of the individual to the group is, and what is the influence of the group on the individual in total, no one knows; but that it is through the group that the individual is woven into the web of society, barring that rare and either social or anti-social hermit type, is certainly true. Further, all that there is in the judgment of one's peers is a dominating influence on individual action. Moreover, it is known that individuals develop a power greater often than they seem to have under the influence of a group, while strong persons frequently fail because of the minus qualities in a group which should support them. Through the interplay between individuals on the basis of their ties of association, ideas and programs are accepted or rejected, not because of passive acquiescence, but as the result of personal thought. Certain it is that if we are not to have mental retrogression, minds must be exercised like muscles. Group life is an absolute factor in developing the mental fiber of a nation.

Important as the personal ties of the family are, family life is enriched through the currents of outside association that play through it as the result of the participation of its members in their natural social groups. Without the larger group life there would be a condition of social starvation. Resting back of the motive of the community center, then, is not only the necessity for localizing the range of action of a citizenship on a neighborhood basis but also the need of enriching all that there is in ties of association.

Finally, as the conception of leisure is broadening and the necessity of more free time is brought forward, the community center becomes more and more essential. It can perhaps be said that the community center, as we find it today, is a composite institution which has grown out of the play movement, the necessity for civic co-operation, and the development of the municipal lecture courses and municipal musical opportunities. Further, there has been a marked broadening and deepening of the conception of recreation, which means considering the inner thought and the necessity

of exercising those desires and ambitions which build up public consciousness through participation in civic effort, as well as developing physical vigor. It is now seen that all great movements—economic, social, political—are carried on out of the leisure of the people.

Then came in the idea of opening up schoolhouses, not only for concerts, for lectures, and for the meetings arranged by home and school associations or groups of citizens but for a many-sided leisure-time program, with strong civic and social emphasis. The demonstration that created a decided stir in national thought was that in Rochester, New York, from 1907-09 under the leadership of E. J. Ward. Mr. Ward visited Chicago and other cities, and came to the conclusion that the schoolhouses should be used not only to meet the requirements of the regular school curriculum but should serve after school hours as the neighborhood social center. His argument was based not only on economy of operation but also on the fact that the schoolhouse usually taps the center of population; it is accessible. Further, Mr. Ward believed in using the schoolhouse as a community center because of the democratic ideal embedded in the idea for which the American schoolhouse stands.

Since 1905, not only has equipment become more adequate but there has been a deepening of the social and civic program, and the principles of management of the center must be carefully analyzed if one is to appreciate how the full significance of the community center has swung forward and the part it is destined to play in the future. In the first place, the community center movement has, in the main, taken its place as an adult movement. The men and women of the neighborhood organize for civic and social advancement.

Before opening a center it is customary to organize an educational campaign. As soon as it is well under way, a neighborhood association is formed to stand back of the center, and an executive committee of the association is held responsible by the neighborhood for furthering the program which is decided upon.

Now the community center must be financed. We are concerned in the use of school buildings, so this question of finance will be mentioned from that angle. In many cities where school buildings are used, the light, heat, and janitor service only are paid for by the school committee. The persons who are responsible for the management must be paid by funds raised by the neighborhood association. In other cities, for example, Boston, New York, Washington, funds are appropriated from the tax income to meet the cost of management, as well as to pay for light, heat, and janitor service. Even this system of paying for the cost is seldom adequate, however, and one finds in practically every community center all over the country that extra funds are raised to meet the demand for more instruction, more group leaders, an enlarged forum program, and so on. It is not the purpose of this paper to stand for one form of financing more than another, but only to point out the fact that the community center has become so much appreciated as a civic necessity that people are willing to tax themselves for its support.

To pass on to another phase; one of the most important considerations as to the community center is the question of management. We have been through all the arguments as to whether the executive of a system should be a school man, if school buildings are used or not, and we have emerged with the opinion that the one great necessity is that the person who guides the work shall be a social engineer—a person who has the power to develop the rare art of keeping people in action, who never super-

imposes opinion and program on a community, but one who stimulates the community to formulate its own desires and to meet its own needs, who has that something that rests in the large, unbiased outlook and is rooted firmly in a belief in folks. Not only the head of a community center system but every leader should have a philosophy that sees the ultimate unity that comes from the frequent but often minor contact of diverse personal interests and group line-ups. This is essential because the program of a community center is not valuable because it offers activities of such and such a kind, but because of the tapestry of individual relationships and community grouping that result. Fortunately, in this most statesmanlike field of social work, one finds today remarkable persons in charge of community centers, who have deep, human qualities and carry in their personalities those elements which build them into the right relationship with life.

As to the program: the vision that the community center presents in the way of drawing to it individual enlargement of purpose and individual genius, as well as of building up group power, is so far-reaching that a great challenge is presented in the way of developing the activities that are offered. Just a program of activities will not do. The program of a community center must offer a wide range of choice and of experimentation in choice.

It is not uncommon for forums to spring into existence and to die. Discussion clubs begin and go to pieces too frequently because the members have talked themselves out, so to speak, and no extra train of thought from a different point of view has been brought before them. Surely, since the forum and the discussion club offer perhaps the richest of all educational fields, we must not be content with anything but the best, most liberal, and progressive work. If anyone has ever had the privilege of following, over a period of time, results in terms of individual outlook that come from a discussion club where the members meet to think out together some of the baffling economic situations of our time, it will be granted that through this free discussion there develops the true educational aim of related thought more surely than through any other method. No form of educational procedure is more valuable. Therefore real thinkers, men with a message, must be brought before discussion groups. This is not a hard thing to bring about, great as demands are that are made on our well-known exponents of thought, because those who are in the first rank have caught the values of the center and are willing to give their time.

The community banquets and the community socials which a center carries on refresh a neighborhood. Receptions to public officials bring them face to face with their constituencies where something like a close range of appreciation can develop. The community festival brings every race and every citizen to present their best.

Not only should a center offer a program with some of the values here pointed out but all ingenuity should be used to see that every provincialism that exists within communities is broken down. If a community is made up of several races, skill in program-making should bring the races together. So dynamic and yet subtle should the program of a community center be that the community becomes permeated with its influence and this influence in turn should tend to draw all community interests to itself.

With the opportunity which the community center offers for the development of the creative, we should in time get definite contributions to our material for plays, for our music, and for our art expression. Surely the community center movement is fundamental, and in accepting the responsibility for assisting in its development, school boards are adding much to the effectiveness of their day-school education, and also

building upon their efforts in night-school instruction, because as the adults of a community are, so to a great extent are the children. Attitudes of mind will certainly be granted as greater than facts, and adults set very largely those attitudes of mind. Moreover, adult education as adult education gets its test and its final development according to the part that it plays in community civic and social enterprise.

In the life of today, then, what place is the community center destined to fill? As an avenue for a constant current of information, as a means for developing that individualization of thought and deepening of knowledge which is so much needed, the community center stands as one of the great agencies. It can out-university the university in its power to meet every mind or every level of attainment; as a means of enlarging the social experience of our peoples, by means of the social community programs that are carried out, it stands without a peer; as an instrument through which persons can swing into action to meet local needs and civic and social necessities, it is essential to the operation of our democratic motives; as a great cultural agency its possibilities are only just dawning on our comprehensions; finally, as a means for building up a background in the individual life, it holds a unique position. Neighbors become neighbors under its influence.

With these statements in mind it may be well to apply a critique, because the community center is still young. It is developing; it is not developed. The community center cannot assume to be the only social agency. Although it is destined to be a tremendous force in progress, nevertheless it will not be the one avenue to the next advance. Life does not go that way.

The community center will not bring about the millenium day after tomorrow, of course, but just as our government centralizes all our action, so this function of our city and town administration is destined to be the major co-ordinating force in community interplay. Therefore, as citizens, we must understand its power and make every effort to win for it statesmanlike and human leadership of the highest order, and give to it our full loyalty.

SOME POSSIBILITIES OF THE RURAL SCHOOL IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNITY LIFE

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For all the problems of the countryside there are potential solutions in the minds of the rural people. Compared with this great store of energy, any contribution which we social workers may make to the solution of these problems must seem small indeed. The people of the countryside will develop institutions and methods suited to their own needs. Institutions which have long existed in our cities may be suggestive to thoughtful country people, but we cannot expect to transplant them to country communities without extensive alteration. Methods which city people have used successfully may be helpful to rural leaders, but they will require much adaptation. The solution of rural problems can come only from the minds of country folk. The great, immediate lesson which rural people must learn is how to pull together—the lesson of group action. I propose to tell you briefly what has been done in a few rural schools to develop this ability in group action; next, to outline what seems to me a few of the most essential

principles which such school community centers must apply; and, finally, to point out some of the responsibilities of social work toward the rural school community center.

Two schools in North Carolina.—Last summer I made a study of the work of social agencies in Wilson County, North Carolina. In the course of that study I was privileged to tour the county with the county superintendent of schools and visited eight of the nine townships outside the town of Wilson. It is the school at Elm City which I have particularly in mind just now. In three years the principal of this school had achieved remarkable success in building up a community group. This was done largely through the annual commencement exercises. Three days are given to this affair. A track meet and field day, a debate, a declamation contest, and children's plays, in addition to the regular graduating exercises, are the events which attract hundreds of people to the school from all parts of the township. The principal's plans promise to develop an even more extensive use of the new building by the community as a whole. A large playground is to be constructed where athletics and outdoor recreation will be provided for young people not in school, as well as for the school children. The county director of physical education will assist in the development of this project. A school demonstration garden will be developed in co-operation with the county farm demonstration agent. In co-operation with the women's club, a library will be accumulated and opened to the public. The large auditorium will be extensively used for public meetings, lectures, entertainments, and plays. The principal desires particularly to develop some recreational and social activities for a group of fifty or sixty young men between twenty and thirty years of age, who are quite without constructive recreational activities.

Recalling my observations of last summer, I wrote to the assistant county superintendent of schools for Wilson County, Miss Meledieth Frazier, for information which might be used in this paper. Her response was generous, and included stories of one year's development in several of these new consolidated schools. I select one which seems to me particularly interesting. It is an elementary school known as Lamm's, a one-story stucco building equipped with water, sewerage, lights, and heat. The community activities are best described in the assistant superintendent's own words. She says:

Here they have a community organization which meets every two weeks—men, women, and children; fathers, mothers, and babies. They have large crowds at these community meetings, even in bad weather. The organization has from 200 to 250 present at every meeting. Each time the school or the people in the community give a short entertainment program, which is followed by a talk on a subject vital to the community. A round-table discussion follows every talk. Men in the community often times read articles or give short talks on subjects that the people are interested in. For example: Mr. B. T. Ferguson¹ talked to the people about the boll weevil; this was followed by a round-table discussion and questions. Then Mr. Boyette, Mr. Lamm, Mr. Boswell, and Mr. Thompson gave their experiences with the boll weevil, and what they thought would be the best steps for the community to take this year for the control of the boll weevil. Sometimes there is a joint meeting of the men and women; sometimes they have separate meetings after the entertainment program.

In a government bulletin,² published last year, dealing with school consolidation in Maine and Connecticut, Mr. H. A. Allen estimates that several hundred of the 2,200 one-teacher schools in Maine can never be consolidated. One-teacher schools are not to be neglected. Since 1918, the state of Maine has conducted a summer school at

¹ Mr. Ferguson is the county farm demonstration agent.

² Bureau of Education, *Rural School Leaflet No. 4*, May, 1922.

the Castine Normal School for these rural teachers. One hundred teachers are selected each year to attend this summer school with all expenses paid. They must have taught two years, must be normal school graduates, or have had two years in college, and must have shown some leadership ability in their community. Returning to their schools after this summer training, they establish model schools and become helping teachers to the other rural teachers in their districts. They are paid by the local committee, but receive a 25 per cent bonus from the state each year.¹

Two schools in Maine.—Here is the story of three community projects promoted by one of these summer-trained helping teachers at Paris, Maine, told in the teacher's own words:

One was a community agricultural fair; one a 'Maine Day' observance (100th anniversary of Maine's admission to the Union); and the other a community booklet.

My pupils soon caught the spirit, and it spread to parents and friends so rapidly that we were soon a co-working band.

Maine tags were made and sold by the pupils, the proceeds being used to purchase a community flag, which was erected on the village 'common' near the oldest church in the county.

October 12 was chosen for 'Maine Day,' and on that day sports were the forenoon indulgence; a dinner was served for the benefit of the fire department, which netted \$56. In the afternoon a literary program was participated in by old and young, embracing the part which Paris plays in the history of Maine; an original poem 'The Twenty-third Star' was a fine feature. The community flag was raised and placed in charge of a world-war lad. On all patriotic days, and whenever a citizen passes on, its folds tell us the story of loyalty, honor, and self-sacrifice for which it stands.

Our agricultural fair the first year was just an exhibit to arouse community pride; this included fruit, vegetables, canned goods, fancy work, curios, old textbooks, etc. An admission of ten cents was charged, and candy and ice-cream sold for the benefit of the school improvement league. The amount received that year was \$40.

The 'Paris Fair,' as it is called, is now an annual event. The second year we added the sale of food, and exhibited old-fashioned quilts, homemade baskets, etc. A prize was offered for the best loaf of homemade bread. The receipts that year were \$60.

Last year children's vegetables were part of the exhibit. A prize was given the boys for the best bird house and the girls for the best needlework. Old-fashioned costumes were exhibited, and the amount received was \$77.

This year we are adding a prize for the best collection of pressed ferns by school children and canned goods done by girls under sixteen years. All prizes have been given by citizens.

The community booklets were done by the school children and contained the farming data of the community for the past two years; names of citizens who have held important public offices, industries of the town, pictures of interest, etc.

The dinner for the fire department on 'Maine Day' was followed by suppers every two weeks during the winter for the same purpose; the following winter the object was electric street lights.

Fine community spirit has been the result of the venture. Many socials and entertainments are held at the schoolhouse, bringing the people together to see what is being done in various departments of school work.

Money earned by the school improvement league has provided pictures, a Victrola, records for music appreciation and health work, tinting walls, hot lunch equipment, teacher's desk, bookcases (one sectional just ordered), movable units for desks, electric lights, a volley ball, swings, teeters, putting green, and many other aids to education of mind and body.²

The Porter School in Missouri.—The story of the Porter School in Missouri still represents, I believe, the practical objective toward which rural teachers should work. You all know that story as it is told by Evelyn Dewey in her book, *New Schools for Old*. You remember that after having enlisted the active co-operation of parents and school board in repairing and remodeling the old building, the teacher spent a whole

¹ From an unpublished address by State Superintendent of Schools Augustus O. Thomas.

² From a letter written to the author by Mrs. N. A. Cummings, Lincoln School, Paris, Maine.

year in getting acquainted with the people and getting them acquainted with each other. She promoted this extension of acquaintance by means of parties and meetings which brought the people together at the school. These meetings touched upon problems of farming, of housekeeping, and of education, and provided satisfaction for the longing for sociability and cultural entertainment. She made the school and her cottage practical demonstrations of what a farm home could and should be, and she cultivated a demonstration kitchen garden. She conducted a night school through the summer for the older boys who had to work on the farms in the spring and fall. The teacher lived in the community the year round.

Organization began to take place the second year. The organizations were few, however, and simple. The farm women's club provided housekeeping equipment and decorative materials for the school, took charge of refreshments at community meetings and entertainments, studied problems of home-making on the farm, and planned ways of helping families in trouble. The farmers' club assumed responsibility for the care of the school plant and improvement of the grounds, studied methods of improving agriculture in the district, and maintained the school demonstration farm under the supervision of the state college specialists. The community band and the Shakespeare reading circle provided constructive recreation for the young people. These four organizations and the community Sunday School were all that were found necessary.

A few guiding principles.—Of these I shall suggest only three. The first may be called self-determination. The people must themselves do whatever is done. Remember, training in group action is their greatest need. Most social workers and school teachers are too impatient to wait until the group is ready to undertake a new activity spontaneously. Give your ideas a chance to take root. But don't hesitate to plant the ideas. The principle of self-determination does not mean that the people are to be left without stimulation and suggestion until they can somehow generate it in themselves.

The second principle may be called simplicity. Acquire a genuinely rural standard of values. Don't expect too much. The elaborate equipment of a city school would be out of place in a rural district. The multiplicity of specialized organizations serving the city community is not needed in the open country. All the examples which I have cited would appear pitifully small achievements if judged by city standards, but they are big forward steps in the development of rural community life. To improve the school building and its equipment is necessary, but let this improvement be relative to the needs of the rural community. Remember that school improvement is not an end itself, but is only one of the means to the improvement of rural life.

The third principle may be called adaptability. The school and its teacher must fit the needs of the community. They must grow out into the community, and grow with the community. The teacher must be ready with ideas to help in the solution of every problem as soon as it is recognized by the group. The teacher must know, therefore, what help the community may receive in the solution of its agricultural problems, both of production and marketing, from the State college and from various other state and national bureaus, and must know how to go about procuring this help whether in the form of bulletins, correspondence, or personal visits by the specialists. She must be in touch with the latest developments in home management, and her school and her home should be demonstrations of the most efficient methods in this field. She must find resources for training the people of her community in the appreciation of literature,

music, and all the fine arts. The teacher must also know where to turn for help with the manifold social problems of the community—the broken down family, the delinquent child, the feeble-minded, and all the other problems of human adjustments which occur in small numbers, to be sure, but in great variety in almost every rural community. And finally she must secure the best advice obtainable with regard to methods of developing the ability of her community to solve these problems by their own co-operative activity.

There are many ways in which the social worker may help the rural teacher to make the school a community center such as we have been thinking of. It is obviously the function of the social worker to bring to the teacher the knowledge and the skill of the expert dealing with all the various problems of social maladjustment. The social worker may also render valuable assistance in the form of advice and skill in community organization. And, finally, the social worker may be one of a number of friends coming to the rural teacher from another world and bringing new ideas and fresh enthusiasm. All these services may be rendered more valuable by the application of the three principles which I have first suggested.

Applying the principle of self-determination, the social worker will adopt a helping attitude. For instance, instead of asking all manner of questions about the situation, the social worker will solicit and answer the teacher's questions. The principle of simplicity requires that the social worker modify her methods to suit the rural environment. The methods of work employed in city agencies are not wholly applicable in the rural communities. Investigations may be much simplified, and must be more cautiously pursued. According to the principle of adaptability the social worker must be prepared to render service in all phases of community organization and case work.

One of the steps, in adapting the service of social work to the needs of the rural community, it seems to me, is the training of general practitioners for the rural field—professional social workers competent to deal with problems of case work and organization alike. I think most schools of social work which are in close touch with the rural field are working toward this objective.

This movement in the training schools must be paralleled, however, by a change in attitude on the part of social agencies, particularly national agencies. As things stand today, there is no job for the general practitioner, unless it be that of county welfare superintendent, which is beginning to appear in some of the states. If social agencies would co-operate to the extent of maintaining a joint field staff to cover the rural field, the territory of each worker might be reduced to a size which could be adequately covered. Under such circumstances the rural social worker bringing the combined resources of all the social agencies could render a real service to the rural teacher.

To summarize my position on this point, the social worker may help immeasurably to promote the improvement of country life by becoming a consulting specialist for the rural teacher in all matters pertaining to social welfare. This service should be rendered in a spirit of helpfulness. It should be practical in method and suited to rural conditions. And it should be adequate in scope to deal intelligently with all the needs in the community in the field of social welfare.

Summing up this whole discussion, I would say that the extension of the educational influence of the rural school into all the activities of the community seems to me one of the most hopeful tendencies of the community movement. I have not dwelt upon the erection of fine school buildings to be used as community centers. To me the

building and equipment are entirely incidental factors. Every rural school may be a community center if the teacher has a trained intelligence and a love for country life. I want to see a teacher like that in every rural school in the land. And I earnestly hope that we social workers will help to bring this about by making our knowledge and skill more and more available to the rural teacher.

FUTURE TRENDS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL PROGRAMS THROUGH THE SCHOOLS

THE SCHOOL AS A MEANS OF DEVELOPING A SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS AND SOCIAL IDEALS IN CHILDREN

Dr. John Dewey, Columbia University, New York

The work of the public school system in this country ever since it was begun, hardly a century ago, has been essentially social in its results. It is natural that the average parent should look upon it as a device for teaching his own children reading and writing and arithmetic. It is natural that the taxpayers should have thought of it as social, although sometimes more a social nuisance than anything else. It is natural that the teachers should have had their attention chiefly fixed upon the necessities of the school program and the demands made upon them in connection with the instruction and discipline of children. And yet when we get far enough away so that we do not lose sight of the woods in looking at individual trees, we know that ever since the first the chief work of the school has been to operate as a cement in the social structure or, to use a less mechanical metaphor, it has been the shuttle which has carried the threads across and woven the otherwise separate threads into a coherent pattern. We are most conscious of this in connection with the work which the schools have done in uniting and bringing together the exceedingly heterogeneous elements of our population.

We are told that Rome fell because of certain foreign migrations, and yet I suppose that all of those migrations put together did not amount to anything like the movements of population which we have seen from other countries to this country in the last eighty years, and that we have seen going on constantly in this country from one part of it to another. Probably never in the history of the world has society faced the problem of bringing together so many unlike elements and making of them a unified people. I won't say that the school has been the only instrumentality at work in transforming this variety, this multitude, of dissimilar elements into something approaching unity of outlook and thought and life. But I think we can say that no one other influence has counted for anything like as much in bringing a certain integrity, cohesion, feeling of sympathy, and unity among the elements of our population as has the public school system of this country. This is a commonplace. I am only calling attention to something with which we are all familiar because the situation has now changed. This work in the past has been done by the school system largely unconsciously rather than deliberately or of set purpose. It was not done because of any program, certainly, nor because of any conscious formulation and control of the curriculum. It was accomplished rather as a by-product by the social influence created by bringing children of different religions, of different traditions, of different races, and of different languages

together, and for a certain number of hours a day having them in contact with each other in common play, study, and work. It has been a by-product of the other activities of the school that have brought children and youth together, and given them an opportunity to travel the road to learning. In doing this they have become acquainted and have grown more like each other and learned to share something like a common way of thinking and feeling about the matters that concern the community as a whole.

We have now to realize that, as in so many other phases of our national life, this period of unconscious and spontaneous expansion is drawing to a close, if it has not already come to a close. Our period of natural and unconscious expansion geographically, the taking up of land, the discovering of our resources, has come to an end. We have come to a period of problems, to a period of reflection, to a period of inquiry, of surveys, inventories, the taking of stock, rather than of going ahead and doing things simply because they have to be done and then trusting to the forces generated in the doing of them to carry us on to success. This work, then, which the schools have done spontaneously, without much set purpose or intention, in the past, has now got to be done, it seems to me, in a much more conscious and deliberate manner, or it will not be done at all. And the circumstances are such that just at the time when this work of socializing, of creating a real unity of purpose and ideal in the youth of our country, most needs to be done, there are certain great difficulties of a serious nature which have to be met for the first time on a large scale in the accomplishment of this task.

I do not know whether if it had not been for the late war we should have had an outbreak of intolerance, of social distrust, of lack of confidence in each other, of a desire of different sections to impose their outlook and views upon others as a test of their fitness to be citizens, or not. It may be we had reached a point in our development where something of this movement toward social division and intolerance was going to show itself anyway; but whether that is true or not the war and the aftermath of the war accentuated the growth of this attitude. A very good friend of mine said recently to me in a serious way, that while he did not wish to seem pessimistic, the most discouraging symptom of American life today had been the growth in the last ten years of social intolerance. This, in the various phases which it has assumed, is one reason why the school has got to do more consciously in the future that which it has done unconsciously in the past. It is one of these obstacles that have been put in the way that make it more difficult to do it and that require more co-operation and unity of thought and effort between the educators of the community and the other people who are interested in the community, that these causes of division, of separation, and of mutual distrust may not go on growing among us. I need not remind you of all of these manifestations. We all know that many of us feel like blushing every time we hear the term "Americanization," because to such an extent the idea has been seized upon by certain groups as a means of forcing their own conceptions of American life upon other people. I need not speak of the growth of religious and racial intolerance, evidence of which is seen in this country under the form of the Ku Klux Klan movement. That is not a thing that we can laugh aside or deal with simply as a separate movement. It has a greater significance, in that it is a symptom of a spirit manifested in so many other directions. We have a good deal of Ku Kluxism besides that of these people who put on physical white robes and cover their faces up in them. There are a great many people, some of them editorial writers discussing this movement of the Ku Klux Klan, who have put on a kind of intellectual and moral white robe and hood to conceal

themselves and their purposes, and are doing in a more insidious way the evil work of undermining in the community that feeling of respect for one another and that trust in one another, which, it seems to me as I look back, was almost universal in the days when we, the older ones among us, were growing up. Not that we did not have certain terms of ridicule and opprobrium for the newly arriving ones, a kind of introductory hazing possibly, but there was none of this deliberate distrust, this spirit of suspicion and fear, and this attempt to make the community feel that certain elements in our population are distinctly anti-American, and must be dealt with on suspicion and even in more drastic ways. It is this particular situation—we all hope it is temporary, but at the same time it exists—that the educators of the community and those who are in sympathy with the work the teachers are doing in various lines of social work need to recognize openly and frankly. I mention one point where this movement affects the school. We have a constitutional amendment passed in Oregon a short time ago which to some of us who thought we were good Americans seems to strike at the root of American toleration and trust and good faith between various elements of the population in each other. We have such legislation as that represented up to a few weeks ago by the Lusk laws in New York City, putting not only private schools but teachers in the public schools under suspicion. And they said this had to be done because so many immigrants were coming into our schools. Personally I feel resentful at this because I belong to an earlier immigrant strain in this country, and the family to which I belong has not come over so recently that it is necessary for us to flaunt in the face of the public the fact that we are good Americans by casting suspicion upon the more recently introduced elements of the foreign population. It is not all a racial and religious matter. There is a desire, an intellectual desire, to find out what people are thinking and believing, and to find out if what they are thinking is different from what we are thinking, and if so believing that that fact makes them suspicious characters.

One more instance of where this tendency is affecting our public schools; that is the legislation that has been introduced, and in many cases passed, recently regarding the teaching of United States history. It is natural that every nation should collect a certain amount of myths in its development. It is part of the romance of history and I should be the first to insist that there should be legislation stating that teachers could not tell any of these hoary stories to the children, but when it comes to legislators, who have never made historical inquiries, setting down in black and white that no school book can be used in the schools that does not contain sixty-eight per cent of these somewhat dubious tales about our American ancestors, most of them just anecdotes anyway that ignore the real spirit of the struggles that went on, it is time for an awakening of a more unified social consciousness. In science it would hardly be thought safe to teach anything that was not found to be the result of scientific inquiry; but now in biology as well as in history it appears that various persons know, without studying, what the truth is, and that they can bring their influence to bear upon legislators to declare the law of nature. Some of us think the legislators have enough to attend to in dealing with the laws of society, but it seems that this province is not wide enough. They have taken all nature for their province, and soon Mr. Einstein will find he has been outdone by some southern or northwestern legislature, if things go on as they are going now. These things are symptoms rather than things we can deal with one by one. They are serious symptoms of a certain unfortunate change which is coming over the natural, old-fashioned toleration—good will—the recognition that different people are going to

have different ideals and beliefs but yet that in American public and national life below all these differences we have a common unity, a basis of unity; that we have enough common work, common responsibility, and common interest and sympathy so that in spite of all these other distinctions we can go on working together. And the purpose of the public school is to concentrate upon the fundamental elements in the community of our national life.

I want to suggest three points where it seems to me the schools at the present time have some special responsibility. The first and obvious thing is in connection with international and inter-racial questions, not merely as we look abroad in our relationships to other political units, but as we ourselves, within ourselves, are international and inter-racial. We must realize that whatever breeds hostility and division without is bound to react and produce hostility and division within. There is very great danger that some people will develop this idea in a very narrow nationalistic spirit; that they will make a fetish out of patriotism by diverting it from its true and proper meaning of devotion to the common weal and think of it as a spirit of suspicion, jealousy, antagonism toward others, that spirit of evil from which all of the world today is suffering and from which we, in all the earlier years of our history, because of our fortunate geographical position, are relatively free; free as compared with the crowded old world, with its geographical boundaries and its heritage of national animosities and past wars. Have you ever stopped to think that it is easy to cultivate a friendly feeling for a foreign nation with which this country has never been at war, and that the difficulty in developing friendly feeling comes with the nations with which this country has been at war? Compare the generally sympathetic feeling for France with the feeling that has prevailed toward our own mother country. Don't you think if the wars had been reversed this feeling would have been reversed, that if we had been at war with France and never had had war with Great Britain, that it would have been Great Britain that our feeling would have gone out to so as to make it easy to stamp out antagonisms? The teachers in our schools, and the communities behind the schools have a greater responsibility with reference to this international phase of social consciousness and ideals than we have realized. As we need a program and a platform for teaching genuine patriotism and a real sense of the public interests of our own community, so clearly, we need a program of international friendship, amity, and good will. We need a curriculum in history, literature, and geography which will make the different racial elements in this country aware of what each has contributed and will create a mental attitude toward other people which will make it more difficult for the flames of hatred and suspicion to sweep over this country in the future, which indeed will make this impossible, because when children's minds are in the formative period we shall have fixed in them, through the medium of the schools, feelings of respect and friendliness for the other nations and peoples of the world.

It seems to me necessary also to say something regarding the causes of social divisions that come from economic and industrial forces. Here, too, largely by the fortune of our geographical position and our wealth of unused territory, we have not had until recently class divisions and conflicts. We do not have them yet in anything like the extent of the old world. But it is a commonplace that these economic and industrial divisions, and the problems relating to them, the problems of capital and labor, are looming larger in our life than they have in the past. There are sources of bitterness which two classes at least in the community are very willing to take advantage of, those who desire to keep greater control over those who have little or nothing

on the one hand, and demagogues who have an interest in exploiting any evidences of discontent which arise for their own personal advantage on the other side. We cannot teach isms, economic or social, in the schools; it is highly desirable that they should be kept out of the schools. But does not the average boy and girl leave school today with altogether too innocent and naïve a state of mind about the evils and the problems he is going to meet, whether or no, when he gets out of school? Have we not tended to create a false and fictitious intellectual atmosphere in the school, put too much idealism over all of the conditions of life? I believe in respecting the innocence and the hopefulness of children and youth. They have a right to enjoyment and to a respite from the hard economic and political struggles and problems of life. I do not mean that these things should be forced upon them prematurely. But our instruction in history and geography and our social studies in general should be intellectually more honest, they should bring students into gradual contact with the actual realities of contemporary life and not leave them to make acquaintance with these things in that surprised way which even college students coming from some of the educational institutions in this country may run across today. We need the schools to bring about recognition of the problems which are common problems; things which the American people have got to work out together in a spirit of unity and co-operation if they are ever to be worked out at all. I think these things can be presented in a spirit which will appeal to all of the idealism, which is fortunately so common in our American youth, to make them realize that they are sharers in this making of the country, that these problems to be faced are like the obstacles our forefathers had to face, so that while geographical pioneering must stop in this country, there is still a call for pioneers in improving the welfare of the mass of the people, and that the accepting of this new economic problem is an opportunity which all of the children and youth of the country are called upon as they go into life to deal with together. I do not urge a pessimistic platform, but that we have a platform which recognizes that present demands and social conditions are opportunities and calls to co-operative service in the making more secure the aims of human liberty and human justice to which our forefathers dedicated this country.

These are scattering illustrations. They have but one purpose—to indicate what I said, that the kind of work schools have done in the past, largely unconsciously and spontaneously, has now got to be undertaken deliberately and intelligently and that it requires more of a social consciousness primarily on the part of the teaching body. We teachers have reason for some humiliation when we think of the extent to which social improvements have been initiated and carried on by professional social workers and other public spirited citizens while the teaching body have largely stayed outside. I am afraid that even in the prevention of child labor which certainly seems to be a matter of prime scholastic importance, the teachers and school administrators have hardly taken their fair share of the burden. We have got to recognize this social responsibility, and I would even say that the educators should arrogate to themselves the assumption that their responsibility is greater than that of others. I do not know just what a social worker is (although I have recently seen some definitions), but whatever he is, teachers should say "We are it"; they should say "We are more it than is any other class in the community," in the really fundamental work of improving the health and culture of the community, and in spreading liberty and justice and happiness throughout it. If that is the business of social workers, then the teachers ought to be challengers over all other elements in the community, professional and unprofessional, in claiming to be the leaders in social work.

PROVISION BY THE SCHOOL OF MORE ADEQUATE MEANS
OF SOLVING THE INDIVIDUAL PROBLEMS OF
CHILDREN

Herbert S. Weel, Superintendent of Schools, Rochester, New York

The constitution of the state of New York puts squarely upon the legislature the responsibility for "establishing and maintaining a system of free, common schools wherein all the children of the state may be educated." The state legislature has accordingly selected a board of regents, which has in turn organized the state department of education, for the purpose of carrying out this provision of the constitution. In the process of development the state has passed its compulsory education laws, established from time to time a minimum range of subjects that must be taught in the schools, set up the minimum qualifications of teachers, provided for a state-wide salary schedule, and in other ways made it clearly manifest that the education of the children of the state of New York is primarily the concern of the state itself. With all good sense the state has entrusted to the local communities, as its agents, large responsibilities in administering the schools by allowing them to choose their own trustees or boards of education, but making it at all times clear that these officials are first of all officers of the state and not of the local community.

It is both interesting and significant to note that the constitution has made no similar provision for the administration of any other one of those activities usually classed as functions of local government. Rochester, so far as the constitution of the State of New York is concerned, may fail to pave her streets, to provide for herself adequate protection against the danger of fire and accident, neglect the importance of satisfactory police protection, and even ignore such essentials to health as an adequate and wholesome water supply. But Rochester must educate her children.

Now clearly the object and the defense of these public schools that have thus been developed in the state of New York, supported as they are by taxes levied upon all the people regardless of whether they have children to attend these schools, is to protect the community and the state and the nation itself against the hazards of ignorance. When the constitution of the state of New York referred to a system of free common schools the meaning of that word "common" was very clear. It simply embraced the elementary schools in which should be laid that common foundation essential to our common life. The public school in these early days had no responsibility for differentiating among the kinds of service which the individual members of that school would later render to the community. It was the life outside of the school with its different demands and its different opportunities that assumed full charge of such differentiations. Once these common subjects had been pursued a certain length of time, all but the few privileged to think of the academy, the college, and the professions, went out into the life of the community and sooner or later found themselves established. Thus this common school simply dealt with the common elements that were not already provided for by other agencies in the community.

But this word "common" has a very different significance today. The department of education of the state of New York now rules that any boy or girl in the state who desires a high-school education must be provided with an opportunity for such an education. The educational program has been extended to the point where high schools are practically as much common schools as are the elementary schools. The signifi-

cance of this, as it relates to our problem of individual differences, cannot well be overestimated. This very condition in and of itself forces upon the public school the responsibility of making certain differentiations in this higher level of education, both because of the diversity of needs within the community and the diversity of abilities and interests among the pupils of the school.

The third and only other factor to be discussed in this connection has to do with compulsory education. Its bearing upon this problem of providing for individual differences is too obvious to require more than passing comment. Comprehensive compulsory education laws adequately enforced are matters of comparatively recent action. Only a few years ago if a child remained in school beyond the most immature years he remained there because of his own desire for an education or because of the desire of his parents. But today the arm of the state unequivocally demands that every child between the ages of seven and sixteen years attend the full-time day school whenever it is in session. The only exception is that those between fourteen and seventeen may be released from the full-time day school under certain conditions, provided, however, that they continue their school work in the continuation school. Thus the homogeneity that characterized the public school of earlier days is a thing of the past. Not only has immigration made its unparalleled contribution to the diverse elements that already existed in the community but the compulsory education law has brought these elements into the public school classroom, and has very properly forced that classroom to reckon with them.

If this approach to the subject of provisions for individual children be at all valid, then the principles in the light of which the public school must be guided in this work become apparent. First of all, the school must be equipped to ascertain what these individual differences are, and it must likewise be prepared through its organization, its courses of study, and its methods of teaching, to respect the differences thus determined.

One of the essentials in this process of ascertaining individual differences is the child-study department. The only thing worse than exaggerating the possibilities of such a department is ignoring its contributions. Few, if any, among those who have followed at all closely the contributions of the psychologist in this direction, will question the value of those contributions. That there are varying degrees of mental power among these boys and girls of the public schools, and that we are benefiting neither the child nor the community by ignoring the mental power and consequent mental responsibility of the individual, will not be questioned. Within fairly well defined limits, the child-study department can give to the school one type of information that is of invaluable service in this attempt to locate the fundamental causes which lie back of the child that differs so much from the normal as to make him a subject of special study. This child-study department then becomes one essential to the solution of this problem.

As we review the progress of the last ten years, it is unmistakably clear that there has been very real and substantial progress in the direction of forming special classes in which the organizing principle has been variation in mental ability. These classes are relatively small, they are increasingly made up of the exceptionally capable as well as the mentally handicapped, they are more nearly adapting the curriculum to the abilities of these children, and their methods of approach consider the individual rather than the mass. Thus these children are more successfully reached, while at the same time the regular grade groups are made more homogeneous and correspondingly benefited.

If we are not mistaken, however, scarcely a start has been made in the direction of a greater use of these contributions of the child-study department by the regular classroom teacher. Many of us believe that the next significant step forward is bound to be along this line. We are already attempting to develop an interest in individual case study by the regular teacher by allowing to each such teacher a certain amount of time for home visiting. It is hoped that this will result in a more intelligent use of all sources of information by the teacher to the end that what we are pleased to call the normal child will have his own problems more fully understood and more helpfully solved. To secure and use all possible information bearing upon these varying mental abilities, either through the means suggested above or any others that may suggest themselves, is a vitally important matter in the life of this elementary school.

But there is another common asset upon which our common welfare also vitally depends. If we go back over the past half dozen years to ascertain a second factor responsible for the weakened man power of this country during the days when our fullest power was most seriously needed, it would readily be found in the unnecessary ill health that was so prevalent at the very period of life when the health of the individual was supposed to be at its best. This may properly be referred to as unnecessary, because it could have been avoided in large part if the elementary schools of this nation had received anything like the moral and financial support required to carry on even the health-education program that is now found in many of our public school systems. Here, again, on the physical side, therefore, provisions for meeting not simply the needs of the normal child but the problems of the individual child are essential. If this is to be done, then the trained physician, the specially trained teacher of health education, and the school nurse are necessary. The disappointments that only too often come as a result of what is accomplished, or rather is not accomplished, through the medical inspector are very real. Nevertheless, the medical inspector is emphatically a step in the right direction.

But the public school must also advance the child in his ability to know and to appreciate the history and the geography of his own community, state, and nation, and to some extent of the world at large; to sense his share in the social, civic, and industrial order of such a democracy as ours; and to meet the obligations which such knowledge and appreciation should engender. This is pre-eminently the field of our common citizenship ideals for the appreciation and realization of which literacy and health and all the others are but means. Nowhere have these common ideals been more completely and convincingly stated than in the preamble to the Constitution of the United States: ". . . to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." With all the abuse to which the word "Americanism" has been subjected, nevertheless, it does connote a very definite sort of thing. Its very essence lies in a sympathy with the great policy of the square deal for which this country long ago declared itself. No person can be at all familiar with the public school of today and yet fail to recognize that the school far outranks any other American institution in setting the faces of our boys and girls hopefully and confidently toward the ideals of this republic.

Are there problems affecting individual children that call for special consideration here? Indeed there are, and in some respects they are problems that are more vitally

related to the very life of the school than are many of the other problems to which we are properly trying to give attention.

Just what are these forces and where do they lie that tend to defeat the work of the public school in developing a sound and wholesome attitude toward these ideals upon which our common welfare so vitally depends? For the most part they are forces that are at all times at work in the environment of the child during the large part of his waking hours when he is beyond the control and influence of the school. The very center of this environment is obviously the home. These social forces outside the life of the school affect for good or for ill practically every phase of progress which the school is attempting to make with the individual child. What is more natural and important, therefore, than a study of these forces by the school when the individual child is failing to make anything like normal progress through conditions that cannot be found within the school itself? This, Rochester is attempting through the home-visiting teacher. The work of this teacher is very clearly defined so far as our own school system is concerned. It is to go straight to the home for a sympathetic conference concerning any child who, for any reason whatsoever not already understood by the school, is failing to make the kind of school progress that promises to result in a citizen of real value to the community. But like many other activities in this world or ours, the by-products are sometimes of very significant consequence. If we could know the extent to which homes, through these home-visiting teachers, have come to understand the school, to understand the child, to understand America itself in its great purposes and limitations, there would never arise in our minds any doubt as to the wisdom of supporting this means of solving the problems of individual children. To get out of our isolation and follow the child to the home and thereby give many a home the real conviction that somebody cares, is a real force, the ramifications of which are of far-reaching value and importance.

In our own city the elementary school period now closes with the sixth grade, and the junior high school period begins. This junior high school period has boys and girls during the seventh, eighth, and ninth grades. It has them, therefore, during those critical years of from twelve to fifteen or sixteen years of age. In this regard Rochester is working on the principle that just as this elementary school has for its pre-eminent task the giving of these common controls that must be the common possession of all so the period of the junior high school should be the period of special study and attention to this factor of diversity.

Two principles, therefore, must be determining in the work of this school. The one is that of using every possible contribution that all these forces of the elementary school have made available in the case of every child who enters this junior high school. A conscious and systematic attempt is made to do just this. During the seventh grade, or the first year of this junior high school, under a teacher of guidance and under the organization provided for the purpose there are conferences with the home and there are studies of every other available sort made for the purpose of tentatively setting each child out at the beginning of the eighth year upon the line that promises most for the development of his special powers and abilities. The second requirement is a range of facilities that are adapted to such type differences as may develop.

The junior high school conceived of as anything short of varied facilities and groupings primarily for purposes of general education, as opposed to training for a specific

trade or occupation, is not to be defended. There is no sense in which the junior high school is a vocational institution. This statement is not to be interpreted, however, as meaning that the school is not to concern itself at this point with that phase of education that has to do with economic independence. Among all the important qualifications that go to make up the good citizen, none is more vital than his ability to stand as a self-supporting person in the community. If, therefore, the primary work and sole defense of the public school system is to prepare for citizenship, the school must concern itself with this factor.

These fine and practical arts of the elementary school are taught during the early school life of the child, with no primary reference to any bearing that they may have upon later-life careers. But out of these groups of pupils who pursue these arts in this elementary school will come musicians and other artists, draftsmen and other artisans, as well as those who are to meet the business and professional demands of community life.

These children in the junior high school are, in the main, from twelve to fifteen or sixteen years of age. In general, this is the period when the normal boy and girl are vaguely trying to find themselves in terms of life's work. The ambition for a career now begins to be stripped of much of the caprice that formerly characterized it. To attempt any final determination of vocational careers during this time would be worse than folly. An equally indefensible extreme, on the other hand, is to ignore the importance of encouraging these adolescents to reflect seriously upon the vital relations between economic independence and citizenship. Clear thinking and the ability to ascertain special interests and capacities should be facilitated during this period by every provision that the public school can consistently make. It is difficult to imagine a more distressing experience than the aimlessness which characterizes so many of our young people during this teen age. The imperative need of vitalizing the work of these years is everywhere recognized.

No sensible person will be dogmatic as to how this is to be done. We believe, however, that one very effective way is to give sane and intelligent consideration to these great vocational highways of life through which youth hopes to reach its promised land. The one leading to college and professional life has ever been kept open and lighted by the secondary school, and it is vital to the welfare of all that it should be. But it is not the only highway. All the experiences of life beyond the school, and of failures and withdrawals from within, should have taught us that lesson far more effectively than they have. Has the school no responsibility for lighting up these other highways of commercial, and of industrial, and of home life, when we know at the outset that these are the highways which through choice or necessity the great body of our boys and girls will take? So long as we assume this no-responsibility attitude, so long will that one highway, which we have recognized, be crowded with misfits. Should not the skills required, the intelligence and character qualities demanded, and the compensations offered in these other directions be subjects properly reckoned within the consideration of the school during these years when they are bound to be subjects of serious consideration in the life of the child?

Furthermore, conditions over which the child has no control only too often make it imperative that he shall withdraw from school and go to work as soon as compulsory education laws make such action possible. This mere facing of the facts of life forces us to recognize that the vocational elements will loom larger in some cases than in

others during this junior high-school period, according as necessity requires an early departure from school and consequently dictates an early though premature choice. For the public school to ignore the needs of this large and important group in the country's economy, by failing to provide facilities adapted to their needs, or to reason their needs from the needs of what might be called the "academic type" to whom the college is accessible and by whom the professions are to be recruited, is the undemocratic course.

It would be interesting to know, if possible, just how far the unfortunate distinctions that are made between workers of the head and workers of the hand may be traced to the doors of our educational institutions through their years of ignoring everything except the college preparatory courses through which the professions are recruited, and thereby declaring that these other great fields are not of sufficient consequence in their demands for trained and educated service to warrant attention from the public schools.

In conclusion, then, it would seem that provisions by the school of more adequate means of solving the individual problems of children can be made only as the school patiently, sympathetically, and intelligently takes advantage of every opportunity to study seriously these great forces that concern the physical, mental, and moral life of the child. There is no other reliable means of bringing us to appreciate the significance of the fact that there is such a thing as a scientific procedure that can be carried on by especially trained and scientifically minded people, and that this procedure is just as indispensable to this great work of the public school as it is to any other field of human endeavor. The child-study department, the trained physician, the health specialists, and the home visiting teacher, with the kind of special training and insight that are so highly represented in this body, are simply typical of the great fields yet to be worked in this direction.

And then with the same degree of patience and sympathy and intelligence the school must establish and maintain its special classes and its range of other facilities required for meeting not simply individual but type differences as they are found to exist among these boys and girls. In one very real sense only a beginning has been made, and that in very recent years, in the working out of this problem. It is a good beginning, however, and one of vital concern to every person interested in advancing our civilization.

THE FUTURE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE SCHOOL TOWARD CHILDREN UNDER FIVE YEARS, BOTH DIRECTLY AND THROUGH TRAINING FOR PARENTHOOD

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The keynote of the papers in this conference so far has been "prevention." In every field the worker who is attacking disease, crime, or poverty is becoming more and more convinced that his function is not merely to correct the developed difficulty but even more to promote methods of prevention. Dean Roscoe Pound has told us that even justice, in modern times, is viewing its task from the angle of prevention. The phrase "preventive justice" is new to many of us and exceedingly suggestive.

As soon as our interest becomes centered upon preventive programs, we find ourselves pushed farther and farther back in the lives of individuals in our attempt to see how that which is wrong in behavior can be corrected. It is only too evident to anyone

dealing with five- and six-year-old children that bad mental and physical habits have already been established by the time the child first comes to school. Preventive work should, then, begin before school age. We are already alive to the effects of inadequate physical care during the first two years, and of the importance of laying the foundations of health in infancy and young childhood. The fact that the mental and social habits of the very early years are equally important has been slow in receiving recognition. Today, we are becoming more and more convinced that the main outlines of character, personality, and type of social reaction are laid down before the school comes into contact with the child. Whatever the contribution which the experience of early years makes to personality and to ability, it is the parents of the child who have been left by society with the complete responsibility of determining what that contribution is to be.

When we ask how well parents have performed the task of the training of young childhood, the answer is not reassuring. It has been said in this conference that most of the delinquency of children is the direct result of delinquency of parents. If this statement were made somewhat broader to include not merely the delinquency of parents but their ignorance and their unconscious selfishness, it would be still stronger. Not only the feeble-minded or the vicious parent is failing in his task of parenthood, but very frequently parents who never come in contact with the law or with social agencies are giving their children the kind of treatment which makes directly for bad social adjustments.

Recently I lived near a family in which there were three children under five years, so near that in summer even the family conversation, if carried on in raised tones, as it frequently was, permeated my house. The father was a workingman who was janitor of the building. The family occupied a basement apartment just opposite my first floor one. The mother was a beautiful, robust, and well-dressed woman who stayed at home and cared for her children. They were entirely self-supporting people, who never came within the province of the social worker, or of the law. From morning to night I heard the mother quarreling with her husband and scolding her children. The children were ordered about, jerked, and slapped all day. Rarely did I hear a pleasant or sympathetic word addressed to them. At night they were kept up until ten or eleven o'clock. By that time the children were exhausted and as ill-tempered as one would inevitably expect from the way they were treated. The day ended with resounding whippings for the children, who went to bed crying from fatigue, pain, and resentment. The family was doing nothing which warranted the interference of the law, or the ministrations of a social agency; the whippings were not brutal enough. And yet types of reaction were being fostered which would cause serious trouble in social adjustments throughout life. Finally, when I could stand it no longer, I went over to see the mother. I cannot recommend my interview as a model for the family visitor. The upshot of it was that she told me that she was bringing up her children to suit herself, not to suit the neighbors, and that she wished I would go home, mind my own business, and bring up my own children, advice which I was, of course, compelled to follow. But a bit later I heard her say to her husband, with tears in her voice, "Did you hear what that woman said to me? She said she couldn't bear to see children treated the way mine are treated. I bet they're treated a damn sight better than a lot of other people's children." And I fear she was right. Nor are the mistakes in the management of children confined to the janitor's wife.

We get nowhere by blaming individual parents. Society has allowed them to think that bringing up their children to suit themselves, not to suit the neighbors or the state, was entirely satisfactory until the children were five or six years old. At no time have the parents been given any systematic instruction with regard to the difficult task of providing suitable physical, educational, and emotional environment for young children, nor are they given any organized assistance in carrying out the task.

The reason for our neglect in providing no training for so fundamental and important a function as parenthood is not far to seek. It lies in part in a late recognition of the great permanent importance of the training and management given to young childhood, and in part in the very real difficulty inherent in providing training for parenthood years before young people are faced with that responsibility. The difficulty, thus far insurmountable, in teaching young people still in school about the care and management of children is that the topic cannot be taught to advantage abstractly. That children cannot be used as mere objects of laboratory experience is so obvious as scarcely to need stating. My own experience of one and a half years in a nursery school for children under five, which is being used as a training center for young women, has convinced me that a solution of the difficulty is at hand. I am profoundly convinced of the fundamental contribution to education which a nursery school is capable of making. I wish to discuss it from three aspects: first, from the point of view of the little children who attend the school; second, from the point of view of the students; and third, from the point of view of the mothers of the children.

So far as the children are concerned, the experiment is successful beyond my utmost expectations. There is no doubt left in my own mind that a well-managed nursery school, in which children spend a part of the day, can furnish a better physical, educational, and social environment for children between two and five years of age than the average or even the superior home, without the school. I realize that the experiment must be seen to be fully appreciated. Since I cannot present the school itself as evidence to you, I must be content with reporting some tangible, and even measurable results.

The children in the school number about thirty-six at any one time. They come from a wide variety of homes; some of them rich, some of them poor, some of them homes of culture and generations of education, some of them homes of very limited cultural background, some of them perfectly normal homes with both parents living and the atmosphere excellent, and others from broken homes or homes in which discord is the rule. The school is in session from about nine o'clock in the morning until half past three or four in the afternoon. The day includes the main meal at noon and the afternoon nap. Upon entrance, every child is given a complete physical examination and physical measurements are taken every month.

The children who have remained in the school for as much as eight months have grown at 50 per cent more than the expected rate. Minor physical difficulties, such as slight anaemia or constipation, have been corrected in every case. It seems safe, therefore, to say that the school régime has profited the child physically more than the unaided home environment.

Mental developments we undertook to measure by the use of standard tests. The most striking result, as yet, is the spectacular increase in intelligence quotients as determined by the Stanford revision of the Binet scale. There have been seventeen children who have remained long enough in the school since the establishment of the

laboratory service to allow the second test with the Stanford scale. If we allow a range of seven points, plus or minus, within which the result of the second test is considered constant, then ten of the children had gained in intelligence quotient. Among these ten children the gain was so large that the average for the group was more than twenty points. These results become of particular interest because of the recent discussion of the meaning and interpretation of intelligence quotients and the extent to which they measure innate capacity. Mr. Walter Lippman has, in my judgment, performed a service for science in bringing forward the discussion of intelligence quotients, although I am of the opinion that so far as psychologists are concerned, Mr. Lippman has set up a "man of straw" which he has then destroyed with very spectacular use of artillery. The theory that tests measure something totally divorced from experience has never, so far as I know, been held by any reputable psychologist. What psychologists have believed is that experience furnishes many common elements for all children, which may be drawn upon in devising tests. If in spite of the fact that all children have had an approximately equal opportunity to learn certain things and acquire certain skills, some children have succeeded excellently, whereas others have failed, it has seemed fair to attribute the difference to differences in capacity to learn and to acquire skill. Among our very young children, there is ample proof that differences of environment have modified the test result. The explanation, in my judgment, lies in the fact that the tests were standardized on the basis of children living in the conditions furnished by the average American home, whereas the environment of the school is very superior to that of the average home. The children naturally derive more skill and more knowledge from it and appear superior when measured against a background of children from average homes. The school environment gives not merely a haphazard opportunity to learn such things as color names, the recognition of geometrical forms, the use of the pencil, and simple use of language, it gives a very specialized and directed opportunity to learn all of these things.

A second factor which tended to give a better result in the second test consists of a favorable change of attitude on the part of the child. Some children on entering the school were antagonistic in attitude toward adults, mischievous, given to "showing off" and unable to concentrate on any occupation. Within a year's time these children had become so much interested in their own projects that they had forgotten about showing off and fighting. One can see them now any morning absorbed in building a grocery store in which they sell the cakes of soap and fruit which they had made of plasticine, or building a stage upon which they produce the play of Chicken-Little or Little Black Sambo, or making the cages of a zoo in which they then take the part of the lion, or tiger, or bear. They had discovered that the adults about them are not there to thwart or interfere but to help and co-operate. Instead of being inclined to oppose any project suggested by an adult, they were in a mood to enter in and co-operate. Accordingly, at the time of the second test, their response to the examiner was much more friendly and co-operative, and the amount of effort which they were able to put into the task suggested was greater.

The improvement of this group of children in their social relationships and type of reaction toward other personalities was even more startling than their physical and mental improvement, though more difficult to measure. The shy children learned to like and mix with the others; the boisterous children learned to tone down their behavior for the sake of those about them; those who were given to "showing off" learned to

go about their day's work in the presence of visitors without undue playing to the galleries; the dishonest children learned that there were better ways of securing what they wanted than to take it from other people; the apathetic children were stimulated to a greater degree of activity; the contrary and disobedient children became reasonably pleasant and co-operative, and the domineering children learned that others have rights as well as themselves. One of the most interesting and surprising aspects of the school has been the extent to which three- and four-year-old children respond to the social atmosphere of their own group. For this reason the school proved to have an enormous advantage, as compared with the home, in correcting certain types of objectionable behavior.

If one is asked of what permanent importance in the lives of the children are these gains in physical growth, in mental growth, and in social adjustment before the age of five years, it is impossible, at present, to give a scientific answer. There are few who doubt, however, that the kind of physical habits, of mental habits, and of habits of reaction toward other human beings, which are set up at this early age, are of determining and permanent importance in the life of the individual.

The second aspect in which I wish to discuss the nursery school experiment is that of the student in training. So far our students have consisted of college girls from the senior classes of various colleges and universities. They spend one quarter or one semester with us, all of which is devoted to a study of children. The courses deal with health and nutrition for children, child psychology and child management, and social service for children. Laboratory work consists in allowing the students to help in the practical problems of the school. They also make personality studies of three or four of the children who interest them most. The student who has had this much preliminary experience will be better prepared for the tasks of motherhood than the average mother of today. The common mistakes in physical régime, in educational environment, and in training and management, which most mothers now make, will not be made by these students. In no instance has one of the students failed to be intensely interested in the work and to feel that she has profited enormously in the understanding of young children and their needs.

The third aspect from which the experiment must be considered is that of the mothers of the children themselves and the reaction of the school upon the mother and upon home life. My own conviction is that the school is as important and as helpful to the mothers as to the children. We have done a great deal of sentimentalizing about the mother in the home, but entirely too little scientific analyzing of the job assigned to her by modern society. To be sure, home economics is giving us valuable studies of the problems of feeding, housing, interior decorating, and budget-making, but what none of us has done adequately as yet is to consider how far one unaided mother is capable of carrying out satisfactorily all of the tasks of a home, including the educational environment of the children under five. Over 90 per cent of mothers have complete responsibility for the family. I am convinced that a job analysis of the mother in the home would show that it is impossible for any except the rare genius among women to fill the position adequately. One woman cannot do all of the domestic work for a family, including the washing, cooking, housecleaning, and necessary sewing, and at the same time provide what young children need in educational environment. The task is superhuman. Furthermore, the continuous and unrelieved care of small children is a confining and nervously exhausting task. In order to be a good mother, the average

woman needs relief from the care of young children during certain hours of the day. Most women get relief in one way or another, as they must for the good of their own souls and for the welfare of the family atmosphere. The rich hire servants, servants whose qualifications for the management of the children are far less than those of the parents; the poor depend upon the neighbors or the older children or turn the little ones loose to play in the streets for a time. How much better if, during the hours of needed relief for the mother, the children could be in the hands of educational experts who could assist and not hinder the mother in the training and management of her children.

It seems strange that we have so definitely assumed that the average mother is better fitted to provide all of a suitable environment for the child between two and five years than for the child between five and ten years. We have rested content with the conviction that mother love is the most important element in securing the welfare of the young child. Unquestionably it is, but just as unquestionably is it true that love alone, unaided by science and faced with demands too heavy to be met, will fail to achieve good results. The things a child learns between two and five are of even more vital importance in developing the kind of person he is to be than those which he learns after five.

We all understand that improving the conditions of society rests ultimately upon improving the quality of the individual human units that go to make it up. No project offers greater returns in determining the quality of the individual human unit than that of improving the conditions which help to mold character and personality in young childhood. The addition of nursery day schools for children between two and five to the system of public education promises to furnish a better chance to young children in three directions: First, it provides a superior type of care and training for the young children themselves during some hours of the day; second, it constitutes a laboratory which can be used in training future generations of parents; and, third, it offers to the mothers of the present generation a source of help and advice in rearing their young children, which must be furnished them if the task is to be well done.

The project is one which cannot be realized on a large scale tomorrow. It is already a hundred years since Robert Owen first saw and stated the importance of infant education and established the first nursery school; it may easily be another hundred years before the plan becomes incorporated into the educational system. To convince the public of the importance of this addition to our system of education to the point of getting the public school budget increased to cover its cost, is in itself a huge campaign of education. No mere considerations of expense, however, should deter us from beginning to urge the importance of provision for education under five years. This is a very rich country. It can afford any expense which is really essential to give the children of the land a fair start in the world.

PUBLIC OPINION

HOW FAR HAVE SOCIAL WELFARE CONSIDERATIONS ENTERED INTO STATE, NATIONAL, AND LOCAL ELECTIONS

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When social welfare is to be measured in terms of practical politics, new standards of appraisal have to be devised. Politicians apply measures in terms of expediency. The measure is not what is abstractly good for the people, but what is concretely good for a candidate or a party in the sense of what will bring victory. Politicians must deal with applied policies. Social workers are prophets, the cranks of one generation moving the next to action. They see in terms of eternal aspects of great principles.

Politicians differ from the social worker, in that they possess that sixth sense which tells them when public opinion has brought about the time for the application of a program. Politicians cannot afford to be visionaries. They deal with actualities recorded in terms of votes. They deal in candidates elected or defeated. Movements, the joy of the social worker, proceed in a world of their own, swinging along in their own orbits. They pass first through the stage of agitation when the prophet and the misfit go from door to door peddling an idea and making a contribution and, at last, they cohere in a movement. Next, as the movement gains force, opinion comes into play and minority opinion becomes strong enough to be recognized by a fighting group. Whenever this minority opinion becomes strong enough to gather such momentum that it arrests the attention of the practical politician, the movement becomes ripe for a political platform. The mere fact that this or that part of a program of social welfare has not yet become a political issue is no criterion of values. Its failure to do so is undoubtedly due to the temporary absence of the motive power applied by public opinion.

Social workers have progressed from agitation to discussion, and then to the recognition of the importance of political action. Dealing at first hand with poverty, disease, and crime, they soon worked out the relationship to fundamental methods of government, and, with these realizations strong upon them, proceeded to the establishment of laws to govern and agencies to administer and enforce. When social issues predominate in a political platform, the history of American politics shows we then have the greatest amount of independent voting. Political parties rarely have a clear-cut cleavage in the larger units of political organization, and this independent voting constitutes an important and vitally decisive factor for both parties. First fruits of the inclusion of social welfare issues in political platforms were not so sweet. A pious resolve or two about labor and something about education, buried in the subcellar of the platform, were considered an entirely satisfactory disposition of these theoretical dreams of the idealists.

Since this is the fiftieth conference of social work, it is comparatively easy to estimate that twenty-five or thirty years of social work went by without political effect,

such as adoption in party platforms or other active participation in political procedure that can be clearly identified as such. In the platforms of minority parties such as the Socialist and the Single Tax, social welfare policies have played a major part for many more years than the scant ten that mark their adoption into the family councils of the major parties. Some of the single-tax proposals, such as the excess condemnation of land by cities so that the unearned increment might accrue to the benefit of the taxpayers has found political expression in many localities, and is today admittedly a vital part of any permanent solution of the housing problem. Both Single Tax and Socialist platforms carried universal suffrage, public ownership of natural resources, and abolition of child labor for a generation before recognition came from other sources.

In fact, it was not until 1912 that national recognition came. Then the great Progressive, Theodore Roosevelt, sensitive to public opinion, strong of vision, seeing that the distinctive line of cleavage between himself and the old line of party managers had been found, sent for the leaders in social work to come to him, and presented the first major party platform recognizing human rights as at least coequal with the protection of property rights. There are probably in this audience tonight some who made the historic pilgrimage to Sagamore Hill and heard the first presentation of the platform that bore social justice as its distinguishing mark. Never before had a national platform said, "The supreme duty of the national government is the conservation of human resources through an enlarged measure of social and industrial justice." And then follow the specific pledges for protective industrial legislation, prohibition of child labor, minimum-wage standards, prohibition of night work, and an eight-hour day for women, one day's rest in seven, prisoners' earnings for their dependent families, workmen's compensation, health, old age, and unemployment insurance, continuation schools, and improvement of rural education. That section of the Progressive platform reads like a volume of the *Survey*.

Following the lines of the national platform, the various state platforms of the Progressive party did not stop with reaffirming the national platform of social justice, but introduced also their own local issues of social importance. This produced the first thoroughgoing public discussion throughout the country of social justice. Wherever a candidate was elected on the Progressive ticket he was pledged to the social program locally and nationally, and many local elections were won partly, or as a whole, by Progressive votes. The election of Mayor Mitchel in New York hinged on the Progressive vote, and his policies were deeply influenced by that group among his advisers.

Meanwhile, the issue of universal suffrage forged to the fore. Cleverly enough, the women, in campaigning for the suffrage, knew how to make social welfare issues their own, and in many instances the inclusion of universal suffrage as an issue in a campaign, sometimes local, sometimes state-wide, and eventually national, covered as a blanket many details of a campaign for social welfare issues.

It is true that the entrance of women into political life has forced the seasoned politician to pay closer attention to social welfare issues than was his wont. Women are an essential consideration now in political campaigns, and their tendency to independent voting makes them a problem to those who write platforms and consider party methods. They have dealt with social problems at close range and are quick to comprehend the significance of political action. Politicians will discuss policies with women more readily than any other form of political activity, and are eager to find the road to the feminine group of their constituencies. Some of the most striking political

results in very recent elections have been largely contributed by educational campaigns on social welfare issues conducted by women independent of party affiliations.

In 1916 the Democratic party squarely recorded itself as favoring woman suffrage and prison reform, and set up standards of employment for the federal government, "both on its own account and as an example," including a living wage, the eight-hour day, one day of rest in seven, safety and sanitation standards, adequate compensation in industrial accidents, prevention of child labor, and protection for women workers. The platform urged that these principles be also applied through legislation by the several states. International problems and preparedness were pressing hard, and social problems received scant attention that year. But in 1920 the war was over and both parties faced the great task of reconstruction. Both platforms turned again to the social issues, and Republican and Democratic platforms blossomed forth in provisions for maternity and infant care, prohibition of child labor, protection of women in industry, public health, and improvement of educational methods and standards. The Republican platform also dealt with housing, free speech, and immigration. How far these issues entered into a campaign centering again on international relationship it is not hard to say. Nationally, they were scarcely debated at all, while in New York State, in the same year, at least one party was making a consistent battle to establish a full program of social reconstruction as the basis for the party program in the state.

The effectiveness of these attempts to secure permanence for our social programs through political action can hardly be questioned. These great campaigns, with their attendant discussions, are never a total loss. Their educational value surpasses any other form of education of public opinion. Even when they are not enacted into legislation by the party advocating them, frequently the opposition party will steal them in a subsequent administration and enact them in order to gain party credit, and the public is the gainer.

Much has been said at the conference of the relation of social work to the schools, to international problems, to the labor movement, and to administrative agencies, but nothing as yet of its relation to politics. Social work has everything to gain and nothing to lose in learning to utilize the forces of political action. Vitalizing life comes through permanent legislative enactment. Workmen's compensation, basic in the family life of the industrial worker, remains a vague aspiration until legislative action makes it function. We struggle for recognition of the minimum-wage principle for women, and inch by inch establish it in a few states only to face rejection by the highest court of our land; a decision that will stir both major parties to political action in another year, and thereafter some way will be found to place it permanently in our scheme of American life. Our struggle to prevent child labor and to secure maternity and infancy protection is exactly similar and will have a similar outcome.

Social work underestimates rather than overestimates itself. It has become a part of the fabric of American life. Especially is this true since the war. The movement for democracy has not only been pushed forward by the war but the content of the meaning of democracy has been deepened and the average man, having faced the very foundations of the world in the last five years, is no longer content with a pre-war status, but feels himself entitled to a better deal socially and economically. Probably no stronger recognition of this has come to pass politically than the adoption by Governor Smith, in 1919, of the program of social reconstruction offered by the reconstruction commission appointed by him. Directly resulting from this policy in New York state

three successive elections for governor have emphasized the social welfare program. Democrats, beginning in 1918, with emphasis on labor legislation, universal suffrage, and child welfare, continued in 1920 with an even more fully developed social program, based on the report of the reconstruction commission. It included housing, conservation of natural resources, minimum wage, eight-hour day, public health, cost of living, and educational proposals. But the climax came in this last year, when the Democratic platform contained, beside all these issues and a pledge to repeal the laws requiring teachers to pass loyalty task and private schools to be licensed, detailed pledges to strengthen by adequate appropriations the administration of labor laws and workmen's compensation, and specifically advocated proper appropriations for the care of the state's dependents in hospitals for the insane, the prisons, and under child welfare boards. More than this, the whole campaign resolved itself into a running debate on these issues, with one candidate clearly established as the liberal advocate of these policies and the other hopelessly trying to establish himself as less of a reactionary than his party tenets made him. Restoration of the government to the people was the keynote of the campaign. Public opinion had done its work well and incidents of the campaign showed the issue to be clearly understood, even by the rank and file of voters. The ability to state a social issue in terms of everyday life, and a strong belief in human beings as the real assets of a commonwealth won out and recorded for Governor Smith, idealist and social worker, the greatest majority in the history of the state. Even so seemingly abstract a program as the reorganization of the state government was clearly expressed in homely terms of human welfare when the economies it promised were expressed in terms of increased appropriations for child welfare, state institutions for dependents, and other social activities as contrasted with unnecessary expense involved in duplicating, wasteful administrative machinery.

Since 1912 many great social issues have been fought and sometimes lost in the nation, in the several states, and in hundreds of local elections. Sometimes we call them moral issues, when they succeed in arousing our emotions, as the Low campaign in New York City, when William Travers Jerome was elected district attorney to stamp out the red-light district, or certain similar elections in San Francisco, Denver, Chicago, and Philadelphia. Certainly the presidential campaign of 1920, with its over-shadowing issue of world-peace, drew the lines clearly and firmly for or against the great human stakes that make a nation.

We may well ask, where are we heading? A new spirit stirs the world! We are less interested in our political rights, perhaps, because we feel we are secure in these and more concerned with the individual. We are searching our fundamental conceptions of democracy and demanding for the individual a larger measure of justice, a greater participation in the life of our democracy. Political parties are slowly learning that these awakened citizens want, not housing in the abstract, but homes for people that shall be within their reach; not a proper limitation of hours for working women, or a living wage, or protection for maternity and infancy, or the prohibition of child labor, as part of a program of a private organization voluntarily maintained, but as an integral part of the government of the several states and the nation itself. We are past the stage where the tariff is an abstraction. Sugar prices tell the story day by day to the housewife who buys in the humblest grocery shop, and at least one of the political parties is telling her the truth about it. The monthly visit of the landlord teaches a lesson that some politicians have learned to apply, and, strange as it may seem, cam-

paigns have been won or lost on workmen's compensation insurance, as in Ohio, and none can deny the influence of the social issues in the last campaign in Pennsylvania, or in the most recent ones in New York state.

The social problem is in politics. Social workers can take great credit to themselves and their methods that this is so. Moreover, it is going to stay in politics as long as the conception of the state as an instrumentality for social welfare persists. Social workers with the record before them may well prepare for continued appeal to the major political parties. Social workers have a great mission imposed on them in the formation of public opinion on the great human issues of government. Standing midway between those who enjoy by privilege and those who should enjoy by right the social worker has the opportunity to maintain "sweet reasonableness" while guiding the way to liberal thought and progressive achievement.

America goes forward. Nineteen twenty-four will see the social welfare idea even more fully expressed in platforms of both major parties. That party whose platform and candidate most sincerely and adequately expresses the public yearning for genuine democracy, expressed in social ideals practically attainable, will carry the country forward on its great course of world leadership.

PUBLIC OPINION AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

*William Preston Beazell, Assistant Managing Editor,
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I hope the subject that has been given me carries no implication that it is made up of two elements; no suggestion that, public opinion standing over there and social progress over here, we should address ourselves to the problem of bringing them together. To me public opinion and social progress are one exactly as object and shadow are one. I shall not pretend to say which is object and which is shadow, and it does not much matter. They move as one, and from either, the nature, if not the details, of both may be determined.

This simile is not casual. No object can cast a shadow unless, as it stands in clear relief, the light beats upon it. So it is with public opinion, and so it is with social progress. Until they have been moved out from the mass of things into the light of knowledge and understanding, they do not exist.

The lamp from which this light of knowledge and understanding is cast most brightly unquestionably is the lamp of the printed word. When printing took its place among the arts, the Dark Ages ended. This is literally no less than figuratively true, and from no other event of history is it possible to trace so long a line of great effects as came from this single cause. Printing became an art in 1438; fifteen years later the fall of the Greek Empire signalized the wreck of the old order, and that "spontaneous outburst of intelligence" we call the Renaissance had come. Time has not seen another overturn so swift, so complete, so regenerating. Forty times fifteen years, almost, have passed without sign or promise that its like may come again. In all that has been achieved through the centuries since the world was thus born again, printing has been master and servant, leader and follower, alike. It works in a spiritual fourth dimension, where neither space nor time exist, where the facts of the past and the may-

bes of the future become realities of the present, where the farthest removed is the nearest at hand.

This government of ours is an achievement of the printed word. The issues were drawn and the lines arrayed, not in the constitutional convention but in newspapers, periodicals, and broadsides. What transpired in the debates was but the echo of public opinion already formed, and what resulted was but the compromise between the extremes of that opinion.

Half a century later, public opinion put its own creature to the crucial test of the war between the states; a public opinion that was concerned with a moral rather than with a political issue. Politics, of course, had its part in that crisis, and economics, too, but the spirit that compelled was moral. Here, too, the printed word gave form to the vitalizing public opinion. To thousands who knew Uncle Tom Dred Scott was only a name. Whittier and Longfellow found audience where controversies in Congress went unheard. The North was filled with abolition newspapers, the handiwork of zealots as passionately devoted to their cause as any martyrs the world has ever seen. Wendell Phillips stirred his thousands, but the printing presses of the Lovejoys and their kind moved tens of thousands.

I think it was no mere coincidence that the National Conference of Social Work came into being in the years just following this great moral crisis. Men had got out of the habit of being ashamed of publicly avowing an ideal. They had got into the habit of sometimes, at least, thinking of others in terms of themselves. The fulness of the time had come not only for this Conference but for so many other high endeavors that we may yet write this period down as being the beginning of the golden age of service no less than of industry.

One other peak of public opinion may be considered in its bearing on our national consciousness. This is the Spanish War. We know it now as having served us as nothing else could, perhaps, in the healing of the breach left by the war between the states. The spring of 1898 saw us as definitely divided into three parts as Caesarian Gaul itself; the embittered South, the all too offensively superior North, and the West, each too deeply engaged in its own problems and ambitions to care greatly about anyone but itself. The fall of 1898 saw the first real union, spiritual and physical, that had ever bound the states together. The war with Spain was an apotheosis of public opinion. It ended a period of as undiluted emotion as any people has ever indulged in. In engendering this the newspapers stood almost alone, events marched too swiftly for any other agency to keep pace with them. I would be the last to defend all that the newspapers did in those fevered days. I am interested just now only in the fact that in the mind of the American people this was a war to end brutal oppression, and to end it not for themselves but for others. It makes little difference how true or false the concept was, this is what the war with Spain meant to the people as a whole, and I submit it as a glorious deed of true philanthropy.

If I have seemed to deal too much with wars, it is only because a war has marked each of the three stages into which, in my reckoning, our social progress may be divided—the political, the moral, and the philanthropic. I have sought to suggest the part inspired public opinion has played in each of these stages, and so I come to the part that it may be made to play in future stages. About this I am going to talk to you as a newspaperman alone.

I am perfectly aware of the uncertainty of opinion that prevails regarding newspapers in America today. I know quite well that there is hardly a surer way of winning applause just now than by attacking "the press," whether the audience be of workingmen, of manufacturers, or political insurgents. The "capitalistic press," the "bol-shevist press" and the "kept press" are phrases that will open almost any heart. Each morning's mail brings me new evidence that men and women are quite as likely to read this paper or that because they don't like it as because they do. The partisanship that is chiefly responsible for this is very evident. The working man wants his side, and his alone, put forward. The employer resents the hearing that is given labor. The politician demands this same preferment, and finds the same iniquity when it is denied him. It is a most significant thing that no labor newspaper has yet been able to make a go of it without subsidy, despite labor's reiterated dissatisfaction with the "capitalistic press." It is as true, and no less significant, that no paper which gave only capital's side could succeed, despite the railings at the "bol-shevist press."

The truth is that newspaper standards are changing. Less and less are they dealing with abstractions, which is what most partisanship boils down to, and more and more are they dealing with realities; the realities of the everyday life of everyday people. The complaints that are heard come mostly from those who either are not changing at all or are not changing rapidly enough to keep pace. In the past ten years the circulation of the daily newspapers of the United States has grown two and one-half times as fast as population as a whole. It has grown a full one-third more rapidly than even the prodigious growth of 29 per cent in urban population. That fact, I think, is a very striking illustration of the present importance of the daily newspaper in American life. Of the influence it exerts I can only offer you some incidents taken casually from the record with which I chance to be most familiar. These incidents ought to be of interest to you. They may be of service to you in your work, for they spell a magic word of appeal.

We sometimes get low in our minds because this seems an age of machinery, with few of the old human simplicities left. We sometimes think there is far too much of organization and far too little of individual effort; too many institutions and not nearly enough personal responsibility. There may, indeed, be too much of the former, but the latter still exist, surprisingly, reassuringly. Recall Smiling Joe for a moment. None of you who ever saw either the reality or the picture of his tortured little body strapped to a board will easily forget it; but even if that memory should grow dim, you would still remember the dazzling, unfading grin he wore. There are two things that man will never lose interest in: the ill fortune he prays may never befall him, and the good fortune he prays some day will. Smiling Joe typified both, the ill fortune of affliction and the good fortune of a merry soul that could make a joke of it. That is why Smiling Joe could win \$250,000 for—I wonder how many of you who remember him so well can remember the name of the hospital he built? There's the point I want to make; there's your magic word—the human touch. The hospital at Neponsit Beach ought to have "sold" itself, but without Smiling Joe it might easily have been the work of years instead of weeks.

The Salvation Army is just closing a drive for funds for its work in New York City. Do you know what brought in more money to it than all the spoken appeals, than all the reminders of the jangling tambourines along the streets? A motion picture of a

group of children in baggy sleeping suits romping their way to bed in a Salvation Army shelter. The human touch in that picture opened bill folds where traditional methods won only small change from the handiest pocket.

In the closing years of the war an invalided French soldier came back to New York. He had been a waiter in various well-known clubs, and from his savings had invested \$1,700 in a plot of land on the edge of the city. His plan to build a home there, with a bit of a truck garden about it, had been halted when he joined the colors, and after three years of service he came back to his dream as eagerly as he had gone to the defense of his country. But Emil Monjellard found no land awaiting him on his return. Taxes had gone unpaid, naturally enough, and the land had been sold at auction to a dealer in such liens. This dealer would sell back to Monjellard, but at a price not only beyond the veteran's ability but nearly as great as the original investment. It was one of those most outrageous of all outrages; a perfectly legal one. Then Monjellard wrote a letter to *The World*. In fewer than 100 words he told the story of his little tragedy, and thereby set down the preface to one of the most extraordinary annals of present-day American history. There was a human touch in Monjellard's plight that *The World* could not have been indifferent to, with its nearly forty years of devotion to just such service. We began an inquiry. We found that as the law stood Monjellard had no recourse. We found that literally thousands of others, moved by the same elemental desire for a home, had put their hard-wrung savings into land that fell into arrears of taxes without notice to them and that had been sold, after advertisement, it is true, but only advertisement in village newspapers of which the persons most concerned never even heard. We found men who made fat livings in buying up these plots and either selling them back to their hapless former owners or taking title for the pittance that the taxes amounted to. The money loss actually ran into millions; the loss in the shattered hopes of the home-seekers was beyond figuring.

We found a way eventually of ending this vicious system, and now the law provides that such properties may not be sold until the owner has had unquestioned notice, and full opportunity to protect himself if he desires. Scores of properties were restored, including Monjellard's, and hundreds of others saved.

But our interest didn't stop with this. Why was there so extensive buying of such property by people who had to contrive so desperately to make it their own? We found that it was the housing shortage, which was not yet a matter of common understanding, but which was making its first pinch felt to these who could least endure the pinch. Then we began to ask why there was such a shortage. The immediate cause, of course, was the war, but that didn't account for it all. The national emergency was over, but prices of everything that went into building were going up and up and up. So *The World* persuaded Samuel Untermyer to see if it were possible to find what might be discovered at the bottom of this pyramid. Two hearings before a magistrate revealed enough to send us to the legislature with an appeal for an investigation by the state. It wasn't easy, but in the end the legislature acquiesced, and the Lockwood Inquiry started. You must recall the principal achievements of its three years of work, three years of revelation, retribution, and reform that sprang directly from the human touch in a letter from a poilu!

One more story I want to tell you. Two years ago a farm boy, in a frontier county of North Dakota, heard the call of the road, as thousands of farm boys have before. He did not start out until the fall lull came, and so he went south. He reached Florida

finally, and finding his money running low, with no job in sight, he turned north again. Not far from the capital of the state he was arrested for riding on a freight train, and was convicted of vagrancy. He was fined \$25, which of course he could not pay, with the alternative of ninety days' imprisonment, which was of course what it was hoped he would have to choose, for that meant a \$20 fee to the arresting sheriff from the lumber company that leased all prisoners of this county.

Prison meant to this boy the shame that it would to you or me, and he telegraphed to North Dakota for money to pay his fine. It was sent, with enough more to take him back home, but there was that matter of the \$20 fee for the sheriff, and when the money arrived, without so much as an effort to deliver it, it was returned with a notation that "the party had left town." And he had; left for a lumber camp in another county, where roads were being built under such conditions that no wages could hire enough free labor to build them, and without convict labor they would go unbuilt. Even convict labor could not cope with these conditions except under the frightful compulsion of a "whipping boss" and his nine-pound strap, a combination so literally deadly that the law which permitted it was yet constrained to limit its use to ten lashes at a time.

In such a camp as this the North Dakota boy was put at work while the money that should have freed him was on its way back to the bank in whose plainly marked envelope it had been sent. For nearly two months the boy worked on, some times in mud and water to his hips, with the poisons of the swamp covering him with sores and filling his body with disease, with insects driving him to distraction, with blazing sun by day and biting chill by night, with food that consisted chiefly of cow-peas and bedding that consisted of a single sleazy blanket. Finally, when his swollen, sore-covered feet bred agony he could no longer endure, the boy asked for a larger pair of shoes. The only answer was an order to lie face down on the ground. Then the "whipping boss," with his heavy foot upon his neck, laid on his wasted body certainly forty lashes, perhaps more, as witnesses later declared. Fellow-prisoners helped the boy to his verminous bunk, and there he died, three days later, after a single perfunctory visit by the camp physician.

Six months later the boy's family got its first intimation that he had not died from the "natural causes" the lumber company had reported. An inquiry was started that quickly brought to light the details of the story I have just sketched. The county prosecutor made this inquiry, and in hot and righteous indignation determined that someone should pay. The county commissioners joined him, and their senator laid the matter before the legislature. The state of North Dakota made formal protest to the state of Florida, not only because of the tragedy itself but because of the system that had made it possible. The state of Florida, demurring against the form of the protest, expressed its regret and promised a Grand Jury inquiry. But there the matter rested. North Dakota had set in motion all its machinery, from the county up to the state government itself. Beyond that it could not go; with that, it seemed, it could do nothing adequate.

One night in the middle of March there came to my desk in the office of *The World* a telegram telling in barest outline this story of Martin Tabert, the farm boy. The message was from Gudmunder Grimson, the state's attorney of Cavalier County, an Iclander by the way, who had grown up on the farm adjoining that of Stefansson, the arctic explorer, with whom he worked his way through college. Mr. Grimson said that North Dakota needed help in the Tabert case; would *The World* give it?

Here again was the human touch to which *The World* could not be indifferent. We said that all we needed to know was whether the facts in the case were true as they were alleged; if they were, we could and would help. The evidence came on in the next mail. We examined it, and found it convincing in its essentials. Within ten days of the receipt of that first telegram *The World* began the publication of the story of Martin Tabert, and a staff correspondent was on his way to Florida. Within another ten days the country was literally ringing with the story. Newspapers in thirty-eight cities took it up; Florida itself seized eagerly on the opportunity to wipe out a system that an actual majority had protested against for years, but which had been maintained by a political minority serving its own material ends and those of benefiting corporations, too many of these being northern-owned, as was the Putnam Lumber Company, in whose veritable slavery Martin Tabert died. In forty-seven days from the first publication in *The World*, Florida had abolished the leasing of convicts, and the lash as a means of discipline; the judge who sentenced Martin Tabert and the sheriff who pocketed the fee for turning him over had been removed from office; and the "whipping boss" who lashed him had been brought to trial for first degree murder.

Can you ask a more vivid illustration of the power of public opinion, or of the effectiveness of the newspaper in awakening it? Can you ask a better rule for seeking and gaining the support you need than the simplicity and sincerity of the appeal of Martin Tabert?

PUBLIC OPINION AND THE CHIEF EXECUTIVE

Hon. William E. Sweet, Governor of Colorado

There are three aspects of public opinion which the chief executive may accept. He may, in the first place, ignore public opinion. He may be satisfied with his own judgment. He may have his own sweet will and his own opinions and, in an independent attitude, care little or nothing for what the public thinks. This is not the attitude often taken by a chief executive, although now and then we find it is assumed. In the second place a chief executive may listen to public opinion, he may be anxious to know what public opinion is, and he may analyze public opinion, desirous of knowing that source from which it comes and whither it leads. He may be conscious of the fact that he does not know all the truth, but with an open mind he is anxious to know what the public thinks. He will be openminded, he will be tolerant, he will invite opinions from those who do not agree with him, and thus he will seek to know what the public think about the measures which he is advocating or which are before the legislature.

But there is another attitude which the chief executive may take, and I think I would go a little further than the last speaker in saying that the chief executive might well consider whether he will not undertake to create public opinion, conscious of the fact that after examining a question thoroughly and carefully he believes that the public is not properly informed or if it is it has not drawn the proper conclusions. Therefore, while he is tolerant of other people's views and is openminded, he realizes that if he is to be true to his own conscience and to his own convictions, he must undertake to persuade people away from what he believes to be the wrong opinion to the opinion which he believes to be right and just. The name of Theodore Roosevelt has been mentioned tonight, and the Progressive party. I read an incident of this great leader some time

ago: He was attending a reunion of his class at Harvard, and, in the intimacies of the gathering, he was asked to what trait of character he thought he owed his success, and he said this: "I have been willing to do what everyone knew ought to be done when nobody else would do it." This is not the place, perhaps, to examine the life of our great American President, for whom all of us have voted once, whether Democrat or Republican, but if you will scan his life you will be reminded that that was perfectly characteristic of late ex-President Roosevelt. He dared to do the thing everyone knew ought to be done when no one else would do it. And so, members of this Conference tonight, it seems to me that the executive who sees clearly and who is aware that there are those who are uncertain in their own minds perhaps and are looking to him for information, may undertake to impress upon the people of the state what he regards to be of supreme importance for the well-being of society.

We listened this afternoon to President Lowell. He has just published a book entitled "Public Opinion in Peace and War." I hope if you have not read it you will find opportunity to do so. It has been only two months off the press. In this book he suggests that there are three ways in which public opinion is made. First, by presenting alternatives to the people, second, by educational methods, and, third, by propaganda. It is evident that as social workers the alternative which we have to present to the people is the condition in which society exists, and under the social order how human beings are living, contrasted with the other alternative of what society may be when social progress obtains in the state and in the land. These are the two alternatives which we as social workers are attempting to lay before the people in order that public opinion may be crystallized into action. These are the days of fact-finding commissions. These commissions should not be confined to the nation. There should be fact-finding commissions in all our states, as there are in many of them. They should make careful survey of conditions, presenting facts and only facts, and when these have been found, the alternative should be presented to the people as to what we may be if these facts are thrust behind us and we establish another standard of social progress.

The second method of creating public opinion for social work is that of education, and I think I am stating a thing which finds response in your hearts when I say that after all the educational process and the educational method, based upon intelligence and reason and coupled with the human interest stories which we must have, is the method which appeals the strongest to us all. We have the adult mind to educate. We have the older group whose opinions we find it difficult to change, but there is still existing in our nation that wonderful field of childhood and youth. This field we must enter immediately for the purpose of changing public opinion in order that the society to which we are all confidently looking may be a reality. We were glad to listen last evening to Professor Dewey as he discussed the question of democracy in our public schools.

You are familiar, perhaps, with a book which appeared three years ago, *The Science of Power* by Benjamin Kidd. I found in this book an inspiring statement concerning the value of education in formulating public opinion and in changing civilization itself. I quote from that book briefly: "There is not an existing institution in the world of civilized humanity which cannot be profoundly modified or altered or abolished in a single generation. There is no form or order of government or of the dominion of force which cannot be removed out of the world within a generation. There is not an ideal

in conformity with the principles of civilization dreamed of by dreamer or idealist which cannot be realized within the lifetime of a single generation."

Germany, not more than a generation ago, was one of the most peaceful nations in Europe, and yet within a generation we have seen her transformed into the most militaristic nation of the earth. That militarism, I believe, is broken if the nations of the world will meet Germany half way, and if we will do what we can to promote peace in our own nation by instilling self-control into the hearts and minds and souls of our youths. When we plant the seeds of peace here, they will not only immediately take root but will make us the leader of all the world in the arts of peace no less than in the arts of war. So we might apply this principle to our social work, permeating our public schools and higher institutions of learning with a sense of service and a sense of brotherhood, and then the day of the social worker will soon have come.

But after all, friends, there is one element in human nature which, if appealed to, will be the strongest element in the arousing of public opinion, and that is the element of religion in its broadest sense of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, which leads us in this convention to have spiritual contact. Whether Catholic or Protestant, Jew or Gentile, there breathes here a spirit of brotherhood through which we find fellowship. There is a passage in the Scriptures which I presume is as familiar as any other passage in the Bible. May I seek to give you an interpretation of it? "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." How do we love ourselves! I have a family of children. I love them as part of my very being. They are me; as I love myself I love them. How do I love them? I desire that they shall have suitable nutrition, an abundance of food to make them fit for all their tasks. I desire they shall live in helpful surroundings, that they shall enjoy life. I crave for them the very best education that their abilities will assimilate. I desire for them days of play and recreation. As I love myself I crave these things for them. "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." If I covet these things for myself I will covet them for my neighbor as well. Thus we will follow the injunction of our Master, whose words we have been trying to interpret, and we will receive an inspiration for the task of interpreting love to the world without which peace can never come and the social worker can never be content.

Public opinion will always rise and respond to the man or the woman, even to the social worker, who is engaged in a task which is capable of expansion and infinite enlargement. The business man wants little to do with the business which is always to be a two-by-four shop in a side street. He has a vision of his business moved on to the main street, occupying a prominent corner. If it is manufacturing, he looks forward to the time when he sells his own goods, not only to his own state and nation, but exports them across the sea. Thus, in every department of endeavor we are looking forward to the days of enlargement and expansion. As social workers we must dare to risk, we must dare to take a chance, establishing our facts, showing the public what we find that they need to know. We must lead them on and out into further achievement still. As one who has had considerable to do with raising money and with interpreting public opinion for public work, charity, philanthropy, religion, and education, I have never yet seen the public fail to respond to the appeal built on broad expansive lines of effort.

I heard a little story that illustrates my meaning. Alfred H. Smith, a well-known Congregational missionary, returned to Chicago and gave a lecture there upon China.

A business man who heard the lecture sent a check for \$600 to the American Board in Boston. It is not often checks come in unsolicited, so the secretary went to Chicago and found the business man, and learned that he had become interested in missions for the first time. So Dr. Patton said to him, "We want to send a young college student, a married man and his wife, to this place. We have selected them, and for a thousand dollars we can send them on their way. Would you be willing to give the thousand?" "Well, I had not expected to, but perhaps I would." "Now," said Dr. Patton, "we want to have some native helpers, for work that this man and woman could not do. There are tens of thousands of people depending upon this mission. For \$1,800 we could have this man and his wife and three or four native helpers. Would you be willing to finance it?" "Well, I had not expected to, but you have put it in such a way, yes." Said Dr. Patton, "Just listen. This is a hospital station. We have a dispensary that is worn out. We need new buildings, new equipment, and supplies. For \$3,000 you can send this man and his wife, could provide the native helpers needed, and we could have this new hospital. What do you say?" "Well, I had not expected to, perhaps I could afford it, yes, I will do it." Now, as Dr. Patton told it to me, you will like to know the sequel to that story. That man is now about to take a trip around the world, is going to spend a month in that mission station, and is giving \$5,000 a year for foreign missions in China. No little check or a mite box on the mantle piece attracts this man longer. He is a partner in a world enterprise.

Men and women, social workers, let us go back to our homes and be so enthused and inspired with our job that we can say to the village, to the city, to the state, and to the nation, "You are not living up to your opportunity. We plead with you for larger and yet larger sums." Then you will be approaching your full task.

HOW FAR HAS SOCIAL WORK INFLUENCED PUBLIC OPINION

WHAT THE PRESS THINKS OF SOCIAL WORK

Le Roy E. Bowman, Department of Social Science, Columbia University, New York

The question implied in the subject-title assigned to me—"What does the press think of social work?"—might well be answered by simply saying, "Not much." The opinion of day editors and others who control the space allotted to various subjects in the newspapers is revealed in the number of inches or agate lines given over to news items and editorials on social service as compared to other material. A small study of this subject has been conducted for a few weeks past under my direction at Columbia University, but carried on by a graduate student in sociology, Mr. I. J. Bussing, to whom the credit of the quantitative material is due.

Just *what* the press thinks is more difficult to say, and the study of newspapers fifty years ago and today has been supplemented by a questionnaire sent to reporters and editors. The answers are of the kind one might expect, but they are startling in the vehemence and certainty with which they are voiced. The surest way to get positive decisions is to ask someone who is not acquainted through experience with the subject in hand, especially if the person asked has incidentally learned a little about the matter. To use the words of James Harvey Robinson, there is a flavor of elemental

certitude about the opinions of the newspaper men. They are given, however, freely and in friendly fashion, and with a gratifying air of helpful and constructive criticism.

The study has been done in its present form, partly to reduce to a minimum the influence of the students' personal opinions; but another bias floods in, and that is the bias of the newspaper man. Each profession has its sphere, its familiar terms, and also its peculiar and more or less defensive attitude toward other particular professions. One needs to consider this fact while listening to newspaper men berating the technical language of the social worker. He needs also to realize that the habit of disparaging the facts behind the other fellow's work, while damning with faint praise for his emotions, is quite common. The statement "She means well" reveals more of the critic's attitude than it does of the social worker's effectiveness. Passing the affectional buck is a game we all play and win only in our own esteem. Then, too, anything that makes us think, or compels us to change the simple lazy habitual brain images, is to some extent onerous and distasteful. You may expect therefore that specialization and complications of organization in social work are not to be understood by the laity, including the press, and that some consequent unpopularity will result from them.

Walter Lippmann, author of *Public Opinion* and other analyses of public thinking and publicity, sums up the attitude of the man of the street toward social work in a recent interview reported in "Better Times." He says people don't want to be reminded of their social sins as social work reminds them; they don't like the air of superiority of uplifters; and they don't understand the jargon. He urges the essential emotional basis of social work and pleads for constant feeding of facts by the workers to the public, letting the latter draw its own conclusions.

The first wish of the social worker, when confronted with the opinion of the editor, is that the editor might know social work better. Because of the nature of his business, however, the editor cannot become personally acquainted with every phase of civic life. The social worker will need to go the second mile if he ever hopes for a better understanding. Further, it is surely true that for the most part the newspaper man is trying to interpret to the public, and his misconceptions are apt to be those of the general run of society.

There is, of course, the great exception of political, economic, and to less extent, religious, bias, or "policy" of each paper. Material is distorted out of all semblance to truth in almost every paper in the land if it conflicts with the view of the owner. His view may be the result of the nature of his investments, his social clique, or even of some intense love affair. It would be interesting to analyze the feelings back of editorials according to the personal experiences of editors and owners, and then issue a directory of newspapers with an index figure by which to discount subjects. For example, under the *Chicago Tribune* we might list Board of Education, which has come into conflict with the paper over the building it occupies, a matter wholly unconnected logically with the readers' attitude toward the board or the paper, we might list a discount of 95 per cent for the material of the *Tribune* on this matter. Or one might list the attitude of editorials in the *New York Times* on woman suffrage as worthless, but insert a footnote recommending reading them for amusement.

Hilaire Belloc maintains that English dailies are degraded as the property of rich men with political ambitions. One quickly associates the statement with the Hearst papers and then wishes the ambitions of other editors were as obvious, in order that we

might weigh their words at least roughly. Even the news columns are controlled by the persistent interests, whims, ambitions, or repressions of the powers that own, and the paper that prints "ALL the news that's fit to print" also prints the fall of Petrograd six times, the verge of its capture three times, the burning of it twice, and revolt against the Bolsheviks six times, all without the slightest foundation in fact, according to Oswald Garrison Villard.

The salvation of social work in this respect is that seldom does a paper adopt any policy regarding it. Because it hasn't any money and isn't very big, no one interferes if it slips under the canvas to see the circus and doesn't pay for a ticket.

Papers fifty years ago and today.—The results of the studies of items and editorials on social service fifty years ago and today speak for themselves. The papers studied were: The *New York Times*, *New York Tribune*, *New York Evening Post*, and the *Philadelphia Public Ledger*. All material was gone over for the months of December and January 1872-73 and the same months for 1922-23. Material has been figured in inches on the assumption that space covered means more in a newspaper than number of words. Agate lines to the trade mean much the same as inches do to you and me. The figures do not indicate the portion of the paper the items appear in, whether on the important first or the unimportant second page; but a consideration of this factor would render only slightly more unfavorable the results of the study to social service.

It is interesting to note that the editorial space is about the same as fifty years ago, and the makeup of the editorial page is almost identical, in each case, with the same number of columns of editorials, the same number of words, the same letters from readers, etc. Makeups, cuts, ads, and news have changed in amount, appearance, and kind, but the editorials of the papers studied have remained true to form. Perhaps for the same reason the editorials on social service have remained almost the same in number. Twenty-five editorials strictly on social service are all that could be found in four papers for the two months fifty years ago and thirty-two for the same two months this year. Many bear on social service as almost everything in life does, but the burden of the thought was political or of some other contentious kind in all but the number named. In the tone and substance of editorials of this year of social service, fifty are more informational than when our Conference began. Mr. Bussing and I both felt, although I cannot stop to tell just why and perhaps it was all just feeling, that these editorials on social work sounded like social workers and might have been furnished to the editors in whole or in substance, more than those on other subjects.

The total space devoted to social service, including in that term the subjects dealt with in the usual divisions of this conference, vary from paper to paper. For the two months fifty years ago, 496 inches in the *New York Times* gave news of social service; for the same two months of this last year, 921 inches performed the same service. The news columns had increased from 35 to 125 per cent, however, or an increase of 257 per cent. The items on social service figure out as an increase of 86 per cent, or at a rate only one-third as great as that of news items as a whole.

The *New York Evening Post* printed, fifty years ago, 95½ inches of social service news in the two months; in a similar period this year it printed 622 inches, an increase of 551 per cent. News columns increased from 1,688 square inches to 4,882 square inches, or 192 per cent. This makes a rate of increase in social service material nearly three times the rate of increase for all news.

The *New York Tribune*, for the early period, contained 221½ inches of social service stuff; this year for the same length of time, 359½ inches, an increase of 62 per cent. The news space increased from 34 to 108 columns, an increase of 217 per cent. Rate of increase for social service is less than one-third of that of general news.

The *Philadelphia Public Ledger* shows a difference between 174 inches in 1872-3 and 582 inches this year, an increase of 234 per cent for social work, while the news columns increased from 44 to 109 or 147 per cent. Social service shows therefore nearly twice the rate of increase as general news for this paper.

These are too few papers to give a basis for conclusion, but if the same holds true of other papers, it seems that the development of social service, the passing of fifty years of social service history in the town with a paper, may have little or no effect on the amount of space given. Either that is true or the *Tribune* and *Times* have found that other things are becoming relatively more important and social service is becoming a back number. Probably, however, the attitude of a paper and the socialized vision of its owners has more than anything else to do with the matter. I believe we can discount even the remonstrances of editors and reporters regarding the stuff we furnish them. It seems to me that the crux of the situation lies in the social knowledge and sympathy of the management, and the management seems to persist for fifty years in its sympathy or lack of it.

Relative space accorded social service news in three of the papers indicates changes in its proportionate importance at the different periods. The *Post* devoted 95.5 inches to social work out of 675 inches (estimated) in 1872-73, or 14 per cent. In 1922-23 it devoted 622 out of 1,953 inches (estimated) or 32 per cent, more than twice its previous ratio. Likewise the *Philadelphia Ledger* gave 174 out of 924 inches to social service in 1872-73 and 582 out of 2,289 inches in 1922-23, a former per cent of eighteen and a present one of twenty-five. The *Tribune* reversed the development and gave 221.5 out of 714 inches, or 31 per cent fifty years ago and 359.5 out of 2,268 inches, or only 16 per cent this last year.

The subject-matter fifty years ago falls fairly readily into the headings: family case work, delinquency, health, child welfare, education, and industrial welfare. Quantitative comparisons with categories of today are difficult because of the differentiation of subjects. Settlements, clubs, community organization, recreation, big brother and big sister work, Americanization, and public health appear at the later date and take up one-fourth or one-third of the space. Christmas appeals of a strictly charitable nature are common to all papers for both periods and dwell on children, clothing, and homes. The *New York Times* features the Christmas appeal and runs for the two months, of recent years, from two to three times as much material on social service as appears all the year in its other columns, a proportion this last year of 2,582 to 921 inches. The editorials for all the papers seem to be, on the whole, favorable for the early date (according to the judgment of Mr. Bussing and myself) numbering eighteen favorable, two indifferent, and five unfavorable and adversely critical. For the recent period we judge the editorials to be twenty-three favorable, five indifferent or merely informational, and four unfavorable.

The most striking feature of the news stuff of fifty years ago, to the social worker, is the similarity of the problems. For example, in January 1873 the *New York Times* was already talking of the insufferable congestion in New York City, and, with its usual keen insight into workmen's problems, advocating special workmen's trains to the suburbs.

What newspaper men think they think.—One hundred questionnaires were sent to as many reporters, names of whom were furnished by the New York Press Club. Twelve answered. If this jury can pass judgment for reporters, social work doesn't stand high in their estimation, for of the forty-eight answers on the twelve sheets, four in my estimation can be considered favorable, twenty-eight indifferent, and sixteen quite unfavorable. A fair sample is as follows:

Question.—What do you think is the news value of items on social service (welfare work)?

Answer.—Very slight unless there is some "sob" element or something sensational.

Question.—Of what lasting benefit to the city or community is social service in your opinion?

Answer.—None. Its futility is depressing. It seems to me only palliative—a scratching at the surface, but not working toward any solution of its problems.

Question.—What is there distinctive, do you think, about the methods or personalities of social workers?

Answer.—Have met several types; most of them have been either of the emotional or the hidebound "service" type. My feeling is that frequent infusions of new blood are necessary and that no one is useful for long. There seems to be a tendency to become "faddy" about it after a while, and common sense is the chief requisite.

Question.—What other impressions do you have of social work?

Answer.—It is much overorganized and one reason for the great general apathy about it is that people feel that the money given is dissipated in too many side channels instead of reaching the needy. Also there should be some way of reaching people who are temporarily in need and should be tided over without hurting their pride.

One reporter thought social work bred radicalism among those engaged in it; one thought it should be state supported; a correspondent of a Japanese paper said news of this sort in Japan is attracting more attention than any other kind. The other answers are very similar to those from the editors.

One hundred questionnaires of the same kind were addressed to editors in a dozen states, names of whom were furnished by the Associated Press. Twenty-eight replied, including the Associated Press, whose answer is not tabulated since its superintendent maintained it has no opinions and is concerned only with the thinking and doings of others, a high ideal for his profession and mine, but for few others. The editors did not avail themselves of the complete opportunity to send in anonymous returns; they seem proud of their opinions, and I feel at liberty to quote names.

Willis J. Abbot, editor of the *Christian Science Monitor*, writes:

Regarding the news value of items on social service: "For the paper I edit it is of the very first importance; we diligently gather and editorially comment on such items."

Regarding lasting benefit to the community: "Of the greatest possible service. There will always be a certain general hostility to those who make a livelihood out of social work. This is unjust but it is a fact to be reckoned with. There should be increasing endeavor on the part of such workers to 'deliver the goods,' to show that the public benefit accruing from their efforts more than justifies the cost."

From staid old Massachusetts a stinging reply comes from a person who signs a lady's name:

Regarding the news value of items on social service: "It appeals to altruistic 'joiners,' such as Rotarians, Kiwanians, etc. Also to religious people. Sport fans don't take to it."

Regarding lasting benefit to the community: "Purely palliative. Does not strike to the foundation of the ills. Remove the cause and there will be no need of patching up social ills."

Regarding the methods or personalities of social workers: "Methods are commercial. The milk of human kindness has been extracted from true human charitable instincts. In its place is efficiency, minus sympathy. Most social workers are unsexed humanitarians who are attempting to sublimate their parental instincts."

Regarding her other impressions: "That it is a pleasurable sort of vicarious atonement undertaken by moral *roués* either to still an eleventh hour conscience or to create an impression of impeccable commercial dealings. "It is utterly futile to build up a social structure where mightier forces are continually breaking down. Social work is necessary, but futile as trying to reduce a sunset to paper."

From both the editors and reporters the answers to the first question regarding the news value of social service showed the following results: three thought social service excellent material; eighteen thought it was of slight value; and fifteen thought it would be better if presented in different form, making it more graphic, personal, human, local, factual, and informative; "it is good if it affects a large number of people," said one; another held it is good in inverse ratio to the amount of other material in hand. "Time and again what we of the newspapers would be glad to print, they do not want to give out," one wrote.

The other part of the study does not bear out the editors, and the authors are inclined to believe the newspaper men are rationalizing only when they explain paucity of social service news on the basis of form in which it is presented. Newspapers of a favorable attitude print social service news in larger amounts, and it is the management of the paper that determines the issue. Time and again the investigators found material, of what seemed to them excellent news value and considerable importance, written up in the *Post* but ignored in the *Tribune*, often also ignored or merely mentioned in the *Times*.

Regarding the lasting benefit to the community, of the reporters and editors combined: fifteen thought it helps relieve for the present but has little permanent value, six called it of great permanent value, four termed it merely palliative, three gave as its greatest value the showing up of social facts, three gave indifferent answers, and eight gave no answers.

As to methods and personalities of social workers, the thirty-nine newspaper men were not overly complimentary and I beg to be understood now as reporting their opinions, not giving my own: thirteen were sure social workers are impractical or visionary, four accused them of paternalism, five spoke of their overly technical manner and methods, two bluntly said social workers (speaking of ladies) have no charm, and five mitigated their severity with statements regarding the sincerity and well-meaning of those engaged in welfare service; ten dared not, or at least did not, answer. One phrase is worth quoting (from Springfield, Illinois) "well-intentioned and enthusiastic, but illy fitted novices of the class referred to in street parlance as 'bugs.'" They are said to "irritate because always seeking money" and because they "flit from town to town"; "go per cent sentiment"; "they slobber over and make a mess of the work."

Other impressions were fewer and more various: five regarded social service as overorganized, one regarded it as quite impractical and visionary, two thought the whole idea paternalistic, two believed it "pedantic," one thought it ought but does not

reach the lonely, and one believed it fit for women only; one said "I think nine-tenths of this sort of work is not only a pure waste of time but very enfeebling to the morale of a people."

Summary.—Of the 156 answers to the 4 questions on 39 questionnaires we considered: 17 per cent favorable, 27 per cent indifferent, 33 per cent unfavorable, and 23 per cent were unanswered.

The press, judging from these few samples, thinks indifferently or not at all about half the things we ask about ourselves; on the other half it thinks twice as unfavorably as to our credit. It seems to be losing interest in some instances and gaining it in others. The differences seem to be accounted for more by general social attitude of owners and editors than by form of publicity material furnished by social workers. The solution of the problem of more and better publicity for social service seems to lie in the education and broadening of editors and owners with regard to social problems and methods of attack, or a hoped-for increase in the numbers of such managers who are socially minded. Without question it is a vital problem. Through the windows of the press, social work is seen and judged. To make it understood, to secure its broadest support, to make some parts of it at all effective, and to make it human and responsive to the social will, we will need to create closer relations with the media of publicity. These relations apparently will be most effective if they are personal, social, and comprehensively understanding, not technical, indirect, high brow, nor narrowly professional.

WHAT THE PUBLIC THINKS OF SOCIAL WORK

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Sooner or later I believe that every social worker will recognize, as a part of his job, the creating of a right public opinion toward social conditions and the causes of misery.

In order to find out how much had been accomplished to make the average person understand why social work exists, I made a brief test. First, I tried to discover how much the man on the street, the person with no friends or relatives in social work, knew about the need for it. Second, I tried to learn what the professional man and the club woman knew about social work. Third, with the permission of Miss Mary Irene Atkinson, of the Ohio Department of Public Welfare, I have used some material which shows what some of our clients think of us.

All of my first material was drawn from Ohio. With the help of some of my friends 107 interviews were taken with persons of the kind who read only the newspaper and the *Saturday Evening Post*. Six simple questions were asked of each: What do you understand by welfare work? Do you think welfare work is needed? What are some of the most worth-while agencies in this county? Who is the judge of the juvenile court and what kind of cases does he handle? Is there an associated charities in this county and what is it for? What does the state do in the way of welfare work?

To the question, "What do you understand by welfare work," six persons made no answer, or frankly said they had no idea. All the others made some sort of answer ranging from the man who said it was "anything for good," to the man who said it was "some sort of work centered in Mr. Croxton's office."

In answer to the second question—"Do you believe that welfare work is needed? Why?"—103 people believed that it is needed; 2 thought it is not, and 2 felt doubtful about it.

To the question—"What is an Associated Charities for?"—the most instructive reply came from a young woman in a town of 8,000, who said, "I think the Welfare Association in our town is a sort of Associated Charities. Its object is to cut down overhead expenses and operate more efficiently with the money provided."

The last question was, "What does the state do in the way of welfare work?" forty-four persons did not know; eight guessed wrong; and seven made a partially incorrect reply.

This, in brief, was the result of my first experiment in testing public opinion. It was made a year ago for the Ohio State Welfare Conference. It would seem to show that we have not done nearly enough to appeal to this kind of person and to help him understand what social service is for and why it is needed. Occasional stories in the *Saturday Evening Post* or in the *American Magazine* would do more to reach these people than all the speeches, monographs, and pictorial expositions I know anything about.

This spring, at Mr. Homer Folk's suggestion, I tried the further experiment of testing out what ministers, teachers, merchants, legislators, and club women thought of social work. Six hundred questionnaires were sent to various localities, mostly in the state of Ohio. These questionnaires asked six simple questions: In your opinion is social work (sometimes called "welfare work") needed? Why? To your knowledge what have social workers done to improve standards of living, lessen illness, and decrease delinquency, or crime? What kinds of social work would you like to see developed and extended further? What contact have you had with social workers? What was your impression of their personality, intelligence, practical-mindedness, effectiveness?

Just in passing, it is interesting to note that the ministers replied in greater numbers than any other group. The teachers sent fewest replies. Members of the Ohio legislature responded next best. In Ohio, the social workers have done considerable active lobbying recently and certainly left an impression, judging from the replies received.

There was a fight this winter to keep the compulsory school-attendance law and the child-labor law at the high standard where it was placed in 1921. All children in Ohio must stay in school until they are sixteen. They must, furthermore, remain until they are eighteen, unless they obtain suitable work and are granted work certificates.

Wishing to contrast the feeling in the Ohio legislature with some other state, I sent questionnaires to the Massachusetts legislature as well. If there are any present from Massachusetts, they may be interested in one or two replies.

A man from Cambridge wrote: "In spite of many years in politics, two years in the Cambridge City Council and two in the Massachusetts legislature, results of the welfare workers have not come to my attention. Neither have I heard the subject discussed by my associates, with one exception, the social welfare lobbyist, who, in the few cases I have met, appears to be a radical, impractical, persistent pest. I feel, however, that this type is not a representative one, and am always glad of the opportunity to assist by vote and other action in genuine welfare work."

In Ohio, I was told: "My first meet-up with a real genuine social worker was in the Ohio House of Representatives this year. On the school committee they came to

present their case in droves. The trouble with them was they had not made themselves acquainted with *all sides* of a question."

Here is a note of sympathy. "All I have met are good people trying to do good, and have no doubt it is a hard and unsatisfactory 'job' to those who try to do their best."

There was great variety as to the kind of social work that most deserved to be extended. More were interested in health work and in public-health nursing than in any one thing. This I believe to be due to the constant efforts of public health associations, anti-tuberculosis societies, etc., to spread the propaganda of health.

A majority of the Ohio legislature who replied at all seemed to think rather kindly and tolerantly of the social worker. One man summed it up thus: "The social worker is a high type of citizen, in the same class as able professional men; i.e., lawyers, doctors, professors, etc."

Another said: "I have a high regard for the welfare workers whom I have met. They have sometimes been in advance of public opinion as expressed by the general assembly, and in some cases perhaps have overlooked some practical situations that exist that make their ideas seem too advanced. That I do not regard as a fault, for forward-looking people are needed in this work."

In contrast to this statement I must in all honesty tell you what another legislator said of us, a man who is a professor in one of our Ohio colleges. He said: "To a social worker, a hotel is holier than a cathedral, because it has better plumbing. If Jesus Christ were to be born on earth again, the modern social worker would sneer at him if born in a manger."

In this group of 120 questionnaires, all but one of the replies stated that social work was needed and should go on.

A superintendent of schools in a college town replied thus concerning social workers: "Personality not particularly attractive; intelligence average; practical-mindedness tendency below the average; effectiveness not what it should be."

A merchant glued a small newspaper clipping to his questionnaire before returning it, which was evidently taken from the "What'ya see" column. It reads thus: "P.M., of Medina, Ohio, saw a dog, a cat, and a pig contentedly sharing the same pan of milk." The merchant says that social work is needed "To help improve and advance people to a degree where they will not upset the pan."

Still another merchant writes "District nurses are doing good work; boy scouts are fine. Cut out the volunteer worker who hangs around juvenile court offering nothing but prayer and goes more than anything else for curiosity."

Another says: "Social workers are 75 per cent nuts, otherwise they would not be in this kind of work; intelligent enough to handle their work in a satisfactory manner. As to practical-mindedness, do not feel that they could be charged with this in a general way."

This, from another merchant, shows the inevitable tendency in a small community to judge all social work and all social workers by the one example known to them: "We are fortunate enough to have a lady looking after our welfare work who is especially capable in this work and is rendering a very fine service."

And this one: "If I had to accept advice and assistance from the rude, insulting woman we have in our community, I would starve first."

Ministers are too wordy, for the most part, to permit quoting them at any length. But a considerable number of the ministers make the same point: "Social workers are generally of a high intelligence, of varying personality, mostly winning in their ways, but often they become narrow and impractical, and so run to the extreme as to give the impression that there is no gospel except social service."

One business man, much interested in social work told me that social workers, next to ministers, were the most narrow-minded of professional people from constantly being in a position where they tell the other fellow how to live.

A newspaper man said: "Social workers don't tell the truth sternly enough. They are providing a shoe shine as the remedy for a sprained ankle." Another said: "You are nursing the unfit and subsidizing the poor players in the game, opposing the doctrine of the survival of the fittest."

The most constructive criticism was given me by a practical politician given to picturesque language. He said: "The trouble with social workers is that they never get away from the home plate; always raising a howl about conditions, but why don't they burn the midnight oil and tell us what to do about it?"

He went on to summarize his points thus: "There are three things the matter with the social worker: (1) she's always a woman, (2) the breach is too wide and she can't jump the gap; (3) she is too young, and when she talks to the old woman about bringin' up the kids, she can't make any impression." Then, brightening with a new idea, he said: "Say, can't you keep the dollbaby home, the girl with the tassels, just out of college? She slows up the traffic for the rest."

The third and most interesting part of this experiment to test public opinion was what we found out about the opinion that the girls in our State Industrial School had of us. This winter, a conference on the delinquent girl was held at the state school. Probation officers and social workers came from all over Ohio, staying for two days. After they had departed, the girls were asked to write compositions on their opinions of social workers.

I quote from Miss Atkinson's interesting and entertaining report of the conference: "The indifference of some social workers to the decrees of Dame Fashion and excessive plainness, when viewed en masse, brought forth some very caustic remarks. One girl, having wept all over her probation officer who visited her, wailed to her matron as she saw her caller disappear down the steps, 'She's been more than a mother to me, but wouldn't you think she'd ha' spruced up. Folks here don't know she's anybody, but down home they all know how grand she is.'"

Another girl writes: "Not long ago there were a large group of ladies came to this school and there were some of the most homeliest people I have ever saw. I never will forget the first time I saw my probation officer, because she looked so funny. She is a big, tall lady and she wore an old-fashioned, tight waist and a loose skirt. I really felt ashamed to come on the train with her because her hair was skinned tight back and she looked so queer. I had my hair bobbed and curled and she said, 'I don't like the idea of taking you with your hair like that,' but I just had to laugh to myself."

Whenever the difficult girl is being discussed, someone always bemoans her lack of dependability and her untrustworthiness. In the light of this criticism, Miss Atkinson says, the condemnation of the same traits by the girls themselves gives us something to think about.

"As far as my opinion is concerned, social workers are some of the worst trouble-makers I have ever come in contact with and I sure have learned not to put too much confidence in their promises."

One girl was very blasé about her probation officer not coming to see her: "I don't care whether she came or not. She's nothing much anyhow. Why I'd call on her in her office and spit out my gum on the steps and then go in and find her chewing."

This "seeing ourselves as others see us," however, has a rather happy ending, for a large majority of girls, having relieved themselves of their utter contempt for women who as a group have been denied the magic gift of beauty, who do not improve the few meager physical blessings the gods have granted, and who choose their clothes with no regard for the correct or the artistic, are kind enough to say that in spite of these drawbacks social workers are perhaps, after all, of some account. "I know when you see them all together," one girl wrote, "It just seems like a hen party and it don't seem like them all talking at once and a lot of clatter that they make could possibly be doing any good, but it is, and a whole lot of good, too."

I conclude with three questions: first, how far can we afford to be indifferent to public opinion? second, is it, or is it not, a vital part of our jobs, even the case worker's, to see to it that the conditions and the causes of conditions are made known in simple form to the public? third, if conditions were better understood, would there not be more conscious effort to prevent those which are wrong?

Finally, brethren, I think we have no need to worry about criticism. It advertises us. A party of opposition is wholesome for the government in power. It makes him look alive. Our only worry should be lest this criticism should not be met in good part. Avoiding resentfulness and bitterness of spirit, we should welcome every opportunity, every challenge, to explain conditions and the causes of conditions. Let us stand on the facts and not try to defend personalities. Let tolerance and sweetness of spirit mark our way.

THE SCIENTIFIC JOURNAL OF SOCIAL INTERPRETATION

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The following considerations are of importance in this brief discussion of the part which the scientific journal may play in social interpretation and in the general development of social work.

That portion of public opinion which is represented by the constituency of the scientific journal is an important factor in the future progress of social work. The fact that it has not been so considered in the past may be all the more reason why it should be emphasized now. It is important for two reasons: First, the contributors and regular readers of scientific journals are an important group which ought to become better acquainted with social work; second a large body of casual readers and a large constituency of important workers whose judgments are formed indirectly by the scientific journal may be reached best in this way.

The other consideration is that social work itself needs and must have the services, more and more, of the dynamic scientific journal if it is to realize its largest opportunities. This is again true for two reasons: First the profession of social work will profit

greatly by the results of study and research such as can be presented only through the medium of the scientific journal; second, social workers themselves need to read, more and more, such scientific journals as will enable them to contribute to permanent knowledge and to keep pace with the intellectual tension now being placed upon social problems.

The thesis of this paper may be stated in general introductory terms: social work is now entering upon new reaches and meeting new challenges. The history of progress in public health and public education, in government, and in economic and social programs, indicates an important function of the academic and scientific journal. The presentation of scientific information in each of these fields has been the forerunner of the desire for more knowledge, the means and methods of obtaining this knowledge, and the plans and active programs for the utilization of this knowledge for the common good. To those who have been sceptical or prejudiced the word of science has often proved convincing where other evidence did not avail. And in many spheres of political, economic, and social progress, the academic question has preceded social action.

The history of social work has been the story of great programs, but it has been the story also of great difficulties to be overcome. Many of these difficulties have been found in the lack of scientific methods used or in misunderstanding on the part of educators and leaders, or the actual opposition of institutions and leaders who either did not understand its principles and methods or were unconvinced of the scientific methods and possibilities to be found in social work. Wherever the scientific journal has undertaken social interpretation, it has won over new and important groups to an interest in and friendly consideration of social work, and not infrequently to a cordial spirit of co-operation.

In the future the scientific journal will occupy an increasingly larger place for the reason that social work is enlarging its scope, is tending more and more to scientific methods and comprehensive research, and will therefore continue to increase its scope and grasp of social problems and relationships. Social work thus championed by the scientific journal will strengthen its place as one of the most constructive forces in the development of democracy in the home, the school, religious circles, politics, industry, and the community. The scientific journal thus finds an important added service in the field of social interpretation.

The general theme may be illustrated briefly. One can but imagine for instance what might have been the influence of the old *Journal of Social Science*, the official publication of the American Social Science Association, organized in 1865 and running for a few decades, had it attained fully the ideals for which it was established, and had it maintained or strengthened its position and program from year to year in such a way as to have promoted social work. The stated purposes were: "To encourage the study of the various relations, social and political, of man in modern life; to facilitate personal intercourse and interchange of ideas between individuals interested in promoting educational, financial, sanitary, charitable, and other social reforms and progress; and promptly to make known to the public all theoretical or practical results which may flow from such studies or investigations." What might such a journal have contributed in seven decades devoted to the scientific presentation of social work if it could have continued and co-operated with other journals since established?

An illustration of the specific influence and standard-setting possibilities of such a medium may be illustrated by the American Academy of Arts and Letters, which grew

out of the work of the committee of the American Social Science Association in its designated duty to establish a national institute of arts and letters. The membership is a union of the five arts, painting, sculpture, music, architecture, and literature, with literature predominating. Could a committee appointed to promote the higher standards of social work have helped to promote high standards so specifically in the field of social work? As a matter of fact the origin and growth of the National Conference of Social Work is an example. Could not its committees and its publications have done more through the medium of such a publication?

Again, one can but imagine the tremendous contributions which psychological scientific journals might have made to child welfare had they had the direction, courage, and applicability of President Stanley Hall's pedagogical seminary and his institute for child welfare, initiated at Clark University. Dr. Harry Wooburn Chase, now president of the University of North Carolina, was director of the institute at its beginning, and has steadfastly promoted social work and public welfare since that time. The same is true of Dr. Hall's studies in abnormal psychology and many other aspects of his work which contribute largely to social interpretation.

The educational journals, again, are important illustrations. The report of a special Committee on the Standardization of Educational Journals just made public says: "Educational journals are among the most powerful forces at work in the improvement of the profession. If the intellectual life of the teachers of the nation is to be properly nourished, at least two million copies of such journals should circulate monthly. The present circulation is less than half that figure." In much the same way journals of engineering have paved the way for substantial progress in their respective fields in a way that could not otherwise have been done.

Other illustrations are abundant. In the medical profession the great programs of public health and sanitation have been preceded by scientific discovery and publication. Hookworm and pellagra were academic questions, subject to theoretical ridicule until and even while being made known through scientific publications. Yellow fever and malaria, disease of body, mind, and of social groups are subjects first of scientific study, research, and discussion. Social application follows. Many other illustrations are abundant. In politics and government social interpretation through the scientific journal is important. Many an academic question precedes the establishment of new public policies. The Boston Tea Party grew out of academic theory; so the Declaration of Independence. Enough has been suggested to point out the importance of the scientific journal as the forerunner of permanent progress in social work.

From the viewpoint of the practical promotion of social work, there is another important factor. Can the scientific journal not only make its major contributions to the profession of social work, but can it also help to overcome the decade-long objections in the way of social work? What are some of these objections? Will the scientific journal help break up the interference of the past or present? Before turning confidently toward the bold challenge of the future, therefore, note should be made of some of the difficulties that so far have prevented social work from becoming as large an integral factor in such a social program as would seem justified from the carefully set-forth claims of social workers and many others who sense the larger meanings of social work. Such difficulties as have been most prevalent, while to a large degree diminishing, as will be shown, may still bar the way to such goals as Miss Richmond's case-work ideal of "helping to build some of the foundations of essential justice for the democracy

of the future" or of Professor Queen's social work "where skilled services are at the disposal of democratically organized communities and states," or Professor Tuft's ideal "to look at human society in the broad way, to ask for its needs, to anticipate its future treatment, to search out the causes of its maladjustments, to exercise some directing influence on its greater future." Many of the obstacles, objections, and difficulties have been pointed out before. There are, however, certain other apparent difficulties, both from within and without the field of social work, which should be pointed out. Among the most important are those obstacles that have been set up or allowed to grow up by the institutions themselves and by certain of the social workers, and would-be social workers, not representative of the whole method and spirit of social work.

Omitting for the present the difficulties encountered by social work in its fundamental task of adjusting human relationships in the home and family, we may note first the common situation from the viewpoint of the school and education. Perhaps the greatest offenders in this field are the college and university professors, and those who form and administer curricula. Among the last groups to be won over to the values to be found in instruction and training in social work, in social laboratories, and field work, and in a sound application of sociology to modern social life have been the trained specialists in college and university in the departments of general literature, the classics, pure science, and even in history and government. Even the professors of education, forgetting so soon the hostility to professional training of teachers which they were called upon to combat, have fallen vigorously to making the same sort of attack, with the same lack of information and perspective, which was directed toward them a few years ago. Illustrations are legion. And the professors of economics have stood afar off or have passed by on the other side. The professors of sociology, too, have sometimes taken the unreasonable position of judging social work as a whole from certain parts and individuals, and have come to erroneous conclusions without sufficient evidence, or without being willing to make the actual needed contributions suggested by their criticism. Similar position has been found in the public-school system and in the state and national conferences of an educational nature. It is not intended to deny the fact that some of the objections stated grow out of imperfectly developed or defective examples of social work; but these will be cited in the further discussion of the difficulties which social workers have placed in their own way and even as have other professions.

In much the same way social work has met opposition from other institutions. The representatives of the church have been afraid of the substitution of social service for the social gospel and have turned their efforts too often toward the ridicule, by false analogy, of the methods of social work. Officials of local, state, and national government have generally minimized the importance of social work, and so long as they misunderstood its scope and method or so long as they could hold out they have uniformly opposed it or tolerated it as a necessary adjunct. In the field of industry, employers have been afraid of the social worker and of the methods of social work, even in the great programs of industrial social work now sponsored and supported by hosts of industries. And the community itself, the comprehensive institution of them all, has looked with suspicion upon the coming of the social worker and has doubted wholeheartedly the efficacy of the social work program. In most of these instances, the mention of which is a commonplace history, there has been the usual provincial tendency of each institution to consider its own function and destiny to be separately

supreme, and to forget the organic interdependency of human concern and human democratic institutions. There has been, consequently and naturally, a failure to recognize social work as a profession or to co-operate with its personnel until it shall have attained further mastery over the difficulties in its way.

There is, however, no disposition here or elsewhere to deny the implications that social workers themselves have failed to meet always adequately the situations before them. The prevailing objections and limitations might be set down under the two general headings of provincial professionalism, and of unscientific background and methods. The school and the educator will find some basis for caution in so far as the social worker, either ignorant of or refusing to recognize the school technique of long standing, scientific development, and much prestige, insists on overriding the profession of teaching to the end that his "lay" program may be substituted. The church and the minister have a natural cause for caution in so far as the social worker, with youth and provincial learning, insists that the world no longer needs the church except as perhaps a social center, thus ignoring, as it were, the craftsmanship, if you please, of the venerable profession of the ministry. Industry has reasons for doubts when half-baked individual theories are shoved into the field as panaceas for all labor troubles. Government and politics, with a rich heritage of evolution and technique, are but following natural bents when they doubt the effectiveness of plans of community government without adequate legal background or knowledge of functional organization. A younger profession, with many younger members, in many ways one of its strong points, finds the community and its problems sometimes a difficult place in which to find bearing and perspective. The young case worker, who reports that a country home is unsuitable for placing out a child for the sole reason that the mother "dips snuff" while ridiculing at the same time the narrowness of the same mother for severely condemning the smoking of cigarettes by the same case worker, is matching provincialism with supreme provincialism. The young social worker, or editor, or publicist, while resenting the failure of the other professions to recognize social work as a profession, yet without special knowledge or experience in technique of school, or government, or church, or industry, still "demands" that his plans be "put over," is laying a tremendous burden of provincialism on the profession of social work. In other words, the social worker is sometimes guilty of the same offenses of which he so bitterly complains in the other professions.

The tendency of some social workers to essay final judgments in all matters pertaining to the good of the individual or to the conduct of institutions has given rise to a criticism that social workers may not always have a satisfactory background or a scientific basis for their conclusions. Now the social worker, with adequate preparation and experience, should aspire, if anyone should, to the reaches of human service. But the broad field and interests of the social worker, and his passion to perform a great service in the readjustment of human relationships and in the establishment of his profession, have sometimes caused him to yield to the temptation to feel humanly omniscient in fields where, in fact, he knows little. On the other hand, there has been opportunity, because of the inability to measure the results of social work, and because of the need for social workers, for many to enlist who do not possess suitable preparation or aptitude. Of old, in rural cases, it was sometimes said that those who failed in other pursuits might teach or farm; indeed some attempted both. Unfortunately, to these have been added, in some instances, social work; and this has added its difficulties to

social work, just as the other contributed so long to the limitation of the profession of teaching. Professor Giddings has pointed out with force and clarity some aspects of the scientific basis for social work. Professor Tufts has noted the important fact that social work is tending "toward more fundamental studies and more scientific analysis," while Professor Burgess emphasizes "the tendency toward research, both as a basis of education for the newly developing profession and as the indispensable condition for social case work." Finally it may not be amiss to note Miss Georgia Ralph's query in the April mid-monthly *Survey*; "Will it soon be said of social work, as social work has said of the churches, that it lacks courage and vision, that it has failed?"

Is not the scientific journal particularly needed to meet certain of these objections and to overcome certain difficulties? Is there any substitute?

Finally, in addition to making its generous contribution to social work and overcoming certain obstacles in the way of social work, can the scientific journal aid social interpretation to the extent of actually leading in this new day? It has been pointed out by President Angell, President Farrand, and others that this is an age in which the intellectual tension is being placed upon social problems. In other days it was on theology; in later days the tension was upon science; now it is on social problems. Can anyone doubt the efficacy of the scientific journal of social interpretation in an era and in a crisis like this? Will social workers be able to take the lead in these larger tasks of social interpretation, as other professions have done so well in the other periods of intellectual tension? Such, in brief, is the challenge for social workers and scientific journals of social interpretation to join hands anew in the old co-operative venture in social concern.

PUBLIC OPINION IN PROBLEMS OF RACE AND NATIONALITY

RACE RELATIONS AND PUBLIC OPINION

Graham Romeyn Taylor, Formerly Executive Secretary, Chicago Commission on Race Relations; now Executive Director, Joint Committee on Methods of Preventing Delinquency, New York

The relations between the white and Negro races, always a problem of national concern, has in the last decade or more assumed a new significance for the people of the whole country. This is due to two reasons, the migration of Negroes from southern to northern states, and the occurrence of race riots and mob violence in northern as well as southern communities.

During the two years, 1916-18, it is estimated that approximately 500,000 Negroes migrated from southern to northern states.

This migration was due primarily to the labor needs of northern industries during the Great War, but it was much encouraged by the desire of the southern Negroes to escape from what they felt to be a land of discrimination, persecution, and low wages to the "promised land" of equal treatment, unlimited opportunity, and fabulous prosperity. The migrants accentuated the existing problem of race contact and brought new problems of adjustment and assimilation as they came with their habits of life and their traditions, mainly from the rural south to urban communities of the north.

Our memories recall only too vividly the series of race riots and instances of mob violence which disgraced such northern cities as our national capital, Coatesville and Chester, Pennsylvania, East St. Louis, Illinois, Tulsa, Oklahoma, and Chicago. Only a few years earlier the memory of Abraham Lincoln had been dishonored in his home city of Springfield, Illinois, by as terrible an exhibition of mob fury as any that has brought shame to the nation.

No longer can the South say that it alone knows the problem and should be left to solve it in its own way; nor can the North longer point the finger of scorn at the states which previously maintained almost a monopoly of violations against the Negro. Henceforth, as never before, the people of all sections of the United States must face unitedly the task of bringing about a better basis of race relations.

It can never be too strongly emphasized, to use the language of the report of the Chicago Commission on Race Relations, that the problem is not of the Negroes' making; that no group in our population is less responsible for its existence; that the Negroes alone of all our immigrants came to America against their will and by the special compelling invitation of the whites; that the institution of slavery was introduced, expanded, and maintained in the United States by the white people and for their own benefit; that they likewise created the conditions that followed emancipation. The white people of the country may point out needed improvements in the living habits of the vast majority of Negroes, though not without remembering the mote in their own eye, but it must not be forgotten that higher standards of education and life among the Negroes create the very demands which arouse the most intense prejudice on the part of many white citizens.

At the core, therefore, of our consideration of race relations, are the mental attitudes of the people of one race toward those of the other. We must study what is in the minds of people, how it came there, and how the distorted conceptions, upon which opinion and action are so frequently based, may be modified.

It requires only the briefest study to learn that the whites know far less about Negroes and what they are thinking about than Negroes know about whites and their thoughts. Practically every Negro in America able to read reads some newspaper published by whites as well as some Negro newspapers. Rarely do we find white people, even in an audience of social workers, with their effort to put themselves in the "other fellow's place," who have any familiarity with the Negro press. With this greater lack of knowledge on the part of the whites as to Negroes, with the greater responsibility of the whites as the dominant race, and with the whites' greater prejudice and more rigid expression of it, it is a misnomer to refer merely to "the Negro problem." The big problem is the problem of the white mind.

You have already heard a scholarly analysis of the beliefs, conceptions, and theories which have arisen traditionally in each race about the other. I wish only to emphasize the fact that among whites at least the conceptions about Negroes are too frequently generalized from inadequate and unrepresentative experiences. Too often are imputed to the Negro race as a whole the qualities of character which some one Negro, a servant for example, may exhibit. I remember distinctly the pride with which one Chicago editor said that he always consulted a certain Negro before printing any item of news which concerned Negroes. But a little inquiry amongst the Negro population revealed the fact that this particular Negro was considered as very unrepresentative of the Negro race.

The history of social work in the last fifty years has laid emphasis upon individualized treatment, discarding generalized views about school children as a group, criminals as a group, and dependents as a group. It should be a most appropriate service in the cause of better race relations for social workers to lead their communities to discard generalized conceptions of Negroes as a group, and to understand that Negroes are no more all alike than are whites, and that the wide range of individual differences, which is taken for granted amongst whites, is also true amongst Negroes.

I wish to be understood as being interested not so much in fixing the culpability either of press or individuals for giving currency to wrong opinions, as in making clear the process by which erroneous opinions are set up, so that all of us may the better understand how to correct them. It is a natural habit of mind to accept the familiar and believe the expected. This applies quite as much to newspaper editors and reporters as it does to the rest of us. It is only natural therefore that news about Negroes which happens to coincide with the traditional beliefs built up in the white mind by generations of slavery and prejudice is the news which most frequently appears in the press.

No clearer example may be found than in the news about crimes committed by Negroes. It is a traditional belief amongst whites that Negroes are unduly inclined to crime and to certain types of crime. Newspaper reporters and editors unconsciously select and use crime stories about Negroes far out of proportion to the real Negro record of criminality. This in turn serves to confirm and increase the impression with the white public that the Negro is inclined to crime, and so the vicious circle of thought and misconception is created.

An analysis, made during the investigations of the Chicago Commission on Race Relations, of 1,551 articles on social matters appearing in three Chicago newspapers during the two-year period, 1916-17, brought this point out clearly. Of these 1,551 articles, 1,338 were news items, 108 were letters to the press, and 96 were editorials. Of the 1,338 news items, 309 were devoted to riots and clashes, and 297 to crime and vice—the two largest numbers. Only 17 were devoted to public meetings held by the Negro population, although many such meetings were for the discussion of important matters in Negro improvement and general community concern. Only 18 related to Negro education, 8 to Negro artistic endeavor, and 5 to Negro business enterprise.

Through this association of the Negro with crime, so gross is the injustice which the Negro suffers in the handling of criminal affairs, the Chicago Commission on Race Relations found crime statistics affecting the Negro to be particularly unreliable. "The evidence at hand," says the report, "indicates that Negroes are debited with practically all their crimes, while others are not. It further appears, from the records and from the testimony of judges in the juvenile, municipal, circuit, superior, and criminal courts, of police officials, of the states' attorneys, and of various experts on crime, probation, and parole, that Negroes are more commonly arrested and subjected to police identification than white offenders; that on similar evidence they are generally held and convicted on more serious charges; and that they are given longer sentences. This bias, when reflected in the figures, serves to bolster by false figures the already existing belief that Negroes are more likely to be criminal than other racial groups."

The prevalent white notion as to the criminality of Negroes is furthered by the newspaper habit of labeling as Negroes such individuals of the race as figure in news items. This accentuates the evil influence of the disproportionate publication of articles

about Negro crime. In nine cases out of ten the articles read: "William Jones, Negro," did this or that. Such stock phrases as "burly black brute," repeated and repeated so that they come almost automatically to the minds of reporters, serve to fix an impression upon the white mind. Negroes frequently point out that a similar belief as to the criminality of Italians or Norwegians could easily be built up by placing such national designations after the name of every Italian or Norwegian offender mentioned in news items, and that if the name of every offender with red hair was always accompanied by "red-headed," the public would soon develop an inordinate fear of all people with red hair.

The frequent association of Negroes with sex crimes leads to the same vicious circle in the development of opinion. Two cases come to mind in the investigations by the Chicago Commission. An altercation on a crowded street corner in Chicago occurred in which three Negroes struck down and killed a white man who had frequently been involved in quarrels with Negroes. The three Negroes fled through the streets and alleys pursued by a crowd of whites. Almost immediately throughout the crowd and in the neighborhood the rumor was current that a Negro had attacked a white woman. A stone thrown by a Negro boy in a suburb north of Chicago broke a windshield of an automobile driven by its owner, a white man named Blazier. A crowd of whites attacked a Negro habitation in the town. The news item which appeared in a Chicago newspaper the next day, telephoned by its correspondent in the suburb, stated that Mrs. Blazier had been injured, that a white crowd was passing by when Mrs. Blazier was struck by the stone and injured. Inquiry by the Commission developed the fact that Blazier had no wife, that there was no woman occupant of the car, but another man, and that no one was injured.

The way in which such spread of rumor results in action was strikingly shown in connection with the most atrocious murder during the Chicago riot. A rumor somehow gained currency that an Italian girl had been killed by a Negro. An innocent Negro on a bicycle chanced into an Italian neighborhood in a part of the city far removed from the principal scene of rioting. He was set upon and murdered. The coroner found fourteen bullet wounds, many stab wounds, and fractures of the skull bones and of the limbs. The report concerning the Italian girl proved to be a myth, for no girl was killed by anyone during the riot. The Negro who met death was innocent of any injury. There had been no previous rioting in the part of the city where he met his death and no further clashes followed it. The incident exhibited a further characteristic association of ideas in rumor, for immediately the report spread that the crowd had burned the Negro, which proved to be entirely false.

Although many rumors and news items in the press referred to women as riot victims, the facts as established by the Chicago Commission were that no one of the thirty-eight persons who lost their lives was a woman and that of the 537 persons injured only ten were women, seven of whom were white, two were Negroes, and the race of one unknown. All but one of these ten injuries appeared to be accidental.

The newspapers' task of handling news during a period of such excitement and crowding of events as a riot is, of course, most difficult. On the other hand it must be recognized that in a time of such excitement the effect of sensational news on the popular mind is generally accentuated and the responsibility for careful handling of news is correspondingly greater. Where feeling is as pronounced as in a race riot, it is of the

utmost importance that essential facts be stated correctly. Reports of dead and injured tend to produce a feeling that the score must be evened up on the basis of "an eye for an eye," a Negro for a white, or vice versa.

A most unfortunate impression may be made upon an excited public, Negro and white, by such an erroneous report as the following, in which newspapers, although they understated rather than exaggerated the number of injuries, reported that more than 6 per cent more whites were injured than Negroes, when the fact was that 28 per cent more Negroes were injured than whites. A news item in one newspaper stated that up to a given hour twenty persons had been killed, of whom thirteen were white and seven colored. The truth was that of the twenty killed seven were white and thirteen colored.

How directly rumor may be reflected in action is shown in the following: During the Chicago riot the police found a white man with a bottle of kerosene crawling underneath a house occupied by Negroes. Upon being arrested and questioned at the police station, he repeated an unfounded rumor that Negroes had set fire to the houses of certain whites in another part of the city, and confessed that he was trying to get even.

Mention must be made of malicious propaganda as a most dangerous factor in so playing upon the traditional sentiments of race antagonism as to stimulate action which otherwise might not occur. A conspicuous instance of open and organized effort to influence the minds of whites against Negroes occurred in one part of Chicago where the purpose of the propaganda was to unite white property-owners in opposition to the invasion of their residential areas by Negroes. The situation was tense enough, but the propaganda was extended to all Negroes and employed methods which inevitably increased bitterness and antagonism to the point of clashes. In this general neighborhood no less than 58 bomb explosions occurred in the period of July 1, 1917, to March, 1921, usually at houses recently purchased or occupied by Negroes. Two persons, both Negroes, were killed, a number of white and colored persons were injured, and the damage to property amounted to more than \$100,000.

It would, of course, be possible to cite examples of the way in which Negro sentiments of bitterness and antagonism toward the whites are built up and deliberately inflamed. But the commission's study of race relations in Chicago forced me to the conclusion that the principal problem, as I have already stated, is the problem of the white mind, and that progress toward the elimination of prejudice on the part of the whites is the surest way toward bringing about an accompanying diminution of bitterness and antagonism on the part of the Negroes.

These two ends, however, can be accomplished only through the development of mutual understanding. One race alone cannot solve its own or the other's problem of prejudice. It is impossible for one to understand the other unless there be acquaintance and interchange of thought.

The organization and experience of the Chicago Commission on Race Relations exemplifies the progress which may be gained through joint effort of the two races. As appointed by Governor Lowden, the Commission was composed half of leading white citizens and half of leading Negro citizens of Chicago. Its study of the broad community aspects of race relations was carried on through a staff composed of whites and Negroes, and many informal conferences in which people of both races participated. Every member would heartily indorse the statement that those of each race learned

much from those of the other, and that such closely co-operative effort is indispensable for the building up of real understanding.

It may be remarked incidentally that Negro membership on the boards of directors and of the staffs of social agencies operating in communities where both races are living would do much to increase not only the effectiveness of the work of such agencies but also the mutual understanding of the people of both races in the communities.

In conclusion, we may take great hope from the progress which is being made, as Dr. Adolf Meyer has so brilliantly pointed out, in the objective study of mental life. We are seeing the passing of the time, as he says, when mental life has been considered as something beyond the range of the same kind of objective study as is given to the facts of any other science. This progress is pregnant with results for the straightening out of the mental attitudes of each race toward the other.

Even in the few years since the Great War there has already come real progress in minimizing international hatreds. As Secretary Hughes has said, we are accomplishing mental disarmament; we are scrapping not only our battleships but our suspicions. With all this emphasis on more sympathetic international understanding, we should not forget to apply this same spirit and this same effort toward the eradication of our racial antagonisms at home. This conference has progressed from the day when it discussed the alleviation of poverty and has set the goal as the conquest of poverty. Is it too much to hope that as the decades go by we can achieve inspiring progress toward the conquest of prejudice?

PUBLIC OPINION AND THE NEGRO

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In the study of the influence of public opinion on race relations we are dealing with three important and highly sensitive elements: the facts upon which this opinion rests, the theories about these facts, and, most important of all, the actions based on the theories. There are certain physical facts that do not change. It is not the purpose here to deny or make apologies for the existence of them, whatever they are. But with respect to these there is a disposition to assume that the theories about the facts are as unchanging as the facts themselves, to deny the fact when it contradicts the theory, and to see facts when they do not exist because the theory demands them. There are, again, generalizations and theories built upon these assumed and actual facts that do change as society develops, and as false statements are refuted and new facts come to light. It is on these theories that the layman is most frequently confounded. Yet upon these as a basis he is constantly acting.

The growth of feeling in the United States on the question of the Negro is a natural process. No one seriously believes that the conduct of the two races in relation to each other is inspired by moral depravity or mere meanness. No other relations are to be expected on the present background of beliefs, the one race about the other. The greatest difficulty in objectively analyzing these beliefs lies in the fact that we quite generally and naturally regard our views and beliefs, whatever they are, as founded on eternal and unchanging principles.

The analogy between the struggle of women for status and that of the Negro population is suspiciously close. Anatomically, mentally, and by an alleged special act of God both have been arranged in the scheme of creation a little lower than supreme man of the particular race making the comparison. Less than seventy-five years ago women were held unfitted for college education. Scientists are still saying, but with a perceptibly weakened sense of conviction, that women measure five ounces less brain matter than men and lack reasoning capacity. The facts about woman, as, for example, that she is different from man, had not changed in 1920 when universal suffrage was granted. The theories about the fact, however, had undergone an almost complete revolution.

False notions, if believed, false preconceptions, may control conduct as effectively as true ones. The moral eruptions observed in the reckless unrestraint of the mob mind are, from one point of view, merely an acute phase of the same opinion held by those who condone even while not actually participating in the unpleasant work of the mobs. The riots in Washington, Atlanta, Chicago, East St. Louis, and Omaha, are striking examples of the accumulated resentments, unchallenged mutual beliefs, the one race about the other. If these beliefs can be made accessible for examination, there is hope that many of them may be corrected.

There are three cardinal beliefs that may be said to control in one form or another most of the thinking about Negroes: first, that they are mentally inferior by nature; second, that they are innately immoral; and, third, that they are innately criminal. The alleged innate mental inferiority of the Negro was once held to be due to a difference in species; then, again, to a more recent emergence from primitive life; and, finally, to backwardness in ascending the scale of civilization. A natural deduction follows: the mind of the Negro cannot be improved beyond a given level; so, quite logically adapting his education to his capacities, he is taught mainly to use his hands. The belief provides one of the strongest objections to expenditures for Negro education in states where there are separate schools for Negroes; they are uneducable.

This theory has a natural history. The first Negroes brought to this country were not slaves but bond servants, on the same footing with indentured white servants. It soon developed, however, that permanent servitude and the slave traffic were highly profitable. The holding of slaves by a Christian nation demanded some kind of justification, a conscience balm. If it were ethically wrong for one human being to enslave another, conscience could best be eased by proving that these slaves were less than human. Accordingly, biblical arguments, founded on Noah and the Ark and his three sons, one of whom was cursed, have conveniently supplied support for the unscientific. Charles Carroll wrote a book to establish from biblical texts the fact that man was created in the image of God and, since God, as everybody knows, is not a Negro, it follows that the Negro is not a man. Science helped to bolster up the theories. Practically every anthropologist of the old school at some time in his career "proved" the essential inferiority of Negroes, first, by cranial measurement, then by brain weight, then by the complexity of convolutions, each in turn being discredited.

Although Dr. Franklin P. Mall, an associate of Dr. R. B. Bean, by using more precise instruments, precautions against personal bias, and the same brains, absolutely contradicted the "findings" of Dr. Bean, these "findings" are still quoted to support the belief in the peculiar structure of the Negro brain.

Dr. M. J. Mayo, by a study of white and Negro children in the New York Public Schools, deduced conclusions which are regarded as scientific in spite of the fact that

he used the subjective ratings of teachers as units of measurements, and trusted to the memory of teachers extending over three or four years to select the colored pupils from records not classified by race. His study was confounded by the fact that, contrary to theory, the colored children registered higher in the more exact mathematical subjects. The difference was 4 per cent.

Then came the army intelligence tests, which a new school is insisting are a measure of innate intelligence. Again the Negroes have been consigned to their familiar station. They were needed in largest numbers as laborers and fewest in the higher branches of the service; and by admitted design the lowest classes among whites were freely eliminated. The surgeon general's instructions to the psychology division explicitly state that "in the examination of Negro recruits, camp procedure should be determined by the practical needs of the army, and the collection of scientific data always incidental to this main purpose." Yet the results are being used by some as primarily scientific.

The Negroes in most camps were marched in a body to the Beta tests, designed principally for non-English speaking recruits; this was done in spite of the objection of practically all the camps that these tests unnaturally limited Negroes. Specifically 65.6 per cent of the Negroes as compared with 24.7 per cent of the whites were given the Beta tests. Discrimination was further shown when it came to re-examination; only 20 per cent of the Negro failures were re-examined in spite of the fact that 86.9 per cent of these re-examined improved their score anywhere from 3 per cent to 30 per cent. The intelligence gap between Southern Negroes with practically no schools and Negroes living in the North with better educational facilities is eight points greater than the difference between native whites and Negroes.

During slavery, when it was the policy to keep Negroes ignorant, and for a period after emancipation, when over 90 per cent of the Negro population was illiterate, it could easily be believed that their illiteracy was unescapable and eternal. But now educability has been demonstrated: illiteracy has been reduced to 25 per cent; thousands have graduated from standard universities; and thousands have entered the professions. In spite of such facts as these, and in spite of its questionable support, the belief in the innate mental inferiority of the Negro persists. It tends to crush the Negro's hope of improvement through education; it insists that Negro education is useless; it distorts honest ambition into a desire to avoid hard work, and all effort at honest thinking into impertinence and radicalism.

The second cardinal belief concerns the "constitutional immorality" of Negroes. They are sometimes in charity called unmoral. Frederick L. Hoffman in a study of "Race Traits" concluded that "all his facts proved that education, philanthropy, and religion have failed to develop (among the Negroes) an appreciation of the stern and uncompromising virtues of the Aryan race."

Not long ago a professor in an Eastern college made the statement that less than 3 per cent of the Negro women are virtuous. It got credence in spite of the fact that it is as impossible of proof as a similar statement about any other race. A writer in a prominent sociological magazine a few months ago, after a study of sixteen cases of desertion in Negro families, assumed a racial lack of moral standards among 12,000,000 Negroes and deduced a philosophy to explain it.

The statistical evidence of immorality consists largely of figures on illegitimacy. Records here are meager and, when found, tend to shield those with greater means of secrecy and knowledge of birth control; the number of illegitimate mulattoes and the

prevalence of venereal diseases, however, point to a lack of restraint not wholly Negroid. Pure blacks do not propagate a mixed breed, and venereal diseases were unknown among the Negroes imported to this country. But there is a theory to explain the mulatto population in what is called the "biological urge" of females of inferior races to mate with males of the superior race. This places the latter quite innocently on the defensive. There can be no honest objection to the statement that there are immoral Negroes, in fact, many such; the rub and the real danger come in the assumption that this immorality is the result of a constitutional laxity which is peculiar to Negroes as a race.

The third cardinal belief is closely allied with the foregoing, that Negroes are criminal by nature. An alleged peculiar emotional instability predisposes them to crimes of violence, particularly sex crimes, and a constitutional character weakness addicts them to petty thefts. In practically every city with a large Negro population their crime rate exceeds their proportion in the population. There are Negro criminals and they are condemned without apology or excuse. But the bugaboo of the *criminal nature of Negroes* is unnecessarily severe and unwarranted. A constitutional criminal nature would most certainly have shown itself during the Civil War when the protective hand of the master was withdrawn from his family and the Negro slave stood guard. Yet not a single case is recorded of the betrayal of that trust. Figures on Negro crime rarely escape factors completely vitiating for comparative purposes. The police officers, jurors, and court officials are members of the public and hold the common beliefs about Negro traits.

In one part of New York City, to take one example, there were, in one year, nine more white persons indicted for rape in the first degree than there were Negroes even accused of the crime throughout the United States in four years, and more evidence is required by a New York jury than by a lynching mob. Or, put it this way: a predilection for sex crimes can scarcely in fairness be assigned to a race with an average population of 8,000,000, of which number 675 have been charged with the crime in a period of thirty years. Yet this belief, deepened by its association with the most elemental of human passions, prompts constant and innumerable perversions and absurdities of conduct.

Although these three cardinal beliefs are the most dangerous, there are others, less important, but worth questioning at least: (a) That the Negro race is physically repulsive—one encyclopedia states that they "emit an odor similar to that of a goat." This is entertained less by those whose children were reared by Negro "mammies" than by those who read about Negroes or are expecting this peculiarity. (b) That they are constitutionally incapable of resisting the ravages of the white man's diseases, dying out irredeemably from tuberculosis and venereal diseases, thus making programs of health improvement hopeless, although by a little effort their mortality has been reduced 21 per cent in eleven years. (c) That they are "happy-go-lucky" and "thrifless," although they own farm lands valued at more than \$2,500,000,000, nearly 2,000,000 are insured in one large insurance company alone, and one of every four families owns its home.

Jokes about Negroes, news stories, anecdotes, gossip, the stage, the motion pictures, the Octavus Roy Cohen, Hugh Wiley, and Irvin S. Cobb type of humorous fiction, repeated with unvarying outline, have helped to build up and crystallize a fictitious being unlike any Negro. Usually one of two things happens when a Negro fails to

reflect the type: Either he is considered an exception, or he is "out of his place." The sources of information covering this group that might be useful in dispelling many of these notions are most unfortunate. Few white people read Negro periodicals, and they come in contact with only a few Negroes, usually their servants whom they often seem to regard as omniscient on the aims, individuals, and incidents of the race.

It is this mass of ideas about the Negro, accumulated through experience, passed on through tradition, imbedded in the mores and absorbed even without conscious attention, with which this paper deals. These are the background of recognition, of classification, and of behavior itself. This body of ideas, compounded of time-saving generalizations, stereotypes, myths, conventions, and dogma—what Walter Lippman in his excellent volume on *Public Opinion* calls "the picture within our heads"—determines our attitudes, our way of interpreting facts, our way even of seeing facts. To quote this author: "Except where we deliberately keep prejudice in suspense, we do not study a man and judge him to be bad." . . . "We see a bad man."

Now what of the Negroes themselves? What are the effects of all these beliefs upon them? They cannot escape being assailed on every hand from early childhood to the end of their lives, with a pervading intimation of their own inferiority. From the beginning they are saturated in a tradition of their own incompetence. This is a poison, as one writer puts it, at the very centers of growth. They grow up in the system inferior not only to the other race, but to their potential selves. They are in the midst of an advanced social system, of definite cultural influences, but denied full participation. They may never escape the insistent implications of their status and race. Attention and interest are centered upon themselves. They become race conscious. Opinions and feelings on general questions must always be filtered through this narrow screen that separates them from their neighbors. Their opinions are, therefore, largely a negative product, either disparagement of difficulties or protest. This enforced self-consciousness has developed strange distortions of conduct in many, increasing sensitivity to slights and fabricating compensations for their inferior station. Natural impulses and desires are balked. Their conduct becomes unintelligible. The processes of thought by which opinions are reached and translated into action are, as a result of their isolation, concealed from outsiders.

The "Back to Africa" movement among Negroes is a dramatic demonstration of their attitude toward their status. This rather absurd dream, to which more than 1,000,000 Negroes have contributed funds, is more than a gesture to escape America. It is a movement of the class lowest down to fabricate a background and a racial self-respect, to compensate for the prestige and power they have habitually lacked.

Another reflection of their attitude toward their status is the mass movements from South to North. Over 500,000 have moved within the last six years. Probably 100,000 have moved in the last year. The motives have been both economic and sentimental. Both desires are evidences of dissatisfaction and unrest, and these dissatisfactions are in large part the result of changing standards among the Negroes.

A third reflection is flight of quite a different sort. It is that of leaving the Negro race entirely, "crossing over" it is called. When a person of partial Negro descent, who is to all appearances indistinguishable, elects to class himself as a Negro, he voluntarily assumes all of the limitations placed upon that group. But he is an equal and an eligible to all forms of association with whites so long as he forgets that black twig on his family tree. Dr. Hornell Hart estimates this forgetfulness to be occurring in

about 25,000 new cases each year. The subject does not yield itself readily to statistical treatment and the estimate is probably overstated, but it is fact that as the ring around the Negroes grows tighter, it is squeezing out many who can easily escape, and thus beginning a process which the most zealous upholders of the American dogma have declared could never occur and which they are most anxious to prevent.

On the basis of prevailing beliefs, race discriminations are faultlessly logical. When the practices vary, it is because the beliefs vary. No sensible person would insist that morons should be accorded by society the liberties of normal individuals. But the fact that it has been found of temporary convenience to attribute to Negroes the mental and moral qualities of morons is no warrant for permitting the belief to go unchallenged.

This body of beliefs, compounded of a mixture of truth and fiction, self-interest, and passion, forms the structure of public opinion on the question of the Negro. These beliefs unchallenged not only magnify themselves and breed others but react upon the Negro group, distorting its conduct. This distortion provokes in turn a sterner application of these beliefs, and so on indefinitely, and with each step the isolation increases, each group building up its own myths and stiffening its own group morale. If the myths can be dissolved, if indeed the beliefs can be honestly questioned, many of our inhibitions to normal, rational, and ethical conduct will be removed.

THE MYTH OF SUPERIORITY

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Prejudice is the bias of judgment that comes from either caprice or training. Caprice is individual and sporadic, and may sometimes be explained by psychoanalysis, and sometimes is too subtle to be accounted for. Trained prejudice is social and persistent. The spontaneity of capricious prejudice gives it the appearance of an instinct and thus releases the possessor from moral responsibility.

Trained prejudices are pre-eminently artificial—pure creations, but they have social sanction, and thus a distinct moral flavor. In the past they have been developed in religious and class groups. At present they predominate in nationalism, but looming ahead is intense race consciousness and its own set of prejudices. The machinery for the inculcation of group attitudes is complex and efficient. The impulse which underlies prejudice is probably egotism. Individual egotism is recognized as a vice, and there is a constant struggle to hold it in check. Group egotism on the other hand is magnified as the highest virtue whether in church, nation, or chamber of commerce. The identification of the individual with the group gives the emotional satisfaction to the ego urge without the pang of conscience which accompanies it when it is individual.

When the group is convinced, as is Christianity, that it possesses the only way of salvation, rationalization of an aggressive egotism is easy. We have recognized, however, that it may be carried too far, and we call bigotry that religious zeal which is uncompromising. This is now a vice, religious tolerance has been made the law of most countries, and while bigotry and intolerance may remain, they are without constitutional sanction.

Excessive patriotism is called "chauvinism," and is creating as much disturbance as religious bigotry. The next step must be national tolerance which will correspond to religious tolerance. In fact, all the new states of Europe make constitutional protection of minorities to meet this situation. The relation of races has not yet reached its crisis, but it is rapidly approaching, though we have as yet no word like bigotry and chauvinism to indicate the vice of racial egotism.

In the period of development each of the groups seem to find justification in its own merits. But when there is some questioning of prestige, some mythical sanction becomes necessary. When chiefs ruled by power, there was no criterion except the possession of the power, but when kingship became hereditary and the birthright was not so obvious, it was necessary to call in the divine right of kings. This particular myth has been exploded, and since theism has generally changed from transcendency to immanency, thus instead of an outside God who might give special privilege or power, now the divine or cosmic power is inherent in the process itself, so that the way of nature may be considered as the way of Providence. Thus the theory of evolution offers support to those who are trying to justify existing status. The dominance of class or race seems to be the result of natural fitness, and has the apparent force of divine sanction. This is one of the prevailing myths of the present. It has made easy, however, the rationalizing of group egotism, through religion, the press, the law, neighborhood gossip, and now by science.

Hundred per cent patriotism and confidence in Nordic superiority are the two most dangerous ideas in the world today, because they lead in exactly the opposite direction to which civilization must go if it is to survive. The fundamental objection to these ideas is first that they have no basis in fact, and second that they organize emotions that are far reaching in their consequences.

Both these ideas may be described as defense complexes which have sprung into focus with the first uneasy feeling that the old assumptions were no longer valid. Patriotism can no longer be justified because the fatherland includes the means of survival. In the present world a large proportion of what gives meaning to life is international. Economic processes both of finance and production are only artificially related to the national boundaries. Science, art, and ideas are national only when provincial. Sentiment and local activity may justify a 15 per cent patriotism, but any more than that means an emotional adherence to what has no basis in fact. In the face of this fading away of a proper reason for patriotism we find the whole world organizing itself as though the national unit were the ultimate reality. The anarchy of nations is as irrational as the anarchy of individuals.

In the last 400 years the people who are classified as "Nordics" have succeeded in getting political control over most of the surface of the globe. The white race, led by this small fraction of itself, has come to feel that it has been destined to rule the two-thirds of the human race that is not white. The colored races are beginning to revolt, and the scepter of domination is passing both from the white race and from that part of it which had been in possession. This threat is resisted with as much energy as has been the case with the passing of every order. The vocabulary of science has been appropriated and the methods prostituted to prove what men want to prove, namely their moral right to keep what they want.

The most fruitful medium for this method has been intelligence testing. We have developed a large crop of pseudoscientists. They are of two sorts: those who have

genuine scientific standing in one field, say biology, psychology, or education, and who go into other fields to make generalizations such as they would not dream of making within their own fields. I know of an entomologist who is most careful what he says about bugs, but who applies principles which he has derived from the study of bugs to sweeping statements about the Japanese. And there are many good psychologists who lay down an immigration policy as a result of conclusions drawn from the army tests. The other kind of pseudoscientists might be called half-baked scientists. They have, in a few hours or weeks, learned how to give Binet tests, and they have as much blatancy and confidence as a patent medicine vendor.

Intelligence-testing is one of the most promising fields of research now before us, but it is also amenable to as much mythical use as ever came from a supernatural religion. The first error is in the claim that it tests more than it actually does test, whereas it only tests the limited range in which it applies. The second fallacy comes from comparing curves and averages. If there were any test whose results would enable one to judge a race from the test itself, it might be a valid test, but so far there is no way of classifying a group except by color, or language, or place of birth, and then making a comparison of curves in tests which apply equally to all. In every case there will be overlapping and, though the median line of groups may be quite separate, there is never a case where the curves are exclusive. This being the case, there is no reason why any entirely different grouping should not be used—height and weight, color of eyes, and slant of nose.

The tendency of all this rationalization is to make a holy war out of the conflict which is impending. We are being artificially trained into prejudices which are not natural. Individuals of different races and nations may have cordial human relations, but when the group prejudice is released relations that were cordial may become hostile. The man with a brogue becomes a bolshevik, or a hun, and every one of a different color becomes an inferior.

The way of salvation is a group conviction of sin which will condemn the egotism and immorality of a race or a nation as severely as it does that of an individual. The myth of superiority will pass when we can follow the injunction of Kant to treat every person as an end, never as a means. When the immigrant is to be admitted as a labor commodity, there is little possibility of respecting him as a person. When an intelligent person is classified with a group with a low average, it is difficult to separate him from the low average, though he does not belong there except by the chance grouping. There is no evidence that the superiority of any existing dominant group is based on anything but an accident, and any attempt to maintain that dominance by reason is merely the rationalization of a myth.

PUBLIC OPINION ON SOCIAL WELFARE QUESTIONS AS INDICATED BY THE REFERENDUM

THE REFERENDUM IN TUBERCULOSIS CAMPAIGNS

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Growing out of the general movement for the initiative and referendum has been the perfectly natural adaptation of this method of sounding public opinion by those interested in the campaign against tuberculosis.

Immediately following the Sixth International Congress on Tuberculosis, held in Washington in the fall of 1908, there began to develop in various parts of the country a movement to secure hospital provision for tuberculous patients both in the incipient and in the advanced stages of the disease. To meet this demand the antituberculosis associations used a variety of methods. In some states, as for example in New York, it was necessary to secure enabling legislation permitting counties to build such institutions. In other states, as Illinois, legislation was sought allowing the voters either of the municipality or the county to express their opinions upon the hospital question. In still others, as in Massachusetts or Pennsylvania, the matter was solved by the establishment of large, state institutions. It is with the second group of states that this paper will largely deal.

One of the earliest records of a special statute providing for a tuberculosis referendum is the Glackin Law enacted in March 1909 by the Illinois Legislature. The law was sponsored largely by the Chicago Tuberculosis Institute, which organization was anxious to secure a tuberculosis sanatorium for the city. Immediately following the enactment of the law, the Chicago Tuberculosis Institute began a campaign to secure a referendum vote on the hospital question. The matter was put up to the voters of Chicago immediately after the bill was signed, and, after a month's campaign, a vote was taken, in which 167,230 votes were cast for the sanatorium and 39,410 against the proposition.

Since this historic campaign in Chicago, a number of other states have enacted legislation providing for special referendums of the voters of cities or counties to determine whether or not a tuberculosis sanatorium or hospital should be built out of public funds. Among the states that have such provision at the present time are New York, Kentucky, Minnesota, Vermont, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, Texas, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, and a number of others.

In collecting material for this paper, an effort has been made to summarize the experience of the last ten years or more of each of these states. In some instances it has been impossible to get the detailed information desired. In other instances the referendum provision of the law has never been used. Consequently, the statistics in the paper deal largely with the experience of only five states; namely, Vermont, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Indiana, and New York. The figures are furthermore limited, in that they deal only with votes taken on matters dealing with tuberculosis hospitals or sanatoriums. No effort has been made to collect detailed information on referendums in which provision for nurses, clinics, or general bond issues have been voted upon. In all of the states listed, moreover, the tuberculosis hospital referendum is made the sub-

ject of a special statute. In some of them there are general initiative and referendum laws in addition to those dealing specifically with tuberculosis hospitals.

In the five states studied, since 1915, with the exception of the Chicago vote mentioned above, 76 units have voted upon tuberculosis-hospital questions. In some instances the units were cities; in some they were counties; and in some they were groups of counties or districts. The total number of votes cast in the 76 units was 1,108,349. Of this number 798,192 voted for the hospital proposition and 310,227 voted against it. Putting it another way, 72 per cent of the total vote was for and 28 per cent against the tuberculosis-hospital propositions. The total male population of voting age in the 76 units was 2,360,041, of which the total vote cast on the referendum question is approximately 50 per cent.

It is interesting to note that of the 76 votes taken, 3 were in Vermont, 52 in Illinois, 11 in Pennsylvania, 1 in Indiana and 9 in New York state. In all cases, except two, the votes were favorable for the hospital question.

It is also a matter of interest to record that in most of the cases where the vote was favorable the institutions provided by the fiat of the voters have been built and are in operation. A striking exception to this is in the case of the 52 counties and cities in Illinois. In this state a number of the counties have taken no steps toward building an institution because of the fact that the referendum vote provided an insufficient sum for building such institutions.

There are a number of pertinent questions relative to the procedure of initiation and voting that are also worthy of special attention in a study of this character. The ballot or question to be put to the voters varies considerably in different states. In Illinois, for example, the proposition calls for the levy of a tax for a tuberculosis sanatorium or for the levy of a tax against a tuberculosis sanatorium. The tax, regulated by law, may not exceed three mills for each hundred of assessed property valuation. In New York the vote is definitely for the appropriation of a specific sum to establish a tuberculosis hospital in the particular county. The Pennsylvania vote is similar. In other states the vote merely registers a desire for a hospital on the part of the voters, but does not specify the funds needed. This definiteness or lack of definiteness has had no apparent effect on the registering of a favorable opinion.

In most cases any qualified voter is allowed to vote on the question. In a few cases, as, for example, in Texas, only tax-paying voters may vote. In most instances the initiation of the referendum is done by petition, with 100 or more names. In New York, however, the initiation is left to the county supervisors who may or may not be willing to put the question up to the voters. In Illinois, Texas, Missouri, and some other states a local hospital cannot be established without a vote of the people. In some states, such as New York or Minnesota, the county governing board may establish a hospital without submitting it to popular vote, or they may use the popular vote if they so desire. In most instances the county or municipal governing board has a certain amount of freedom with regard to executing the will of the people as expressed in the referendum. Hence the delay in establishing hospitals after a favorable vote has been taken, which frequently occurs.

It is necessary also to consider the process by which a vote on a county hospital question is secured. Take, for example, a typical referendum campaign in New York, Pennsylvania, or Illinois. The question has been initiated and is to be put before the people on a certain date, a month, two months, or three months hence. The usual pro-

cedure of the tuberculosis association, which in most instances is responsible for stimulating action, is to secure some form of special organization or special campaign machinery. The women's clubs, labor unions, the churches, the physicians, the schools, the lodges, the farm organizations, and in fact every organized force in the community is urged to pass resolutions and to secure the support of its own constituency to vote on the question. Every effort is made to keep the question out of politics and to make it entirely non-partisan. The vote is for or against the hospital proposition and is without regard to party lines. Posters, lectures, motion pictures, circulars, exhibits, health plays, and a great variety of special educational devices bring the matter constantly before the people. The newspapers also devote a large amount of space to the subject. Not infrequently paid advertising is used. An effort is made thus to educate the voting population from every possible source. Usually the principal argument against the county hospital is, of course, the one of increased taxation. To offset this the economic argument, pointing out that the saving of life brought about by a tuberculosis hospital adds wealth to the community, is widely employed. The appeal is both selfish and humanitarian, and is usually presented from the emotional as well as the logical aspects of the problem. Letters and postcards are sent in many cases, just before the election, to selected lists of people, calling their attention to the vote, and every electioneering method known is used to get a favorable reaction.

The result of all of these measures has been that in most instances where tuberculosis referendum campaigns have been carried on, the vote for the hospital question has been as large or even larger than the vote of the most popular candidate in those cases where the referendum has been a part of a general election campaign. Where the referendum has been a separate and distinct campaign, the carrying of the vote for the hospital is usually a somewhat simpler matter. Where several special questions have been put to the voters in one election, the tuberculosis referendum usually leads in favorable votes.

In those few communities where the vote has been lost, so far as the records are available, they clearly point out that the loss of the proposition has been due to apathy on the part of the local organization and a failure to organize and campaign the county.

It seems perfectly obvious from the experience of these various votes, therefore, that the mere initiating of the question of the establishment of a tuberculosis hospital is not enough to carry it in an election. A large amount of constructive educational work must be done in order to develop a public opinion that will crystallize and express itself in favor of the hospital proposition.

The experience of Wyoming in a tuberculosis sanatorium is somewhat peculiar, but at the same time is so indicative of the possibilities of the referendum in expressing public opinion that special mention of it should be made. In 1921 the legislature passed a bill providing that a state sanatorium should be built in a county of that state that had certain qualifications, which county the people were to select by popular vote. The county was required to be able to provide a site for the sanatorium not more than five miles from a railroad and at an altitude of between 3,500 and 5,750 feet, with "a convenient supply of good water, a dry sunny climate, and a site of not less than 40 acres." Any county that could meet these conditions was eligible to nomination as a "candidate" for the state sanatorium.

The election was held in November 1922. Five counties were nominated as "candidates" for the sanatorium site. A total of 32,620 votes was polled for the five

counties, the largest vote being for Big Horn County, 13,592. The use of the referendum in this way might be compared with a vote for a series of candidates for a particular office.

The campaign against tuberculosis carried on by the national, state, and local tuberculosis associations during the last eighteen years has brought this popular social question to the public's attention in a great variety of ways. It seems to be a fair conclusion, from the experience of the campaign and particularly from that part of the experience that deals with tuberculosis hospital referendums, to say that if the voters of a community are given a chance to express their opinion after a proper process of education upon a question pertaining to tuberculosis institutions or similar provision, they will in the great majority of cases vote overwhelmingly in favor of such proposition, even though the clear and definite implication of such vote is an increase in taxation.

THE REFERENDUM IN WASHINGTON

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A new political device receives increasing public attention. After reaching a certain maximum, public attention then declines. Wherever the device has been adopted and experimented with during the early phase, its use likewise tends to decline and become stabilized during the period when popular attention is turning to other things.

The accompanying charts indicate the course of this development with respect to the initiative and referendum. A maximum in the "movement" was reached about 1911 or 1912. Since then, public interest, as gauged by the number of articles in the *Reader's Guide*, and by the number of states adopting the principle in their constitutions, has fallen away. Coincidentally, the period of experimentation, as indicated by the number of measures voted upon in the state of Oregon, has also tended to decline.

Washington's experience with the referendum began in 1913 at the precise time that the public in general was beginning to forget the "I and R." It is largely in consequence of this fact that Washington has voted upon 27 initiative and referendum measures only, as compared with more than 214 in Oregon, its neighbor.

The voters of Washington have defeated 22 of the 27 measures presented to them. Sixteen of these 27 had previously been passed by the legislature and were referred. Two were adopted. Eleven were initiated by some group of voters, of which 3 were adopted. We might say that the initiative has seldom won and the referendum has seldom lost. The dominant attitude of the voters has thus been negative. It has resulted in defeat of legislation *per se*. On the other hand, 3 of the 5 measures that were adopted called for state interference with individual liberties. They were: state-wide prohibition, a "Bone Dry" Act, and a measure abolishing commercial employment agencies, subsequently declared invalid.

In Table I, I present a number of coefficients of correlation, obtained by the method of "correlation by grades," from which a number of inferences may be drawn respecting the character of the support obtained by five measures which might be classed as "social legislation." It should be noted that the number of votes received by each, whether large or small, is disregarded by this method. The coefficient merely enables us to say whether a given measure was relatively strong or relatively weak, on

the whole, in counties in which another measure or some other characteristic was strong. We find, for example, a high negative correlation between the order of support given to prohibition in 1914 and that given to measures sponsored by organized labor. This means that where prohibition sentiment was relatively strong, labor sentiment was relatively weak, and vice versa.

TABLE I

CORRELATION BY GRADES BETWEEN CERTAIN VOTES AND CERTAIN POPULATION
CHARACTERISTICS OF THE THIRTY-NINE COUNTIES OF WASHINGTON¹

Vote: Prohibition, 1914, and Vote: Teacher's retirement, 1914.....	-.51
Vote: Prohibition, 1914, and Vote: Eight-hour bill, 1914, promoted by socialist wing of labor....	-.39
Vote: Prohibition, 1914, and Vote: Bone-dry bill, 1918.....	.08
Vote: Prohibition, 1914, and Vote: Farmer-labor party candidate for governor, 1920.....	-.28
Vote: Prohibition, 1914, and Rank of counties in population, 1920.....	.13
Vote: Prohibition, 1914, and Proportion of farmers to total population, 1920.....	.33
Vote: Prohibition, 1914, and Value of farm property per farmer.....	.46
Vote: "bone dry", 1918, and Vote: Eight-hour Bill, 1914.....	.05
Vote: "bone dry", 1918, and Rapidity of decennial population increase, 1910-20.....	.11
Vote: Teacher's retirement, 1918 and Anti-employment office bill, 1914 (state federation of labor measure).....	.66
Vote: School medical inspection, 1922, (anti-vaccination) and Vote: Prohibition, 1914.....	.09
Vote: School medical inspection, 1922, (anti-vaccination) and Vote: "Bone dry," 1918.....	-.35
Vote: School medical inspection, 1922, (anti-vaccination) and Vote: Farmer-labor party, 1920... ..	.385
Vote: School medical inspection, 1922 (anti-vaccination) and Vote: Repeal of poll tax, especially odious to labor and radicals, 1922.....	.29
Vote: School medical inspection, 1922 (anti-vaccination) and Rank of counties in order of population, 1920.....	-.15
Vote: School medical inspection, 1922 (anti-vaccination) and Rapidity of population increase 1910-1920.....	.28
Vote: School medical inspection, 1922 (anti-vaccination) and Proportion of farmers to total population, 1920.....	-.30
Vote: School Medical Inspection, 1922 (anti-vaccination) and Value of farm property per farmer..	-.43
Vote: "30-10" School Act, 1922, and Vote: Teacher's retirement, 1914.....	.57
Vote: "30-10" School Act, 1922, and Vote: Farmer-labor party, 1920.....	.68
Vote: "30-10" School Act, 1922, and Proportion of farmers to total population, 1920.....	-.55
Vote: "30-10" School Act, 1922, and Value of farms per farmer, 1920.....	-.59
Vote: Farmer-labor party, 1920, and Vote: Eight-hour bill, 1914.....	.80
Vote: Farmer-labor-party, 1920, and Rapidity of population increase, 1910-1920.....	.57
Vote: Farmer-labor party, 1920, and Proportion of farmers to total population, 1920.....	-.37
Vote: Farmer-labor party, 1920, and Value of farm property per farmer, 1920.....	-.55
Vote: Anti-employment office bill, promoted by State Federation of Labor, 1914, and eight-hour bill, promoted by Socialists, repudiated by Federation of Labor leaders, 1914.....	.80

Washington is sharply divided into two contrasted areas by the Cascade Mountains, which extend like a rampart across the state from north to south. Western Washington is humid, timbered, industrial, and radical in political tendencies. Eastern Washington is semi-arid, agricultural, and conservative. In 1920, the farmer-labor party won more than 35 per cent of the votes of western Washington in a three-cornered contest, but 19 per cent only of the votes in the eastern section.

Prohibition was originally adopted in 1914 by the vote of conservative eastern Washington counties, and against the majority vote of those in the west. Table I indicates that in 1918, when the "Bone Dry" Act was passed, radical and labor opposi-

¹ For description of this method and derivation of the statistical formula used see Harold O. Rugg, *Statistical Methods Applied to Education*, pp. 286-89.

tion to "dry" legislation had substantially disappeared. Comparison of the eight-hour vote of 1914 with the farmer-labor party vote of 1920 shows that there had been little shift among counties in radical and labor sentiment between these years.

The Teacher's Retirement Act of 1913, defeated 4 to 1, received its best support in localities which approved most strongly of labor measures. It was opposed most strongly where prohibition was favored most strongly. The "school medical inspection" measure, an antivaccination and antimicrobial bill passed by the legislature, was defeated more than 3 to 2. Its best support came from those counties which have been growing more rapidly in population; likewise from those in which the radical vote is heaviest. Opposition was greatest in the prosperous rural counties, where the "dry" sentiment finds its greatest strength.

The "thirty to ten" school fund equalization measure aimed to throw upon the state at large a heavier proportion of the cost of maintaining the public schools. It was defeated by a vote of three to two. The rural counties, which would have benefited most by its enactment, opposed the measure more than the industrial counties which under its terms would have been compelled to pay higher taxes. Conservatism and caution, in this case, appeared to outweigh in the minds of rural voters the dictates of enlightened self-interest.

THE INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM IN OREGON, CALIFORNIA, WASHINGTON, AND COLORADO

Alexander Fleisher, Assistant Secretary, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, New York

Social and health workers are familiar with the technique used in promoting social legislation, which is dependent upon a legislative body for its passage. But they are not as yet making extensive use of the initiative in making an appeal directly to the voters. Other groups, who because of misunderstanding or for some other reason, are opposed to safeguarding public health by means of legislation, are using these instruments in an attempt to destroy existing protective health laws. It is a significant fact that all the initiative measures which were presented in the campaigns which I shall discuss, would, when enacted into law, have resulted in serious setbacks to scientific, preventive, and curative health work. These campaigns were carried on in California and Oregon in 1920, and in California, Colorado, and Washington in 1922.

In California in 1920 three initiative measures and one referendum measure were presented to the voters: The first provided for a special board for licensing chiropractors and would have permitted unqualified persons to diagnose and treat contagious diseases—a similar bill had been rejected by the legislature on several occasions; the second provided for a constitutional amendment forbidding the medical inspection of school children except under restrictions that would have made it impossible to give effective protection, and would have made it unlawful to require vaccination for admission to school—this measure was generally spoken of as the "anti-vaccination measure"; the third would have prohibited vivisection or animal experimentation, including the making of vaccines and serums; the fourth limited the prescribing of habit-forming drugs to responsible and qualified persons, and was known as the "poison measure." The bill had been passed by the previous legislature in order to suppress illicit drug

traffic and to control the growing narcotic evil, and it was submitted to a vote of the people as a referendum measure.

In Oregon in that year there was presented to the voters a measure similar to the California measure outlined above forbidding the medical inspection of school children. In 1922 campaigns were carried on simultaneously in California, Colorado, and Washington.

California voters were again asked to consider two measures rejected by them in 1920, i.e., the measure creating a special board for licensing chiropractors and the anti-vivisection bill. There was also proposed a measure creating a special board for licensing osteopaths, that would have permitted certain "drugless" healers to prescribe drugs.

Colorado voters had presented to them an anti-vivisection measure, even stronger than that before the California voters.

In Washington the voters were called upon to decide on a school medical inspection measure. The so-called "anti-vaccination bill," making it unlawful to require medical inspection of school children, had passed the 1921 legislature and had been signed by the governor. This, like the California poison bill in 1920, was a referendum measure. The law was made inoperative pending a popular election when the League for the Conservation of Public Health secured the required number of signatures on a referendum petition.

The greater part of the destructive legislation was defeated by large majorities, and the total vote cast was larger than that cast on most measures appearing on the ballot. The poison measure however, on which a positive vote was desired by health workers, failed to pass in 1920. In 1922 the chiropractic measure, rejected in 1920, together with the osteopathic measure was enacted into law.

It is particularly unfortunate to have harmful legislation enacted at a popular election, because a repeal can be secured only at some future popular election.

How was this result secured? How was such a wide general interest in public health developed in these states in spite of the large area to be covered and the relatively scattered population?

In California, Colorado, and Washington the campaigns were under the direction of the state leagues for the conservation of public health. These leagues include in their membership a large percentage of the medical profession of the state, and ordinarily have a lay secretary. The theory on which they are organized is that legislation affecting health is essentially a problem of the individual physician, and that if he is to do effective work the profession must be organized into a body capable of following and, to a certain extent, of directing legislation.

At the request of these leagues the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company took an active part in each of these campaigns. In connection with this I had the opportunity of making the observations contained in this paper. The basis of the campaign in each case was the work of the Public Health League through its own membership; that is, through the doctors in the respective states. In addition to this there was the active work of hundreds of Metropolitan agents working directly in the homes of policyholders, informing them about the measures at issue and the real meaning of the legislation proposed. All of the usual methods known to social workers in developing and guiding public opinion were utilized. There was a great deal of newspaper publicity, there were a great many addresses, and there was a wide distribution of circulars, running in one California campaign to upward of 1,000,000 copies. The support of various

political forces, labor organizations, and the churches was enlisted as well as the very active support, in at least one instance, of the State Parent Teachers' Association.

The forces opposed to public health made extensive use of much paid, newspaper-advertising space, posters on telegraph poles, and of pasters for automobile wind shields. In the case of one measure a post card was sent that reached every voter in the state on the day before election.

In some states the secretary of that state issues to each voter a pamphlet containing the text of the measures to be voted upon. Brief arguments for and against them, presented respectively by the proponents and opponents of the measures may be inserted. In these states this booklet must be mailed to the residence of voters a specified number of days preceding the election.

This booklet is probably the most effective educational medium in regard to the measures, and in spite of its form—in California last year it ran upward of 200 pages in impossibly small print, and gave the text and arguments of the thirty state measures to be voted upon—it is widely read.

A convincing argument presented in this state booklet is the most valuable publicity that can be secured. The next important step is to secure an arresting slogan under which to carry on the campaign. Following the adoption of slogans, it is necessary to map out a campaign plan which will enlist the support of as many influential business, social, and civic bodies as possible. The essential difficulty throughout is the great number of measures presented to the voters for their decision. In spite of this apparent difficulty, coupled with a widely scattered population, it was possible to arouse very real interest and discussion in health measures. The basis of the campaign was an effort to reach individual voters by an appeal from an individual close to them and whom they knew and trusted. There is no better method of securing interest in any given measure than by having it interpreted in the light of what it will mean to the individual voters and their families, by a person known to them and trusted by them.

That the initiative and referendum are real gauges of the opinion of voters is undoubtedly true. To a surprising extent the voter is found seriously considering the measures presented, and in almost all cases taking a marked list with him, or with her, to the polls, so that the decision previously reached may be properly and effectively registered. The vote cast is an informed vote. While the voters of course do not and cannot arrive at a decision on how to vote by a personal investigation of the merits of a measure, they do consider carefully the arguments presented to them. There is a very general sentiment that it is each voter's duty to register an opinion on each measure submitted to him or her.

A very great help in the entire situation, and one that must never be lost sight of by those organizing or conducting a campaign, is the importance attached by the voters to the decisions reached by committees of the chamber of commerce, by the recommendations of newspapers, and of civic and social organizations. Almost every public body takes action on some, and in many cases on all, of the measures to be voted on, and the voters are largely guided by these suggestions. Most of the city newspapers give, in addition to lists of the measures, the recommendation of the newspaper as to how its readers should vote. The power of the newspaper is very great. Because of this interest on the part of the newspapers, the danger of overstatements in circulars and other publicity material is particularly liable to lead to results directly opposite to those which were intended.

A special word should be said in regard to the Washington situation. In this case a measure, bad on its face, slipped through the legislature and was signed by the governor. This undoubtedly happened because of a lack of organized opposition to it. It was held up by the securing of the necessary number of signatures on a referendum petition, and could consequently not be put into effect until it had been presented to the voters at the general election. When it was presented, it was defeated by a two-to-one vote.

It is interesting to compare the efforts of social workers to mold public opinion in direct legislation and in securing the enactment of laws by legislative procedure. In many ways the technique is the same, but the number of persons to be reached in the latter situation is very much smaller than that which must necessarily be reached when all the voters must be appealed to. The educational work that is ordinarily necessary in order to arouse sufficient demand for the overcoming of the natural and proper inertia of legislative bodies is very similar to that required under direct legislation. The essential difference is that a campaign to secure the necessary signatures on a petition or the adequate number of votes to secure the approval or disapproval of a measure at the polls, means concentration of efforts during a much shorter period. The effort must be greatly intensified. The procedure and methods used under direct legislation more closely correspond to the measures necessary to elect a candidate to office.

Whereas, in securing legislative action, it is frequently only necessary to reach hundreds of individuals, in direct legislation it is necessary to get the same message, the same arguments, to hundreds of thousands, or even millions. And this must be done within a relatively short period of time if it is to be effective.

As a test of the public confidence in social workers and in the value of the programs for which they stand, direct legislation is exceedingly valuable. In the last analysis, the measures in which they are interested affect the great body of the population. Unless they are able to convince this body, it is probable that their efforts to improve conditions will be gratefully declined if direct legislation becomes the method generally adopted in this country. The spread of direct legislation will mean an increasing study of the general public and the methods to which it normally reacts. It will mean that to an ever increasing extent social workers and health workers must be students of the public; that they must develop their programs from the point of view of the appeal they make to the general public. They must increasingly analyze and correct their technique and strive to make their programs intelligible to the man in the street.

SOCIAL PROGRAMS AND PUBLIC SUPPORT

INCREASED INTEREST IN SPECIAL GROUPS THROUGH CENTRAL FINANCING

*Rev. C. H. LeBlond, Director of Catholic Charities, Diocese of
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The general topic of this meeting, "Social Program and Public Support," dealing with the creation of a sound, informed public opinion, which will elicit support on a permanent basis, has a very close bearing on the topic about which I am to speak: "Increased Interest in Special Groups Through Central Financing."

There are two points, I believe, to be especially considered: first, the increased interest on the part of social agencies in general toward the special group; and, secondly, the increased interest in the special group on the part of the public. There is a need of a thorough understanding of each other by the various groups of social agencies themselves before they can pass that understanding on to the public.

There are in every city special groups of social workers who may either themselves be satisfied to confine their own understanding to their own work, without much thought or enthusiasm for other groups, or who may be so isolated from the other groups that they are not understood and their place in the community program is not recognized by other social workers. Groups may be put in this position because of a number of reasons. Religious groups may be isolated because they confine themselves to their own religious contacts, and may easily be led to the position where they do not understand the needs of the community in general; or they may so hide their light under a bushel that the other social organizations in a city do not understand or appreciate the work they are doing, and may map out their own programs without giving proper consideration to the great aid and assistance that could be mutually rendered by proper co-operation in program-building, if the religious groups and the other social organizations of the community thoroughly understood each other.

Special groups of other kinds that are special groups because of the type of work they are doing may be just as much isolated. Recreational groups can be just as easily misunderstood and just as much underestimated as can religious groups; health groups may be entirely oblivious of the limitations of family organizations; children's groups can be so thoroughly wrapped up in children's work that they do not even realize the necessity of community programs that will make proper provision for their children after they have grown up and ceased to be children.

Some means must be devised that will bring about a thorough understanding of each group by all other groups. There is no group of social organizations in any community that can do a full and complete piece of social work by itself, without assistance and co-operation from every other group that works in that same community. Social work is organized to give to every individual the opportunity to live a normal life, and a normal life is not made up of any single activity. Recreation, health, religion, and education all enter into everyone's life, and no one has a right so to specialize his work that it is overdeveloped to the injury and exclusion of other essential organizations, or they are thereby doing a poor piece of social work by defeating the very end of social work in general.

One means of effecting this understanding and appreciation on the part of social agencies of the importance of other organizations outside their own field is through central financing. I do not say it is the only means; but I do say it is a very effective means, and I do not know of any that is better. When there is a central financing organization, the amount of funds to be raised for social purposes must be determined by a consideration of the needs of all the agencies participating; and as there is no limit to the amount of money that can be spent in social work, the limit of the amount that must be spent can only be determined by a thorough study of the aims, the intents, the purposes, the quality of work being done, and the importance of the work of every agency in that community. And this study naturally is made by those most interested in the financial success of the central organization, and that of course means the social organizations who are dependent on the central organization for their financing. When

all the organizations in a community stand or fall together in their financing; when everyone is bound to put his shoulder to the wheel, not only to raise the money, but to convince the public of the necessity of providing it; when every organization is obliged to defend before the public every other organization enrolled then every organization is going to make an effort at least to know and understand what the other fellow is doing and why and how he does it. And this leads to the mutual understanding and good will that are so necessary for successful social work in a community.

After this understanding exists among the agencies themselves, then there is still the necessity of extending this understanding to the public. And this of course is one of the big factors in central financing that must be developed step by step. Individual organizations must sell themselves to budget committees. Budget committees must convince central committees of the necessity of accepting these combined budgets. Central committees must enlist workers, and therefore must sell the constituent organizations to these workers who are outside of social organizations. And these large groups of workers must sell the entire community or the central financing organization is a failure. And when a central financing organization is a continued success year after year, it proves that a sound, informed, public opinion has been created and permanently established that elicits financial support on a permanent basis.

And there is no one that profits so much by this permanent basis of support as the special groups of which we spoke in the beginning of this paper. Religious groups, for example, are ordinarily supported by the members of their religious affiliations; and these supporters contribute from religious motives more than from thorough understanding of the work that is done. They contribute without question as to standards of work, with no thought of comparative analysis with others doing the same type of work. Their motive is religious, and the amount of their contribution is based on the fervor of their religion and not on the need of the work and their ability to contribute. And the result is that social work in religious groups is ordinarily very much underfinanced. Through central financing organizations these same contributors receive a fuller knowledge of social needs, a better understanding of the cost of social work, a finer appreciation of the standards to be followed, and a better knowledge of the difficulties of social workers. And all this is added without detracting in one whit from the religious motives that first prompted them to give. Those that were not moved to give by the fervor of their religious convictions are now prompted to contribute from community pride; those that were uninformed before, are now enlightened by wider publicity, and the circle of people interested in the special group is enlarged beyond measure, and their interest intensified.

This is just as true and just as applicable to every other special group. Recreational social work interests a certain number of people. But if all the people of a community can be made to realize the place that recreation plays in a general social program, the interest in that type of work will be very much enlarged and made more intense. And recreational workers never could get the same audience to listen to their claims that a central financing organization provides, because it brings together the combined interests of every organization that the community supports.

A child-caring institution or organization appeals to the sympathy of people. But if, through a central financing scheme, all the child-caring organizations of a city can be grouped together in a definite general program, that will enable organizations to specialize on various types of child care, and thus cover the whole field in a better man-

ner, and when this group is sold to a community, children's organizations and children's work will be placed on a foundation such as they never dreamed of before.

Public opinion always must depend on public knowledge; and whether it is based on correct information or the opposite, nevertheless the degree of public interest depends on the amount of information the public absorbs. And no special group can ever reach the public in the same way that can be done by an organization that centralizes all the efforts of all the social organizations that a community possesses.

I do not believe anyone that has ever had experience under the workings of a central community financing organization can question the fact that central financing tends to bring about higher standards. The very association that is created by comparative studies of costs and services, the overlappings that are discovered, the close association of people working in the same field, the attempts at the solution of common problems, the bringing to light of inherent weaknesses, the emphasizing of special points of strength in particular organizations, all tend to spur on social works and social-workers to attain higher standards in the fields in which they operate. And the attainment of higher standards always increases public interest, because the public is always interested in efficient operation.

Special groups always do special works, or confine their general work to a special group of people. And therefore the work they do must enlist the sympathy of limited numbers. And there is no way that their work may be made of general interest, except by becoming part of a general scheme that interests all the people. But when they become part of this general scheme they are links in the general chain, and the entire public must be interested in the work they are doing, because if they waver the whole chain is weakened. And through central financing all these special groups become objects of increased interest to all the public. And the benefits of this general interest, of the unity of feeling it promotes, of the understanding it fosters, cannot be overestimated. The aid that can be given by the organizations of a city to assist a special group in accomplishing the end for which it was established is beyond expression. And this interest and this aid will be increased and fostered by a central financing organization, not alone because it brings about this proper understanding, but because its own success depends to a great extent on the success and contentment of the special groups within its membership.

Increased interest in social work follows naturally in the course of central financing, and no one shares so much, or to greater profit in this increased interest than do the special groups that participate in it.

A UNIFIED PROGRAM OF SOCIAL WORK AS A CREATOR OF PUBLIC OPINION

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The impulse responsible for the formation of public opinion usually comes from an organized minority of the community, whose opinion has been given wide publicity and whose voice has an authoritative dominance which carries conviction. The general public having accepted the leadership of the minority group is inclined to accept as its own the opinions that have been formed for it, if those opinions do not go counter to what the community has already accepted as fundamentally true.

The task of creating public opinion on a subject about which there has been at least a vague feeling and no definitely formed opinion does not present as many difficulties as when a public opinion has already been formed and a changed public opinion is desired. If facts and opinions do go counter to opinions already formed, especially opinions that have been held for some time and have become a settled part of the individual's thinking, in other words, if public opinion must be changed, it can be changed only through a very gradual accumulation of intelligent conceptions on the part of individuals, with those desiring a changed public opinion willing to furnish facts and to wait while evolution slowly works out the transformation desired.

Social work as a community force has not impressed itself upon the general public. There has been recognition on the part of the public that certain charitable work must be done. However, a Lady Bountiful point of view, with sentimental impulses largely holding sway, has prevailed. Sentiment of course should never be divorced from social work, it is probably still its mainspring. Yet, as social workers, we should recognize the fact that sentiment alone cannot maintain public opinion. It must have something more tangible to build on. There is nothing so tangible as results and, as the newer policy in social work has been followed long enough to show the first gratifying results ours is the duty to keep these results steadily before the people so that the wisdom of this policy may appeal to their common sense and develop a favorable public opinion. The policy is actually preventing, and this is clearing the way for construction. We now have facts and figures and instances to prove the efficacy of prevention, and we must make use of them in forming a public opinion which will enable us to enter more effectively upon the still newer policy of construction.

The interested part of society has been separated into different camps on the question of social work. Social work has been a medium through which the rich and strong gave of their abundance to the poor and weak. The rich who gave rarely did so as an obligation; the poor who received, I doubt very much, were genuinely appreciative of what had been given; the great middle class stood by, scarcely interested at all. At the same time the sympathy of the poor for the poor has always been shown naturally and spontaneously by the sacrifices they make for their fellows in distress; indeed, the humanity of the poor has ever been an example for the fortunate. It is the middle class that largely determines public opinion, and the benefactions of the rich and the example of the poor have steadily been contributing to its education. The church unconsciously accepted these groupings of individuals in charitable work and itself became an intermediary. As life became more complex, necessity coupled with intelligent direction brought into being many separate and distinct agencies organized to handle this or that sector of the social service field. The separate agencies furnished to the public facts about social maladjustments. However, they made little impression upon the average citizen, and cannot be said to have created a public opinion either favorable or unfavorable to social work. In truth, as they have grown in number and have maintained a senseless but probably necessary competition for the funds with which to do their work, a limited contributing public has begun to assume a questioning attitude not at all favorable to their work, while the recipients of sentimental benevolence take all they can get.

Another element that has very definitely added to the confusion has been the activities of organizations and individuals that have militantly attacked deep-rooted traditions in American life, organizations attempting to regulate human behavior to

an extent that human beings regard as unwarranted trespass upon their individual rights. Organized freedom is necessary in a democracy, but the individuals in a democracy deeply resent having all their personal goings and comings charted for them. I am not debating whether these movements severally or collectively are necessary, I am merely stating that they have not been helpful in creating a public opinion favorable to social work, for the public has quite innocently classified social work and all efforts at reform as the same, or at least as belonging to the same, family.

If a public opinion is to be created on social work, and, what is of greater importance, if a public opinion favorable to social work is to be created, social workers must make of their work a profession with definite understandable objectives. They must be co-operative in their efforts. They must be able to bring about a harmony of understanding. They must find a platform upon which all elements in the community can stand—all religious, economic, social, and civic groups. The work of prevention, recognized by all forward-looking social agencies as of greater importance than the old and merely ameliorative methods of the past, must be accompanied by a constructive social program that makes use of all the great forces that are molding our civilization; a program sufficiently unified that the public can grasp its purposes, and just far enough in advance of public thinking to be leading it; a program that makes better citizens of all, irrespective of any status whatsoever; a program founded on the conviction that all individuals in our modern community life must accept responsibility along with opportunity; a program that unifies the forces engaged in fighting disease and early death; a program that builds up keen minds and sound bodies; a program that furnishes educational opportunities for all; a program that encourages and helps the church in its efforts at replacing bad habits and vices by better human impulses and in its efforts at adjusting the individual to society; a program that will help to make the laws and customs of the country restrictive only to the extent that public welfare requires; a program that will help to lift the load of poverty from the backs of the poor and will create conditions that will offer the opportunity to each and every one to develop to his fullest stature.

There has been too little planning in social work. Objectives have been too indefinite. Too much lost motion has resulted from over-specialized, over-departmentalized social machinery; too much misinformation and confusion has resulted from many programs with little or no unification. I do not for one moment believe that a unified program in social work is a panacea. I do firmly believe that by unifying our programs we have a better chance to develop public opinion favorable to social work. The unified program, and may I go further, the joint execution of at least a part of the unified program, is a necessary step if social work is to gain and maintain the confidence of the public. Social work must have a plan, a plan that can be understood by the public. Much of the ground work has been laid through the efforts of many unrelated agencies. Still more ground work has been laid by the common belief that many human relationships are fundamentally wrong and that certain social maladjustments must be corrected without delay. The war and its consequences have impressed that fact upon the mind of practically all. Here is a public opinion.

There is as yet no general agreement as to the way these maladjustments are to be corrected. Some want to tear down the structure of civilization and build all over again. Others believe that constructive changes can be made in our human relationships without destroying what is at present sound. One group believes the church

can solve the problem, others that organized labor can find the solution, others that it should be left to industrialism, still others that legislation will be all-sufficient.

Social work knows that not one of these by itself has the solution, but that all are contributing their part and that social work is the co-ordinator of all, bringing them together on a constructive program of human progress. This is the crux of the whole matter. A unified social program drawing upon all the groups in the community for its backing and support can bring about a common agreement upon many things with a resulting public opinion which accepts social work as a necessary and vital force in modern community life.

When American cities first started to develop unified programs in social work, comparatively few citizens were interested, and only a few social agencies could be counted upon in each community to carry out co-operative principles. The public press, which must reflect public opinion as well as help to develop and educate it, gave very little assistance. Sectarian groups handled their own needy members. The general public knew little and cared less about organized social work. The community-chest method of securing unified programs has but recently celebrated its eighth birthday anniversary. Nevertheless, during the past year, \$36,000,000 was raised in community-chest cities in this country from a population of approximately 21,000,000 people, according to a survey recently made by the National Information Bureau. Far-reaching and constructive social programs have been undertaken in these cities that would have been impossible a few years ago. I have no means of knowing the extent to which these cities have developed a public opinion on social work. I do feel certain that the unified programs back of the successful financial experiences of these cities have done much to enlist the support of the vast number of contributors on the books of community chests. A prominent contributor recently criticized the community-chest movement on the ground that public opinion forced individuals to give. I do not attempt to analyze his criticism. I merely offer it as an example of the point of view of an observing citizen.

Anyone following the publicity work in cities where unified programs prevail must be impressed with the fact that social work has become first-page news in the daily press. It is my honest conviction that a few of these cities have developed a public opinion favorable to social work. This group and that group, this individual and that individual, may object to certain programs, but the community as a whole has accepted social work as a community force. It is not a sufficiently well-informed public opinion. Prejudices are still too often apparent. Programs must at times adjust themselves to community demands.

Another phase of the subject, which time alone will furnish sufficient facts to permit analysis, is the extent to which public opinion will influence our social programs. Where unified programs have been developed and the public or a large section of the public has become conscious of social work, the pressure of public opinion or at least of the opinion of an influential part of the public, is being felt. This pressure is not always for the best, and may in the future make us less certain that public opinion after all is to be desired on some of our social efforts at an early stage of their development. Of one thing I am convinced, there are phases of social work which should not be brought into too direct contact with the dominant factors in our community life, but should still be the concern of the minority, and not a part of a unified program. They cannot with safety be subjected to the dangers of hostile opinions of a part of the popu-

lation not sympathetic, but whose opinions are backed by influences that pass as public opinion.

Much of our social work has reached the stage, if programs are unified, when the community will form an opinion tremendously helpful. Public intelligence has not been far behind public opinion on many social service programs. There are other programs on which small groups and then still larger groups must be educated before we can safely trust them to the care of any but their most loyal friends. Community organizations as they develop their unified programs must recognize this fact and be willing to admit that even unified programs have their limitations, another illustration of the fact that no one piece of machinery exists all-sufficient to eliminate our social maladjustments.

I am fully aware that it is difficult to estimate the extent to which the public forms an opinion on any matter. I hesitate to make any broad statement where public opinion is involved; however, I shall venture this observation. Unified social programs have done very much indeed to create a public opinion in our American cities favorable to a constructive social program quite apart from the opinions thousands hold favorable to a new organization-method of doing an old piece of work.

THE SETTLEMENT AS AN INFLUENCE IN PUBLIC OPINION

THE SPIRIT OF THE LOCAL COMMUNITY AS IT AFFECTS PUBLIC OPINION

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There are two great problems with which the human race is confronted: the first is a supremely great adventure, the second a calling. The adventure involves the effort to understand, to conquer, and to put to use the forces of the material universe. In this field the advance guard is science and the administration is in the hands of industry. The other great problem, the one I have spoken of as the calling of the human race, is more difficult to characterize. It has to do with making clearer the purpose of living, the meaning and significance of man's life on earth, with bringing immensely varying interests and activities into right relations with each other so that the common task of humanity may be accomplished. The philosophies and the religions that the world has known have been formulations and the seers and prophets have from age to age been the voice of this human purpose.

One reason why it is so much easier to understand the first of these problems is that it is in the ascendancy at this time. The dominant achievements of our age are scientific and administrative. The spirit of our time expresses itself chiefly in science, in business, and administration. The marvelous discoveries and inventions of our time have almost an hypnotic power upon us, and we say, "If man can do this, why can't he do anything?"

The answer to the question—Why not anything?—came to me the other day in talking with a friend whose son is one of those hundreds of thousands of boys possessing a radio machine. He says the youngster spends every evening in working with his apparatus. It delights and irritates him. If he connects with Newark, twenty miles away, he is irritated. He wishes that Newark would not make itself so prominent. If

he can get in touch with Pittsburgh, that's an achievement and the night is well spent; but if he can hear Atlanta, Georgia, that's a great victory. But never by any chance whatsoever is he at all interested in anything that is ever said over the wires, and this is characteristic of the vast majority of people. The world is all connected and has little to say; it has clad itself with machinery and does not know where it is going.

Our machinery, like any machinery, will lend itself to any purpose good or bad. We are dominated by the interest in the mechanism with nothing like a clear understanding of the common purpose of life. Our second interest, the power of man to determine what kind of a life he is to live, has lagged behind. Our public opinion in the matter of international policies, industrial statesmanship, and educational purposes is poor and confused in comparison with the definiteness of scientific knowledge and the power of mechanical and industrial initiative. And so there isn't a man or woman in the world, who is thinking, who is not afraid that this machine-made world will run amuck.

I am not pleading for a return to the old forms of social and spiritual expression, but I am pleading for a new birth of interest in the power of man to determine what the nature of his life shall be, and for a fresh inventiveness in expressing in social adjustment, or social machinery if you will, not only the means but the purpose of living. Under the influence of the scientific and administrative spirit of the world, the public opinion which makes itself dominant, which gets itself expressed in law, comes from certain small groups who understand clearly what they want and who are able to get control of the machinery of government and, through publicity and central and diversified administration, broadcast certain ways of acting. And in many ways and many fields, where groups getting control of the machinery of government are experts really imbued with a genuine desire for public welfare, immense good is achieved. Wherever the activities or needs lend themselves to standardizing and are dependent primarily on scientific methods, as in the matter of health or in connection with such physical requirements as housing, immense good can be and has been achieved.

But these beneficent measures have to be carried out in the United States with 110,000,000 individuals living in a vast number of local communities. These groups of individuals sometimes help and sometimes hinder progress radiating from the centers. I believe, for instance, that the great majority of the people of the United States want prohibition. I personally believe it is an infinite good, but no one will deny that in certain communities it is meeting a very stubborn resistance, to the infinite detriment of these communities. Some of the anti-prohibitionists are genuinely convinced they are right; some of them are merely profiteers and criminals. However, the fact is that the public opinion expressed in the Volstead Act is meeting with a great resistance in some local communities.

But sometimes it happens that strong groups who are working at the center for the formulation and enforcement of what is called "public opinion" are not at all disinterested, not at all scientific, but are interested in furthering their own welfare, and then the opposition by the local communities is indispensable to good government. The difficulty in the matter of the better expressions of local community spirit is that in our form of government, coupled with the two-party system, there are few organs of expression for the better local community interests, and those that we have are quite inadequate to meet a peculiar situation or to foster local community activity. The result is that special interests, when they are strong, can get control not only of the local

life, but even of the executive centers, and work their will indefinitely. Unfortunately when public opinion as expressed in administration is bad, we are weak and spineless in resisting it. There is indeed today between the governing powers of the United States, whether they are city, state, or national, and the people a dangerous cleft which in many ways seems to me to be an abyss.

I remember when we were agitating for woman suffrage, going out and speaking on the street corners of the district where I live and of having a good many young men come up after the meeting and say, "Why do you want suffrage for women? It does us no good." There is a profound and deep cynicism in regard to democracy in many quarters. Sometimes among the intellectuals; very often among what we call the "efficiency experts"; but most of all is it dangerous among the people. I think that this cynicism could be taken too seriously and I at least should not want to be one of those who advocate giving up the popular suffrage. Nevertheless it must be admitted that elections mean little in the life of the people, and that only on rare occasions is there opportunity for an effective exercise of the power to vote.

In some ways our American democracy has succeeded; in some ways it has failed. Perhaps the outstanding instance of the latter is in the administration of cities where a great cleft exists between the administration and the people. I don't believe that the people as a whole are deeply interested in their government. There are certainly very many who during this next summer will pay far more attention to the baseball scores than to the political news, either domestic or foreign. During the war I was talking to a group of girls who were most agitated because the music had not come to play for their dance. While they were waiting I said to them, "You girls are very much excited about your music. If by your own wish you could stop the war or have the music come, which would you do?" And quite sincerely and honestly they told me they would prefer to have the music come. This was thoughtless, but so is the life of the average citizen very thoughtless.

While the centralization of authority, which is characteristic of our government, has certain good administrative features, it also has a weakness which to my mind is very dangerous. Someone has said that our government is characterized by apoplexy at the center and anaemia at the extremes. Those who do the community work are overburdened, and those for whom primarily it is done are indifferent. This leads to a dangerous type of standardizing. Social workers and public administrators have an almost exclusive interest in essential but only provisional goods of a standardized variety, with the result that the higher and more purposeful community activities are neglected.

Man has certain physical needs. In a way citizens are things, just as tables and chairs are. They must have space; they must have transportation. In a way citizens are animals. They have bodies; they need food, shelter, clothing. The animal needs must be met, but social work or governmental work, which only serves or chiefly serves the material or animal side, is falling short of the only purpose which gives human life any meaning. When social and governmental work does deal with the social and spiritual life, in education or administration, it seems to me that it applies the methods meant to serve the material and the animal needs, so that the result is a standardizing of the intellectual and the social service which to a very dangerous extent frustrates its higher purpose. In requiring certain minimum standards of education we certainly do good, but if I understand the results of the recent work in philosophy and education,

they show that while the public school systems have in some ways rendered an immense amount of service, they have also done a great deal of harm in frustrating human intelligence, and an even greater harm in frustrating citizenship. For they fix on children that individualistic morality, that individualistic democracy, which, important as it has been and is, is inadequate to meet the needs of such citizenship, in communities and nations, as alone can give us the kind of public opinion that will bring order out of the present chaos. There is a strong tendency, among those educators with whom you and I would be willing to trust children, to break up these rigid public educational systems into units which will teach not only certain standards and give certain minimum requirements, which we all admit are needed, but will give special attention to the background and the needs of the particular children whom they have in their classes. Our thinking about democracy has been mistaken in emphasizing the similarities of men and in failing to recognize their differences. It is undeniably a fine thing to recognize the equal worth in each one. But we err in refusing to take note of the actual differences in mind, in body, and in situation. The spirit of this modern education is twofold. It regards the children not only as individuals but as citizens in a community; it seeks to develop that community and group spirit which alone can make the young unwilling to become individualistic and even predatory.

The purpose of social legislation, welfare work, and government ought to be to free the political and social and spiritual powers of the people, and all the standardizing and the minimum requirements in the world will not do that. There is ground I think for the discouragement and heartbreak of the social reformer, of the better labor leader, of the community worker, but I have spent more than a quarter of a century in a tenement-house district of New York, and the one thing that I have brought out of it that is most worth while is a belief in the social and political and spiritual capacities of the people among whom I have lived. The other thing that stands out in my mind is how inept I have been, how little I know of the way to make the right kind of appeal. I have failed in much but have also seen enough of success to come out with an unshaken and, I believe, an almost unshakable faith in the political capacity and spiritual integrity of those people who today are so often inert. How are they to be stirred to effective action?

Mr. Lippman in his book on *Public Opinion* analyzes the situation very well, and offers as the main remedy an increase of knowledge. You are familiar with his account of the difference between the "Picture in our heads and the world outside." Mr. Lippman believes that knowledge, honest news, is the great remedy, and no one can say too much of this need. But it seems to me that this point of view, valuable as it is, is far from adequate. Knowledge, even when it is accurate and put in popular form, is not enough. We all know how easy it is to see and approve the good and yet do the evil. Besides knowledge there has to be interest and trained capacity. Mr. Lippman believes that the average citizen has a knowledge of local affairs, but not of international and the larger industrial questions. My contention is that if he has the knowledge of local affairs, which often is wanting, he hasn't the means of entering into and affecting them. The great political parties have seen to that, and the citizen hasn't the training and the experience to understand and rightly interpret the facts either locally or generally.

Let me offer an illustration, however, of a way in which the public spirit in local groups can be made effective. I have spoken of the movement to give votes to women,

but at first the women of the tenement-house neighborhood made but little use of the new privilege, and what they made was not of a fine kind. To begin with, the more energetic women of the neighborhood joined the various political parties and became workers for them, simply adding to the votes of the Republicans or the Democrats, and in a few scattering instances to the Socialists or the Prohibitionists. And then a local social worker saw that it was not only necessary to have the opportunity but to use it more effectively, and she induced three of the local women's clubs to form a federation, chiefly to act for the good of the neighborhood. I cannot tell you the story of this federation's work, but the result is that there are in that little neighborhood 250 women serving on 13 active committees. The possession of the vote gives these women far more power than they have had before. Individually, in an isolated way, they were indifferent; united they are a real force and an interested force. When a sewer breaks, when a public nuisance develops, their protest or request receives attention as it never did before.

I regret that social workers have not as a whole been leaders of neighborhood movements. Many of the organizations called "community centers" and "community councils" have been mere talking or objecting bodies; they have never had the power to act; they have rarely had leaders who knew how to present the real problem to the citizens. The settlements which have been neighborhood agencies for so long have, it seems to me, come nearer than any other local groups to doing effective work because they have followed the project method. They have seen that the people wanted recreation, dramatics, music, summer vacations. They have, better than any others, organized neighborliness, but too often they have stayed entirely within their own walls and have not seen themselves as one of the organizing centers of the community. They have also seen the need for bringing particular men and women, who often become local leaders in touch with larger cultural interests than ordinarily are found in tenement-house neighborhoods, but those who have been interested exclusively in boys' or girls' clubs have often failed to sense the community out of which those boys and girls came and back into which they must go. They have relied on their clubs as expressions of little bits of culture instead of understanding the network, the combination, of community activities in which their clubs were to function.

If we can combine the method of the settlement with the outlook of the community organizer, we will have the beginnings perhaps of organs through which the local community spirit can express itself, and I believe there is no need in social work so great as for a large number of men and women who will make themselves, through study and more especially through experience, genuine representatives and leaders for a true democracy. They will not find people indifferent.

I have spoken of the influence of the women in one community. I think this is beginning to be true of women in many communities. I shall be sorry if women only divide themselves into Republicans and Democrats and do not express themselves socially as mothers and as citizens. Knowledge is important, but that which simply remains as information is ineffective. When, however, the woman from the tenement house or elsewhere gets the idea that she can express her motherhood in the community with other mothers, she is bound to be a tremendous power. She is limited today by her notions of individualistic morality. I do not mean to minimize the importance of the idea of an individual doing his duty in his own place and in his own way, but I do mean to say that we are hampered and limited here in America, as elsewhere in the world,

by a lack of the knowledge of group morality. We do not understand that certain functions of the community must be performed by groups of people, that the work of the world is not to be done by individuals, but has got to be done by co-operating groups. Now the impulse of the mother not only to look after her children when they are in the home but when they are out in the neighborhood with other children is strong enough to make her a neighborhood influence. My experience is that she will respond. The local organizer has in this an immense, perhaps the very greatest, power for good in the world at his hand.

If children mean anything to me, they are the very embodiment not only of happiness but of the demand for real joy, and we have in youth and in children the love of fine and beautiful things.

I know the heartbreak of working with masses of people—with labor unions and tenement-house groups—and yet there, quite as much as anywhere else, I have found at the bottom of the soul and animating the will of many men the demand for a better social ideal. The trade unions, the political parties, the anarchy of our tenement-house communities from the standpoint of any joint action, have made it hard for this idealism in the common man to express itself. But the idealism is there, and over and over again I have seen workmen, laborers, fathers, neighbors, do as fine things, adopt as far-sighted policies as any educated men I have ever known.

There is before social workers no matter of so great importance as to utilize these finer qualities and these great powers in men in building up local organizations to express the better community spirit. Community centers, neighborhood agencies, village improvement societies, and especially settlements have done much in this direction, but great work, and perhaps the greatest work, has yet to be achieved. The genius of democracy itself will be immensely furthered by the local organizations. Everyone who believes in democracy believes that there is native genius for government and association in all men. The power to govern first expressed itself in clans and then in city states during the Middle Ages in the feudal system. The need and demand for advance broke up the feudal system and formed what we have called the "age of contract," and that, too, must go in response to the demand for a more real and better way of life.

If democracy is not a thing in which all participate, it fails of its purpose. It may seem to many that the local organizations expressing themselves in small ways can play no great part in the world. Local organizations will always have to do, on one side of their activities at least, with small matters of community housekeeping; they will have to see that sewers are mended; that garbage is properly disposed of; that the playgrounds are meeting the needs of the children; that schoolhouses really help to prepare the youngsters of the neighborhood for the life which they have to live in that neighborhood. The festivals that can be given by the residents of any small section never will compare with the great national festivals in finish and beauty; the discussions carried on by local groups and forums will rarely reach the level of national debate; only on special occasions and in particular places will the spiritual elements of life be to the fore in our smaller neighborhoods; and yet without these local efforts the great adventure of democracy will fail, for all its worth and all its genius consists in its ability to embrace all men.

Democracy is built on the uncommon good in the common man, and until our government and our voluntary associations furnish the means for the common man to express himself, to enter into the life of the whole, the best in our national government

and the best in human life can never be perceived or expressed by anyone. Today the reaction from work and from industry expresses itself for the most part in lower forms of recreation and in those violent outbreaks that we call war, but it is possible to develop a community organization which will find its meaning in fostering the finer local activities so that debilitating sport and war will not be called upon to re-establish some kind of balance between life as a calling and life as an adventure.

THE SOCIAL SETTLEMENTS' INFLUENCE UPON PUBLIC POLICIES

Graham Taylor, Warden, Chicago Commons, Chicago

The social settlement movement is the movement of spirit. Spirit describes and expresses life reacting upon its environment. And life, individual or collective, in its being or doing, in its artistic, literary, industrial, political, or religious expression, makes no greater contribution to the world than its spirit. Thus time evaluates the spirit of a person, the house spirit of a family or household, the *esprit de corps* of an army, and the morale of a people.

The settlement spirit is not something apart from its times and tendencies, but shares them and gives them its own expression of what conditions actually are and whither tendencies tend. Because settlements have been so much more the expression of a social spirit than an organization or institution they have neither attracted nor claimed credit for influence upon public opinion and policies. Far would we be from presuming to claim parity of importance between our few, widely scattered little settlement centers and the big sweep of the social democratic tide through all the channels of life and labor upon which they have been borne up and down. And yet the influence of these settlement groups upon democratic opinion is far out of proportion to their number, resources, and personnel. By life and act they have exemplified, expressed, and objectified the motive and hope of democracy in a way that appeals not only to the sympathies, imagination, and idealism of their own local communities, but in a way to influence public opinion and action further afield. Indeed it is embarrassing to acknowledge, much more to live up to, the credit now beginning to be thrust upon them for accurate information and diversified knowledge.

Whatever influence they have had, however, has been sought, gained, and wielded far more by standing in between classes, parties, races, and sects, than by identifying themselves with any one of them. Settlements, therefore, have been justly regarded as standing for the whole community, for taking account of the whole situation, and for promoting formative policies and legislation rather than merely remedial or reformatory measures. For insisting upon going to the roots of serious situations and confused public problems, settlements have been denounced unjustly as merely "radical."

From this uniquely advantageous point of view and base of operations, the settlement spirit has contributed an appreciable influence upon public sentiment and action. It has done so most of all by exemplifying and emphasizing the policy of observing at first hand actual conditions and relationships that constitute the problems of life with which public policies have to deal. The settlement group's contact with conditions and situations is not casual, touch-and-go, or temporary, but consecutive, residential, progressive. It is attained and maintained by fellowshiping families as neighbors

and individuals as personal friends. Those otherwise classified or massed together for various purposes are thus individualized. Persons not "cases" are dealt with. Case work, though less technical in its procedure, may be all the more effective in its results for being done with people as neighbors. If from the relief-work point of view, settlement workers act as "friendly visitors" in co-operating with charitable or correctional agencies, their permanent residence in the community visited may enhance the value of their findings above the judgment of itinerant, occasional, volunteer, or professional visitors. Perhaps it is for this reason that the settlement group was the first one outside the circle of charity and correction officials to be admitted to membership and to be given a section of their own by this National Conference twenty-six years ago. However that may be, the example and success of the settlements in making common cause with people less understood by others have perceptibly influenced the administrative relief policies, methods, and manners of many agencies in dealing with the dependent and afflicted.

It was Arnold Toynbee, the forerunner of the British settlement movement, who first credited the trade unions with suggesting to economists the necessity and advantage of observing actual living conditions in order to gain a tenable ground for their wage theories. So the settlements continue to seek and share first-hand information of the actual conditions and relationships by which they are surrounded or with which they come in wider contact.

The public policies which the settlements have more or less influenced may be grouped about the family, economic justice, and inter-racial relations, and the policy of religious bodies toward their local or civic communities.

First, the influence of settlements upon policies relating to the family is based upon their recognition of the family as the social unit. The settlement household itself is of the family type and is always located in a family neighborhood. No individual is a monad to the settlement worker. Every individual is regarded as naturally associated with a household and a neighborhood, as parent or child, as brother or sister, as school-mate or shopmate. Kinship and neighborly groups are fellowshipped as such. Therefore the settlements have sought and obtained the recognition of family rights in public policies. The cost of living for a family consisting of husband and wife with three children under the working age has been regarded as the normal basis for the rate of wages. Casual labor, forcing its victims into a roving life, necessarily depriving them of home and citizenship, has been deprecated as disastrous alike to the worker and to the nation. The rights of woman, as wife, mother, or employee, have been asserted and safeguarded. Laws for compulsory school attendance and against child labor have been supported to defend the children's right to grow, learn, and play. So also the Juvenile Court law and the provision of funds for parents have been initiated by settlements, as in Illinois, because they have been regarded as supplementing family discipline and the family income when inadequate to hold the family circle together. The settlement's plea for a house fit for a healthful home has often been the only check upon the greed of builder or landlord, which is destructive of home life and public health alike. Thus, and in many other ways, settlements have reasserted the divine sanction upon the family as the ark of the covenant of the Lord of the whole earth.

Second, for economic justice the settlements have unswervingly and aggressively stood, advocating and defending public policies which are just to the common welfare as well as to personal and family rights. A just standard of living is urged by the set-

tlements as justified by what the family budget shows the cost of living to be. A minimum wage has been urged as the surest defense against the injustice and injuriousness of sweated industries. The protection of maternity from the overwork and underpay of women, and from the excessive and preventable death rate in childbirth tolerated in the United States, has been demanded as the birthright of the child, as the mother-right of womanhood, and as the nation's right to perpetuate its population and to progress. The child's right to grow, learn, play, and thus fit itself for domestic, industrial, social, and civic life has rallied settlements to the aggressive support of legislation against child labor and for compulsory school attendance, as well as for public and voluntary support of infant-welfare work, nutrition clinics, directed playgrounds, and indoor-recreation centers. The Federal Children's Bureau is perhaps the most outstanding evidence of settlement influence upon national policies, since it contributed not only initiative toward the establishment of the bureau, but also the services of two residents of Hull House to head it up and staff assistants from several other settlements.

In pleading for shorter hours in the working day and for week-end leisure, the balance between work and play, so essential to every normal life, has steadily been claimed for the workers by their settlement neighbors. Labor's right to organize for protecting and advancing the standard of living, for safeguarding life and limb, and for sharing control over working conditions has been recognized as much as an economic necessity as for capital to combine. In the investigation of economic conditions and in the conciliation and arbitration of industrial differences many settlement residents have taken active part. Members of their staffs have been drafted by the Federal Coal Commission to report to it their findings as to the home conditions of the miners' families in the mining fields of several states.

Third, inter-racial relations have been studied, reported, and improved through the neighborly knowledge that the settlement household has acquired concerning the cosmopolitan populations in the midst of which most of them are located. Thus mutual understanding has been demonstrated to be the only foundation of justice. Sympathetic interpretation has been proved to be the only basis of public policies for the protection and assimilation of the foreign-born. The Immigrants' Protective League of Chicago, mainly due to the initiative, support, and leadership of its settlement constituency, may possibly be taken over by the Department of Public Welfare of the City of Chicago, of which Mary E. McDowell, head resident of the University of Chicago Settlement, has recently been appointed commissioner by the new mayor of Chicago, William E. Dever, who began his political career by speaking from the platform of Chicago Commons in his candidacy for the city council twenty-three years ago.

During the war many settlements rendered effective service in administering the selective service law in the neighborly spirit. Then, as before and since, the settlement found good cause to cherish both ends of the "hyphen," because the love of old fatherlands was found to deepen and intensify the loyal allegiance of the foreign-born to their adopted country.

Inter-racial relations of a just and peaceful kind are also found to point the way logically and necessarily to our country's international relations as a loyal member of the family of nations. The American patriotism of foreign-born, liberty-loving neighbors has banished the craven fear of foreign aggression as a bar to national friendship with their kindred in the old-world fatherlands. The personal and public dealings with the peoples of foreign lands are realized as so natural, necessary, and inevitable as to

demonstrate the preposterous folly of national isolation and to demand America's membership in the Court of International Justice and in the League of Nations.

Fourth, the influence of social settlements upon the policy of religious bodies toward their local and civic communities is registered not only in the adoption of settlement methods by the churches, but far more by three great advances toward identifying church life and work with the social and industrial democracy of the age. Thus "soul" has come to mean the whole human self, nothing that one has, but all that one is, or is coming to be, in body, mind, and spirit. The parish has become so identified with the community that in many localities the church has ceased trying to build itself up out of the community and is devoting its energies to building up the community out of itself. The catholicity affirmed by the Apostles' Creed is coming to imply as its equivalent the interdenominational, inter-racial and inter-national faith and practice of every religious body. The confession, "I believe in the holy catholic church, the communion of saints" is coming to be regarded as not only meaningless, but as a hollow mockery when and where sectarian prejudice and intolerance, racial antipathies and fratricidal antagonism, and world warfare between so-called "Christian" nations are tolerated, extenuated, or made possible. Whether the world is to be made safe for democracy depends upon whether the religion of the world becomes democratic.

In these and many other ways, of which almost every settlement can give further tokens, the spirit of the settlement movement in the democratic life of today may humbly claim to have exerted appreciable influence upon public opinion and public policy.

PRACTICAL OBJECTIVES IN HEALTH WORK DURING THE NEXT TWENTY YEARS^{*}

Hermann M. Biggs, M.D., Commissioner of Health of New York State

The topic which I shall discuss today was selected for me. I should hardly have had the temerity to choose it myself—perhaps partly because one grows more cautious as one grows older, and partly because in looking back over an experience of thirty years in public health work I realize fully that at no time during those years could one have looked forward even ten years and forecast approximately what the principal health objectives should be, and still less could he have estimated approximately what the accomplishments would be.

I shall approach the discussion from a reverse standpoint and try to forecast the direction of activities and some of the possible accomplishments of the coming years as based on our present knowledge of disease and the records of the past twenty years. In this discussion I shall speak largely from the point of view of the public health officer, and in order to be more definite shall confine the consideration chiefly to New York City and New York State concerning the health conditions of which I have long been familiar.

We must fully realize at the outset that there is little reason to anticipate in the future such brilliant results as have been achieved in the past, unless we are first to assume that Dr. Stephen Smith was correct in placing the normal duration of human life at one hundred years instead of the biblical span of seventy. We are speaking now, of course, of those countries and nations and communities which have already availed themselves in considerable degree of the reasonable possibilities in the reduction of sickness and death, which the discoveries in medical science during the past forty years have placed at our disposal.

In many communities and in some countries the limitations in the reduction of death rates which natural law and human physical frailties impose have already become narrow. When I became connected with the New York City Health Department the annual crude death rate was 25 per thousand or more; during the last four years it has averaged less than one-half this rate. Within twenty years nearly eleven years have been added to the average expectation of life at birth of males in New York City. This is now nearly fifty-two years; i.e., each group of 1,000 male babies born in New York City in 1920 will live 51.520 instead of 40.650 as was the case twenty years ago. The next twenty years can of course bring forth no such increase in longevity as this.

During the last quarter of a century all the great epidemic diseases except influenza have been brought largely or completely under control. The acute respiratory diseases alone of the infectious diseases endemic in temperate climates and causing high death

^{*}This address, delivered at the Fiftieth Anniversary Meeting of the National Conference of Social Work, was the last public address which Dr. Biggs made prior to the illness which ended in his death. Owing to his illness, the editor of the *Proceedings* was not able to secure a copy of this manuscript until the *Proceedings* were about to go to press, but because of the very special significance of Dr. Biggs' last public appearance, the address has been included even though necessarily out of its regular place in the volume.

rates remain without adequate means for their prevention. While the prevalence of the infective and some other preventable diseases has been rapidly reduced during this period, largely because of the application to disease prevention of the scientific discoveries of the time, yet on the other hand cancer and the degenerative diseases of the middle and later periods of life have slowly but steadily increased their toll of deaths.

In 1897 the writer delivered an address on preventive medicine before the annual meeting of the British Medical Association, and chose as the topic for the address, "Preventive Medicine in New York City." The New York City Department of Health had then been doing rather effective work for some years and was organizing its activities on the basis of the best scientific knowledge then available. The diagnostic and research laboratories—the first public health laboratories in the world—were well established and in effective operation. The death rates had fallen from 25 and more per thousand of population to about 21. With much hesitation I ventured then the prediction that within a few years the death rate of the city could be reduced to less than 18 per thousand of the population and could be maintained below that level. I pointed out then the reductions in the death rates from tuberculosis, diphtheria, diarrhoeal diseases of infants, typhoid fever, etc., which seemed possible, and which would accomplish this result. At that time my prediction was received with much incredulity by many public health authorities. If anyone had promised a reduction in the death rate of New York City in a little more than twenty years from above 21 to less than 12, as has occurred, he would have been regarded as of unsound mind. The rate of 18 per thousand was attained in 1907, much earlier than I had anticipated and it has never equaled this since. Even in 1918 the great influenza epidemic, terribly fatal as it was, only brought the death rate up to 17.9.

Let us consider briefly how these surprising results were achieved, and then see what we may reasonably hope to accomplish in the reduction of specific rates in the future.

Let us consider the present condition of the public health in New York State as indicated by a comparison of the death rate at each age group with the corresponding English rates. If we apply the English rates of each age group for 1920 to the similar age groups in New York State and New York City, we find that approximately 17,000 more deaths occurred in 1920 in New York State than would have occurred if the English rates had prevailed. Or, still further, if comparison is made with the lowest selected rates of each age group in England, Australia, and the Scandavian countries in the years 1901-1910, we are somewhat astonished to find that more than 43,000 excess deaths occurred in New York State in this single year 1920. And yet 1920 had the lowest crude death rate in the history of New York State up to that time. This gives us an indication of the possibilities still remaining in the saving of life and the prevention of illness as judged by a comparison with the most favorable records. There is no reason to believe that the duration of life of those who reach the later periods of life has increased in the last one hundred years. On the contrary it is reasonably certain that the expectation of life at sixty-five is less now than it was one hundred years ago. At the present time, however, a very much larger proportion of all individuals reach these latter age periods than was previously the case. In the future if we are to gain any correct information as to how different countries or cities compare with each other in relative healthfulness as indicated by their comparative death rates, we must learn to ask not for the crude death rate of the entire population or for the

ratio of deaths to the 1,000 or 10,000 of population, but we must compare the specific death rates for males and females in corresponding age groups. Thus we compare the number of deaths occurring in persons whose ages are between twenty and thirty with the total number of persons living in the community at these ages. It will be readily understood that such rates for different communities are really comparable, and the results are often very different from those obtained by comparing the crude rates of those communities. For example, the crude death rate of New York City during the 11 years 1910-1920 was 14.82, and the similar rate for the rest of the state for the same years was 1.21 points higher, or 16.03; but if these rates are corrected for the age distribution of the populations in New York City and the rest of New York State, the relation between the rates is exactly reversed, for the corrected rate in New York City then becomes 16.21; for the remainder of the state 14.34. This same reversal is true of the rates for any single year.

It is, I believe, now the opinion of most competent public health authorities that an annual or biannual general physical examination of every member of the community made by experienced and qualified physicians, with subsequent instructions as to a proper mode of life and the correction of physical defects and the treatment of diseased conditions or abnormalities found, will contribute more to the future reduction of our morbidity and our mortality rates and to the prolongation of life than any other single medical or public health procedure or activity.

While such examinations are now being made for a small percentage of the population by a few physicians, the number is relatively so small and the work is of such recent adoption as to have had up to the present time, I believe, no appreciable effect on the death returns. I have been advocating this procedure, and have myself been practicing it for nearly a dozen years.

The general adoption in a systematic and efficient manner means such a radical change in the training and the viewpoint of the great majority of the medical profession and of the laity that I doubt whether it will become a widespread or general custom for some years to come, in fact probably not until the present older generation of physicians and laymen has been largely replaced by younger ones who have been trained in a different school, in which the maintenance of health and the prevention of disease receive the chief emphasis, rather than the curative treatment of disease.

The general adoption of this procedure among the poor will require a radical modification and a great extension of those facilities for examination and treatment which are now furnished free by the public health and other public authorities.

The provision of proper instruction in physiology and hygiene, and the inculcation of health habits and physical training for the pupils in elementary and secondary schools and for students in the universities, and the thorough training of pupils in the Normal schools (those who expect to be teachers) in these subjects and in the fundamental biological sciences so that they will be qualified to teach, constitute, in my judgment, the second important health objective in the coming years.

It is difficult to over-estimate the importance of the acquirement in childhood and early life of health habits, and of an interest in and a knowledge of the influence of foods, diet, baths, rest, and exercise, sleep, the care of the teeth, the methods of prevention of the infectious diseases, and the general care of the body in health and disease.

The alteration of the habits of life after maturity is always a difficult process and usually only comes about because of apprehension caused by the presence of illness or the beginning loss of physical or mental power and endurance.

The people of the United States are becoming more and more alive to the joys and the benefits which accrue from the pursuit of out-door sports and an out-of-door life. The sporting pages of the daily papers furnish abundant testimony to this fact. Unfortunately, like all good things, excessive indulgence in sports may be harmful, and their pursuit also needs intelligent direction.

This change in the habits of life, which is becoming nation-wide, is undoubtedly adding to our national physical efficiency at a rapid and increasing rate.

Closely allied to the health teaching in childhood is the educational work of the public health authorities along general and specific lines. This has been developed to a remarkable degree with reference to tuberculosis, and more recently has been rapidly extending in relation to the hygiene of maternity and infancy. As a concomitant of the war, the prevention of venereal diseases became a prime necessity, and great progress has been made since 1917 in popularizing knowledge of sex hygiene and the prevention of these diseases.

The popular interest in the educational work of the public health authorities is genuine and widespread. The people are eager for it, and everywhere readily avail themselves of opportunities offered. The daily press carries constantly instructions as to the prevention of one disease, or the treatment of another, or some health story or column. But while people are thus eager to learn about disease and its causation and to hear and read of new discoveries in medicine and of the effect of their application in the prolongation of life, probably very few of these people actually early apply this information in the conduct of their own lives. It is only constant repetition of the lessons in varying form that finally produces, almost imperceptibly, a definite change in the habits of life and in the attitude toward disease. Then further, the task of reaching and influencing by educational propaganda the 110,000,000 people who inhabit the United States, or the nearly 11,000,000 people in New York State, is simply stupendous, and the progress made must seem slow. Experience, however, has demonstrated beyond any peradventure that successful results may be confidently anticipated, both by the methods which have been used in the past and by the greatly improved methods which are now being employed.

There are also a number of objectives which primarily concern only the public health officials. Those which I have just referred to are chiefly without their jurisdiction. Among these objectives are such problems as the further reduction of the morbidity and mortality rates in the important preventable diseases which have received such successful attention for many years. These are such diseases as tuberculosis, malaria, typhoid fever, diphtheria, scarlet fever, diarrheal diseases under five, puerperal diseases, etc. Measles, whooping cough, bronchitis and pneumonia, and the nervous diseases have also shown large decreases in their death rates, although the direct relation of public health activities to these diseases is not so evident. If we compare the general death rate in Greater New York City for 1896 when it was 21.6 per thousand with that for 1920 when it was 12.9 we realize how great has been the gain—53,260 less deaths occurred from the causes above indicated than would have occurred in New York City if the rates of 1896 had prevailed in 1920 and 50,226 less

deaths from all causes actually occurred in 1920 than would have occurred if the general death rate for 1896 had prevailed.

Diseases of the heart, and cancer, with those from automobile accidents are the only important causes of the deaths to show increases during this period. It is chiefly in the later age period, of course, that cancer and diseases of the heart and blood vessels take their toll.

The death rate in 1920 in Greater New York City, that is, the Boroughs Manhattan and the Bronx, from all the more important communicable diseases, including pulmonary tuberculosis, these diseases being typhoid fever, measles, scarlet fever, diphtheria, whooping cough, cerebro-spinal meningitis, and smallpox—the death rate from all these in 1920 was less than the death rate from diphtheria alone in 1894, the year before the introduction of diphtheria antitoxin, and was only one-half the death rate from tuberculosis alone, or one-third of the rate for these same diseases in that year.

The expectation of life at birth in New York State for both male and female in 1920 was still eight years less than it was in Kansas, although within twenty years (between 1900 and 1920) nearly eleven years have been added to the expectation of life at birth in New York City in males, and eight years in females. The difference between male and female, in favor of the latter, has been reduced during this period from over four years to a little less than one year. As we have indicated already the comparison with selected death rates in selected years in England, Australia, and the Scandinavian countries, gives us an indication of the possible theoretical gain which may yet be made in this country. This indicates a possible further reduction in the death rate of nearly 30 per cent, and a possible saving of more than 43,000 lives a year. for example, in New York State.

Although, therefore, we may congratulate ourselves on what has been accomplished, we must realize that very large unattained possibilities still remain. Comparative studies of death rates from various causes in specific age groups will indicate the lines along which our further health activities should be directed. There is urgent need in our public health organization of more and better trained vital statisticians than we now have to interpret the statistics and to direct the lines of public health work.

One serious handicap to the accomplishment of these ends in the future, to my judgment, will be the lack of a sufficient number of well-trained and qualified physicians and public health workers, and their proper distribution. Under present conditions in many districts in the United States the number is now totally inadequate, and the ratio of physicians to population is slowly decreasing. The number of physicians who die or retire each year is greater than those who are annually licensed to practice medicine, and this difference will gradually increase, while at the same time the population of the United States is increasing at the rate of about 1,500,500 annually. The increase of population alone requires at least 1,200 more physicians annually to properly provide for its medical care. The deficit in physicians annually, I estimate, is now at least 2,000 or 2,500. We must remember in this connection that one physician twenty years ago could care, after the methods of practice of that time, for at least twice as many sick and well persons as can the physician of today, if he gives these persons the adequate attention which present scientific knowledge and modern methods render desirable and possible.

Furthermore, there is no immediate prospect of there being any increase in the number of physicians licensed each year, because the capacity of the medical schools of the country has been practically reached. The tendency each year in the best schools is to decrease the number of students admitted, because the facilities for teaching students are inadequate to care for large numbers. The cost of installing and operating a high-class medical school is now so great that there is little prospect of new schools being added unless occasionally one may be opened in connection with a state university which does not now have a medical department. In this case the maintenance will come from legislative grants.

It is true that in many large centers of population there is apparently a surplus of physicians, but this is not because there is not sufficient work for them to do, but because the work which should be done remains undone, either because the physicians are unqualified or unwilling to do it, or because no compensation for it is available, or because the need for it is not sufficiently appreciated by the people.

If we consider for a moment the vast unutilized opportunities for more and urgently needed service in connection with our large public dispensaries, or the conditions existing in many of the public institutions, such as the State Hospital, and the enormous unoccupied fields in industrial hygiene, one begins to realize how great is the present need. Dr. Rankin, Health Commissioner of North Carolina, has recently stated this in a forcible way. He says: "The health officer sees a field of unsupplied medical needs which is from three to five times as large as that which is supplied. He sees 2,750,000 women confined annually in the United States, and 750,000, or 30 per cent, without medical attendance. He sees them inadequately attended during their puerperium, receiving on an average three or four visits, whereas they should have ten or twelve, and as a result he sees unnumbered abortions, miscarriages, premature labors and other complications of pregnancy, and accidents of delivery with injuries and infections, with retarded and abnormal lying-in-periods. In short, he sees countless women impaired for the functioning of motherhood, and for the efficient discharge of those domestic duties on which is dependent, to a large extent, the health of the infant and that of the family. From damaged motherhood how short the step to impaired infancy. The health officer sees, as a result of the neglect of motherhood, a large percentage of the 1,500,000 cases of diarrhea and enteritis which annually affect our 5,000,000 infant population: he sees early childhood with 700,000 cases annually of the common communicable disease: he sees, closely related to impaired motherhood and abnormal and diseased infancy, the great problem of malnutrition, involving, according to the lowest estimate 2,000,000, or, according to the highest estimate, 4,000,000 public school children in this country. He sees the common defects of childhood, for which, according to Emerson, malnutrition is 80 per cent responsible. The common defects involve 1,000,000 public school children who suffer from diseased tonsils and adenoids, 4,000,000 who have visual defects, and 15,000,000 who need dental treatment, all of them retarded and retarding the school machinery of this country.

"The health officer observes 2,000,000 fresh cases of venereal disease occurring annually in adolescence, added to the tremendous carry-over of old cases and complications from previous years. He finds that these diseases and their complications are not receiving one-fifth the treatment they should have. Finally, he understands that

when medicine has gained control, to a reasonably adequate degree, over the pathologic phases of life, then it will be time for the profession to begin to consider the yet larger opportunity for service—the opportunity that relates itself, not to the small percentage of the population that is obviously diseased, but to the larger percentage that is apparently well. To make the unfit fit is a worthy task, but to make the fit fitter is a larger and a higher achievement."

Some of the most important health objectives of the next twenty years then may be briefly summarized as follows:

1. Establishing the custom of obtaining periodic physical examinations of every individual made by competent physicians.
2. Provision of systematic instruction in elementary physiology and hygiene and in health habits in the primary and secondary schools, and more extensive instruction in the normal schools and universities.
3. Further reduction in the death rate from the common infective diseases, such as tuberculosis, diphtheria, typhoid fever, scarlet fever, diarrheal diseases of infancy, etc.
4. Postponement of the age at which death occurs from the cardiovascular diseases and the other diseases of later life through physical examination and instructions as to methods for retarding or arresting their progress.
5. Continued efforts, through research, to solve the problems connected with the causation and prevention of the acute respiratory diseases and cancer.
6. Continued efforts to prevent and cure certain diseases of nutrition and metabolism, such as diabetes, scurvy, rachitis and gout.
7. The prevention by education and law enforcement of new infections in the venereal diseases, and provision for more adequate treatment of syphilis.
8. The extension of the educational work of the public health authorities as a most effective means to promote the preservation of health and the prevention of disease.
9. Better and more extensive organization of the prenatal, maternity and infant work, and the preschool child.
10. The extension of the work in mental hygiene and oral hygiene, including ample facilities for treatment.
11. The efficient development and extension of medical school inspection, and its follow-up with the provision of adequate facilities for the treatment of the diseases and defects found in school children.

We must look to a decrease in the specific death rates in the future and not expect continuous and material reductions in the crude death rates. On the contrary, if the population begins to reach a stable equilibrium, and birth rates continue to fall and approach the death rates, the crude death rates will tend to increase as has been the case in France.

C. BUSINESS TRANSACTIONS

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Treasurer—C. M. Bookman, 25 East Ninth Street, Cincinnati.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Ex-officio—Grace Abbott, Washington; Lee K. Frankel, New York; C. M. Bookman, Cincinnati. Term expiring 1924—Grace Abbott, Washington; Allen T. Burns, New York; C. C. Carstens, New York; Karl de Schweinitz, Philadelphia; Robert A. Woods, Boston. Term expiring 1925—C. M. Bookman, Cincinnati; Frank J. Bruno, Minneapolis; J. Prentice Murphy, Philadelphia; John A. Ryan, Washington; Jessie Taft, Philadelphia. Term expiring 1926—M. Edith Campbell, Cincinnati; Martha P. Falconer, New York; John L. Gillin, Madison; M. C. MacLean, Toronto; Amelia Sears, Chicago. Chairmen of Divisions, ex-officio—Sanford Bates, Boston; George A. Bellamy, Cleveland; Fred C. Croxton, Columbus; Karl de Schweinitz, Philadelphia; Dr. Haven Emerson, New York; Robert W. Kelso, Boston; George W. Kirchwey, New York; Mary Van Kleeck, New York; Dr. Frankwood E. Williams, New York; Helen T. Woolley, Detroit.

COMMITTEE ON PROGRAM

Grace Abbott, Washington, Chairman; Homer Folks, New York; William Hammond Parker, Cincinnati; John A. Ryan, Washington; Amelia Sears, Chicago.

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

W. S. Reynolds, Chicago, Chairman; Charles C. Cooper, Pittsburgh; Mrs. Martha P. Falconer, New York.

COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS

Eva W. White, Boston, Chairman; Burr Blackburn, Atlanta; Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, Chicago; Amos W. Butler, Indianapolis; Rev. C. H. LeBlond, Cleveland; Barry C. Smith, New York; Elwood Street, St. Louis; Frances Taussig, New York; Miriam Van Waters, Los Angeles.

COMMITTEE ON TIME AND PLACE

M. Edith Campbell, Cincinnati, Chairman; Judge C. R. Bradford, Salt Lake City; Allen T. Burns, New York; Mrs. L. B. Bush, Montgomery; Caroline M. Crosby, St. Paul; Fred C. Croxton, Columbus; Louise Drury, Milwaukee; Bernard Fagan, New York; Evelyn Gardiner, Seattle; Mrs. John M. Glenn, New York; Katherine P. Hewins, Boston; Fred R. Johnson, Detroit; Eugene Kinckle Jones, New York; O. H. Klingeman, Iowa City; I. Irving Lipsitch, San Francisco; D. S. McLaughlin, Los Angeles; Howard W. Odum, Chapel Hill; Ellen C. Potter, Harrisburg; Mrs. Sidney Small, Toronto; Carrie Weaver Smith, Gainesville; Gertrude Vaile, Denver; Mrs. Hattie Plum Williams, Lincoln; Mrs. Ira Couch Wood, Chicago.

COMMITTEE ON KINDRED GROUPS

C. C. Carstens, New York, Chairman; Donald B. Armstrong, New York; Allen T. Burns, New York; Amos W. Butler, Indianapolis; Ida M. Cannon, Boston; Martha P. Falconer, New York; David B. Harkness, Winnipeg; H. H. Hart, New York; Joel D. Hunter, Chicago; Virgil V. Johnson, New York; Robert W. Kelso, Boston; Burdette B. Lewis, Trenton; Aaron M. Lopez, Erie; Kelley Miller, New York; Maud Rockwell, New York; Herbert C. Parsons, Boston; Ada E. Sheffield, Boston; Frederic Siedenburg, Chicago; Elwood Street, St. Louis; Frances Taussig, New York.

COMMITTEE TO CONSIDER REVISION OF CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS

Robert W. Kelso, Boston, Chairman; Karl de Schweinitz, Philadelphia; H. H. Hart, New York; J. Hoge Ricks, Richmond; Gertrude Vaile, Denver.

COMMITTEE TO STUDY THE VALUE AND ADAPTABILITY OF RECORDS OF SOCIAL SERVICE ORGANIZATIONS AND PUBLIC-WELFARE DEPARTMENTS FOR SCIENTIFIC AND TEACHING PURPOSES

James E. Hagerty, Columbus, Chairman; Edith Abbott, Chicago; Frank J. Bruno, Minneapolis; Lucile Eaves, Boston; Thomas D. Elliot, Evanston; Kate Holliday Claghorn, New York; Joel D. Hunter, Chicago; E. C. Lindeman, New York; Joseph P. Murphy, Buffalo; T. J. Riley, Brooklyn; Arthur J. Todd, Chicago.

COMMITTEE TO CONSIDER THE QUESTION OF DIVISIONAL RE-ORGANIZATION

Karl de Schweinitz, Philadelphia, Chairman; Mary Irene Atkinson, Columbus; William Hodson, Minneapolis; Rev. Wm. J. Kerby, Washington; Wm. J. Norton, Detroit; Wm. Hammond Parker, Cincinnati; Ada E. Sheffield, Boston; Amy Steinhart, Sacramento.

COMMITTEE ON AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

Paul U. Kellogg, New York, Chairman; Brother Barnabas, Toronto; Ernest P. Bicknell, Washington; C. C. Carstens, New York; Julia C. Lathrop, Rockford; J. Prentice Murphy, Philadelphia; Lillian D. Wald, New York; Helen T. Woolley, Detroit.

DIVISIONAL ORGANIZATION

DIVISION I—CHILDREN

Chairman, Mrs. Helen T. Woolley, Detroit.
Vice-Chairman, Marcus C. Fagg, Jacksonville.
Secretary, Emma O. Lundberg, Washington.

Grace Abbott (1925)..... Washington
Ruth Berolzheimer (1925)..... Chicago
Lee Bidgood (1923-24)..... University, Ala.
William Hodson (1923-24)..... St. Paul
Lucia B. Johnson (1924)..... Columbus
Cheney C. Jones (1925)..... Minneapolis
Robert F. Keegan (1923-24)..... New York
Theodore A. Lothrop (1924)..... Boston
Emma O. Lundberg (1923-24)..... Washington
C. C. Menzler (1924)..... Nashville

Lilburn Merrill (1923-24)..... Seattle
J. Prentice Murphy (1925)..... Philadelphia
J. Hoge Ricks (1924)..... Richmond
Carrie Weaver Smith (1925)..... Gainesville
Amy D. Steinhart (1924)..... Sacramento
Sophie Van S. Theis (1925)..... New York
Henry W. Thurston (1924)..... New York
Charles Virden (1923-24)..... Springfield, Ill.
Mrs. Frank D. Watson (1925)..... Haverford, Pa.
Lucius A. Whipple (1924)..... Providence

DIVISION II—DELINQUENTS AND CORRECTION

Chairman, George W. Kirchwey, New York.
Secretary, Lucia B. Johnson, Columbus, Ohio.

H. H. Antels (1924)..... Lincoln, Neb.
Sanford Bates (1925)..... Boston
Jessie F. Binford (1924)..... Chicago
Edith N. Burleigh (1924)..... Boston
Frank L. Christian (1923-24)..... Elmira, N.Y.
Mrs. Martha P. Falconer (1923)..... New York
Annie Hinrichsen (1923-24)..... Springfield, Ill.
George W. Kirchwey (1924)..... New York
Blanche Martin (1924)..... Alexander, Ark.
Maude E. Miner (1923-24)..... New York
Edwin E. Mulock (1923-24)..... Detroit
Joseph P. Murphy (1923-24)..... Buffalo

Samuel D. Murphy (1925)..... Birmingham
Virginia M. Murray (1924)..... Detroit
Valeria H. Parker, M.D. (1924)..... New York
Herbert C. Parsons (1923-24)..... Boston
Anna M. Petersen (1925)..... Niantic, Conn.
Louis N. Robinson (1925)..... Swarthmore, Pa.
Carrie Weaver Smith (1925)..... Gainesville
Leon Stern (1925)..... Philadelphia
Arthur W. Towne (1925)..... New York
Miriam Van Waters (1924)..... Los Angeles
Franklin Wilson (1925)..... Muncie, Pa.

DIVISION III—HEALTH

Chairman, Haven Emerson, M.D., New York.
Vice-Chairman, Anna E. Rude, M.D., Washington.
Secretary, Jessamine S. Whitney, New York.

Minnie H. Ahrens (1924)..... Chicago
Donald B. Armstrong, M.D. (1925)..... New York
Richard A. Bolt, M.D. (1923-24)..... Washington
David Edsall, M.D. (1925)..... Cambridge
Livingston Farrand, M.D. (1925)..... Washington
Enid Forsythe (1924)..... Toronto
Elizabeth Fox (1924)..... Washington
Allen Freeman, M.D. (1923-24)..... Columbus
Edna G. Henry (1924)..... Indianapolis
Harriet L. Leete (1924)..... Washington

George J. Nelbach (1924)..... New York
Florence Patterson (1924)..... New York
C. C. Pierce, M.D. (1925)..... Chicago
Philip S. Platt (1924)..... New Haven
Alvin Powell, M.D. (1925)..... Oakland
Anna Rude, M.D. (1924)..... Washington
John Tombs (1923-24)..... La Vina, Cal.
C. E. A. Winslow, M.D. (1925)..... New Haven
Rachelle Yarros, M.D. (1923-24)..... Chicago

DIVISION IV—THE FAMILY

Chairman, Karl de Schweinitz, Philadelphia.
Secretary, Francis H. McLean, New York.

Mary F. Bogue (1925)..... Harrisburg
Sara Brown (1925)..... Lansing
Frank J. Bruno (1924)..... Minneapolis
Joanna C. Colcord (1924)..... New York
Elizabeth Dutcher (1926)..... Brooklyn
Anna B. Fox (1924)..... Buffalo
Raymond F. Gates (1926)..... Willimantic
Elizabeth L. Holbrook (1924)..... Cambridge
C. M. Hubbard (1924)..... St. Louis

Joel D. Hunter (1925)..... Chicago
Florence W. Hutsinpillar (1926)..... Denver
Porter R. Lee (1926)..... New York
Benjamin P. Merrick (1925)..... Grand Rapids
Stockton Raymond (1926)..... Boston
Amelia Sears (1926)..... Chicago
Mrs. F. H. Stoltz (1925)..... Minneapolis
Frances Taussig (1924)..... New York
Gertrude Vaile (1925)..... Denver

DIVISION V—INDUSTRIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

Chairman, Mary Van Kleeck, New York.*Secretary*, Alexander Fleisher, New York.

Edith Abbott (1924).....Chicago
 Frederic Almy (1923-24).....Buffalo
 John B. Andrews (1925).....New York
 Madeline H. Appel (1925).....Boston
 Roger N. Baldwin (1924).....New York
 Allen T. Burns (1925).....New York
 J. E. Hagerty (1925).....Columbus
 Mrs. R. F. Halleck (1923-24).....Louisville
 Mrs. Florence Kelley (1924).....New York

Paul U. Kellogg (1925).....New York
 Owen R. Lovejoy (1923-24).....New York
 Annette Mann (1925).....Cincinnati
 Mrs. W. L. Murdoch (1923-24).....Birmingham
 Rev. John A. Ryan (1923-24).....Washington
 John R. Shillady (1924).....New York
 Arthur J. Todd (1925).....Chicago
 Mary Van Kleeck (1924).....New York
 Solomon Wolf (1923-24).....New Orleans

DIVISION VI—NEIGHBORHOOD AND COMMUNITY LIFE

Chairman, George A. Bellamy, Cleveland.

George A. Bellamy (1924).....Cleveland
 Dora Berres (1923-24).....Los Angeles
 LeRoy E. Bowman (1925).....New York
 H. S. Braucher (1925).....New York
 Henry F. Burt (1923-24).....Minneapolis
 Mrs. Ralph S. Doud (1924).....Toledo
 Dorothy Enderis (1924).....Milwaukee
 Corinne Fonde (1924).....Houston
 George E. Haynes (1923-24).....Nashville
 John Ihlder (1923-24).....Washington
 H. H. Jacobs (1923-24).....Milwaukee

E. C. Lindeman (1925).....New York
 Joseph C. Logan (1925).....Atlanta
 Edward H. Lynde (1925).....Madison
 Mary E. McDowell (1923-24).....Chicago
 Eleanor McMain (1924).....New Orleans
 Mrs. Beverley B. Mumford (1925).....Richmond
 J. B. Nash (1923-24).....Oakland
 Wilbur C. Phillips (1923-24).....New York
 Frederic Siedenburg (1923-24).....Chicago
 Robert A. Woods (1924).....Boston

DIVISION VII—MENTAL HYGIENE

Chairman, Frankwood E. Williams, M.D., New York.*Vice-Chairman*, Walter E. Fernald, M.D., Waverley, Mass.*Secretary*, Edith M. Furbush, New York.

Smiley Blanton, M.D. (1924).....Madison
 Mary V. Clark (1923-24).....New York
 Walter E. Fernald, M.D. (1923-24).....Waverley, Mass.
 Bernard Glueck, M.D. (1925).....New York
 George A. Hastings (1924).....New York
 Clark E. Higbee (1924).....Grand Rapids
 C. M. Hincks, M.D. (1925).....Toronto
 Arnold J. Jacoby, M.D. (1925).....Detroit
 Mary C. Jarrett (1924).....Boston
 Everett Kimball (1925).....Northampton
 Suzie L. Lyons (1923-24).....Baltimore

Mrs. Carleton Parker (1923-24).....New York
 Robert L. Richards, M.D. (1923-24).....Talmadge, Cal.
 Thomas W. Salmon, M.D. (1924).....New York
 Ada Edith Schweitzer, M.D. (1924).....Indianapolis
 Mrs. Maida H. Solomon (1925).....Boston
 Martha B. Strong (1924).....New York
 Jessie Taft (1925).....Philadelphia
 William A. White, M.D. (1923-24).....Washington
 Frankwood E. Williams, M.D. (1923-24).....New York
 Mrs. Helen Anderson Young (1925).....Minneapolis

DIVISION VIII—ORGANIZATION OF SOCIAL FORCES

Chairman, Robert W. Kelso, Boston.*Vice-Chairman*, Harry P. Wareheim, Rochester.*Secretary*, John P. Sanderson, New Bedford.

Scott deKins (1924).....St. Louis
 Guy T. Justin (1924).....Denver
 Sherman C. Kingsley (1924).....Philadelphia
 M. C. MacLean (1924).....Toronto
 T. A. Mason (1924).....Bridgeport
 W. F. Maxwell (1924).....Harrisburg

W. J. Norton (1924).....Detroit
 J. P. Sanderson (1924).....New Bedford
 Oscar Schoenherr (1924).....East Orange
 H. P. Wareheim (1924).....Rochester
 Elizabeth H. Webster (1924).....Chicago

DIVISION IX—PUBLIC OFFICIALS AND ADMINISTRATION

Chairman, Sanford Bates, Boston.*Vice-Chairman*, Mrs. Clarence A. Johnson, Raleigh.*Secretary*, John A. Brown, Indianapolis.

Burr Blackburn (1925).....Atlanta
 Alicia Brown (1923-24).....Dallas
 Herbert Brown (1923-24).....East View, N.Y.
 Mrs. Carrie P. Bryant (1924).....Los Angeles
 Peter Bryce (1925).....Toronto
 Amos W. Butler (1924).....Indianapolis
 Richard K. Conant (1925).....Boston
 Caroline M. Crosby (1925).....Minneapolis
 Clarence E. Ford (1925).....Albany
 J. E. Hagerty (1923-24).....Columbus
 Charles P. Kellogg (1923-24).....Hartford

Robert W. Kelso (1924).....Boston
 Rev. William J. Kerby (1924).....Washington
 W. L. Kuser (1924).....Eldora, Iowa
 James L. Lakin (1925).....Charleston, W.Va.
 Kenosha Sessions, M.D. (1923-24).....Indianapolis
 Mrs. Ada E. Sheffield (1924).....Boston
 H. H. Shirer (1923-24).....Columbus
 Lucy Sims (1923-24).....Paris, Ky.
 M. J. Tappins (1923-24).....Madison
 Forest S. Treat (1925).....Davenport
 G. Croft Williams (1924).....Columbia, S.C.

DIVISION X—THE IMMIGRANT

Chairman, Fred C. Croxton, Columbus.
Vice-Chairman, Mary C. Hurlbutt, New York.
Secretary, Bruce M. Mohler, Washington.

Grace Abbott.....Washington
 Jane Addams.....Chicago
 Paul Blanshard.....Rochester
 Rev. Charles T. Bridgeman.....New York
 Kate Claghorn.....New York
 Ruth Crawford.....New York
 Julius Drachler.....New York
 W. W. Husband.....Washington

Albert Jenks.....Minneapolis
 Julia C. Lathrop.....Rockford, Ill.
 Mary E. McDowell.....Chicago
 Rose McHugh.....Washington
 Herbert A. Miller.....Oberlin, Ohio
 Cecelia Razovsky.....New York
 Graham Taylor.....Chicago

PART 3

BUSINESS SESSIONS OF THE CONFERENCE: MINUTES

Friday, May 18, 1923

Meeting called to order by President Folks.

Mr. Robert W. Kelso, Chairman of the Committee on Plan of Nominations and Elections and to Consider Revision of Constitution and By-laws presented a partial report from his Committee recommending that the following amendment to Section 14 of the By-laws be adopted:

Dues shall cover the period of one full year from the date of their payment; but dues paid at the annual session in any year shall cover the period to the date of, but not including, the next annual session. Any person who was a member on the first day of January preceding and is a member on the date of voting shall be entitled to vote. At any business session fifty such qualified members shall constitute a quorum.

Motion carried that this amendment be adopted.

The President requested that Mr. Kelso present the recommendations of his Committee as to the nomination and election of officers at the next business meeting of the Conference, Tuesday, May 22, 1923.

Professor James Hagerty, Chairman of the Committee to Study the Value and Adaptability of Records of Social Service Organizations and Public Welfare Departments for Scientific and Teaching Purposes presented the following statement:

The Committee of the National Conference to Study the Value and Adaptability of Records of Social Service and Teaching Purposes met with members of the Research Committee of the American Sociological Society in Hotel Washington, May 18. After a discussion of the purposes and of the possible scope of the work of the joint committees, an agreement was reached with reference to a program of investigation for the coming year. Your Committee hereby requests that it be continued or that a similar committee be appointed for the coming year.

Motion carried that the Committee to Study the Value and Adaptability of Records of Social Service Organizations and Public Welfare Departments for Scientific and Teaching Purposes be continued for another year.

Dr. René Sand presented a proposal for an international conference of social work and invited the National Conference of Social Work to co-operate in this contemplated movement.

Motion carried that under the usual rules of the Conference this proposal be referred to the Executive Committee for re-submission, with their recommendation to the Conference.

Mr. Robert W. Kelso requested the privilege of reading a resolution dealing with law enforcement, which had been presented to him. After reading, a motion was carried that this resolution be referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Motion carried to adjourn.

Tuesday, May 22, 1923

Meeting called to order by President Folks.

The President read messages of congratulation from the Providence Chamber of Commerce and from the Home and Community Department of the American Farm Bureau Federation.

Miss Julia Lathrop, Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, presented the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the Secretary be instructed to express the thanks of the Conference to the local committees who have assisted him in the arrangements for its fiftieth anniversary meeting.

Resolved, That this National Conference of Social Work earnestly holds the opinion that social welfare cannot survive the destructive processes of modern warfare, and that it therefore urges its members and all citizens of all political parties and all religious faiths to join in advancing international understanding and amity by all practicable means.

WHEREAS, We believe that the use of alcoholic beverages is usually detrimental to individual health and to social welfare; therefore, we hope for the elimination of such beverages and urge complete and impartial law enforcement as a progressive means to that end.

Resolved, That the National Conference of Social Work, at its fiftieth anniversary, reiterates its conviction that it has been sufficiently demonstrated by careful investigation and study that both the regulation of child labor and the requirement of a minimum wage sufficient for "reasonable and frugal comfort" are essential, and that this Conference expresses its earnest hope that some constitutional means may be devised for sustaining the validity of statutes for either of these purposes wherever they are enacted.

WHEREAS, This Conference recognizes as an accumulated product of its experience in social work that poverty is the cause of a large part of the distress its members endeavor to alleviate or prevent, and

WHEREAS, Continuous research as to living costs, living standards and real wages is a necessary part of intelligent and orderly efforts to lessen poverty; therefore be it

Resolved, That we call upon colleges and universities to develop teaching in the methods of social and economic inquiry needed to this end; and further

Resolved, That the Conference heartily upholds the directions regarding investigation of living conditions and pay in the law creating the Fact-Finding Commission in the coal industry, which conclude with the words: "The standardized cost of living to the miners should be the first irreducible item of expense."

Motion carried that the first of these resolutions be adopted.

The President stated that action upon other resolutions presented by this committee, since in his opinion they dealt with matters of policy, must be deferred under the Constitution to a following meeting.

Miss Lathrop presented the following resolution submitted by Reverend Peter Bryce: *Resolved*, That the Constitution of the National Conference of Social Work be amended changing the name of the Conference to the "American Conference of Social Work."

The President ruled that since this resolution involved an amendment to the Constitution and By-laws, it must be referred to the Executive Committee prior to its presentation with their recommendation to the Conference.

Motion carried that when this meeting adjourned, it should adjourn to reconvene at 8:00 P.M., Wednesday, May 23.

Mr. Kingsley, Chairman of the Committee on Time and Place, presented the report of his committee recommending that the next annual meeting of the Conference be held in Des Moines, and moved the adoption of the committee's recommendation.

Mr. Kingsbury moved as an amendment that the name of Toronto be substituted for the name of Des Moines in the report of this committee.

Amendment seconded by Miss Lathrop.

Mr. Haynes of Cleveland moved as an amendment to the amendment that the name of Denver be substituted for that of Toronto.

After discussion of these amendments, the previous question was called for.

The Chair called for a vote on the amendment to the amendment. Amendment lost.

The Chair called for a vote on the amendment as originally amended. Carried.

Motion carried that the decision of the Conference to name Toronto as the next meeting place be made unanimous.

Motion carried that the time for holding the 1924 meeting be referred to the Executive Committee with power to act.

Mr. Robert Kelso reported the following recommendations of the Committee on Nomination and Election of Officers.:

NOMINATION AND ELECTION OF OFFICERS

1. The president shall appoint, within ninety days following the adjournment of the annual meeting of the Conference, a nominating committee of nine members, none of whom shall be an officer or a member of the Executive Committee of the Conference.

2. This committee shall have the function of nominating two or more persons for each of the offices of president, first vice-president, second vice-president, and third vice-president, and at least twice as many persons for members of the executive committee as there are vacancies occurring in that body.

3. The appointment and personnel of the nominating committee shall be published in the Bulletin next following.

4. Suggestions of names of persons for any of these positions may be submitted to the nominating committee by any member of the Conference at any time following the committee's appointment up to the time of the committee's announcement of the list of nominations.

5. Within ninety days of its appointment, the nominating committee shall, through the Bulletin, solicit suggestions of names of persons for the offices to be filled, and shall renew such solicitation in each succeeding Bulletin up to the time of announcing the list of nominations. The Committee shall appoint a place at or near headquarters on the first day of the annual meeting and shall announce the same, at which suggestions for nominations shall be received by them up to 1:15 P.M. of the second full day of the annual meeting.

6. After taking into consideration the names suggested by the Conference members, but not necessarily confining their consideration to these names, the committee shall draw up a list of nominations as previously specified, and the same shall be announced at the general session on the evening of the second full day of the conference.

7. At any time either before or following the publication of these nominations, additional nominations may be made by petition of not less than twenty-five members, properly addressed to the chairman of the nominating committee. Such nominations shall be received up to 1:00 P.M. on the third full day of the annual meeting.

8. A final list of all nominations shall be printed and published on the morning of the fourth full day of the annual meeting. At a business session of the Conference to be held on the fourth full day of the annual meeting these ballots shall be supplied to all qualified members present. Each ballot shall be marked by the voter to indicate his choice for the positions to be filled. The ballots shall then be collected and counted by three tellers appointed by the president, and the result announced at the next general session of the Conference. Election shall be decided by plurality of the votes cast.

Motion carried to adopt these recommendations as presented by the committee.

Motion carried that the Committee on Revising the Constitution and By-laws be continued and instructed to make further report next year.

The President directed that ballots be distributed, and named Mr. George A. Bellamy, Mr. Frank J. Bruno, and Miss Jessie Taft as tellers.

Mr. C. C. Carstens, Chairman of the Committee on Kindred Groups, presented the following report and asked that either this committee be continued or another committee be appointed for the purpose of further studying the problem under consideration:

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON KINDRED GROUPS

Tuesday, May 22, 1923

I. The Committee on Kindred Groups has given serious and extended consideration to the problems of organization and program of the National Conference itself, and of the Kindred Groups, whose separate existence is to be preserved and considered, and it respectfully submits to the Conference the results of its deliberations.

The factors in the problem of such importance as to be included in any reckoning of the situation are as follows:

1. The National Conference in the fifty years of its existence, although its constituencies have vastly enlarged and purposes broadened, has seen little change in its form of organization and purposes since its beginning.

2. A considerable number of agencies have come to hold their public program at the same time and place with the National Conference. Their number at this conference is at least twenty-five. They have the opportunity of reduced rates, publicity, free hall space, etc.

3. Many of these conferences are held in the days preceding the National Conference, with the result that many of their members leave at the opening of, or early in the week of, the National Conference, thus missing for themselves the value of any full association in the Conference, the Conference being denied the value of their contributions to its proceedings.

4. The National Conference has given impetus to the development of organizations representing certain of its interests and holding meetings quite apart in time and place from the National Conference. This cleavage is steadily going on. There are symptoms at this moment of the development among some closely associated organizations of a purpose of complete separation.

5. Another group of agencies has started independently, whose interests are so related to the Conference as to give basis for the broadening of the plan of the National Conference so as to attract them to direct beneficial relations with it. Instances are the American Prison Association, the American Child Health Association, the American Association for Labor Legislation, etc.

II. With such facts before us, we have to consider in what ways the broad interests of social work are to be safeguarded and promoted by the possible change in the plan and scope of the National Conference. In order that the National Conference of Social Work may have the right to its title, it needs the recognition throughout the country of its being a gathering of all the various forms of social work, and to develop a consciousness that the various groups are related parts of one whole; that they are related fields in human service.

III. It is, of course, essential to recognize the perils of any change. The most obvious one is a possible loss to the Conference of its distinctive value as a forum for the presentation and discussion of the broad questions and policies of social work. No change of plan would be tolerable which hampered this vital service to the people of this country, either confining it to a plane of technical discussion, or committing it to prescribed policies.

Consideration must also be given to the protection of the recognized specialized interests of the numerous kindred groups which should not be deprived of the fullest opportunity for expression within the sessions of the Conference, nor of unrestrained freedom of action outside of the Conference.

IV. It would be desirable if the program of the National Conference and of the kindred groups could be confined within a week, and at the same time the desirable ends could be attained and the perils avoided. At the very least there is such merit in the proposal that no effort should be spared in the direction of the further study and final accomplishment of such a broad design.

In any broad consideration of this problem the application of the federation idea cannot be left out of the discussion. Human experience in political and social fields has so well established the value of the union of related bodies on the points of their common interest, along with the preservation of their autonomy in their distinct interests, that it is impossible to say that this method has no application to an organization like the Conference of Social Work.

The committee realizes that the time has probably not arrived for the ready acceptance of that rule of government in this body. Hence, hardly more is to be considered at this moment, or in the immediate future, than the formation of a program policy, which as far as possible should serve both the broad general interest and the separated specific interests of organized social work.

To accomplish a unified program:

a) The Conference would be separated as at present into a certain number of divisions.

b) Each kindred group would be invited to affiliate with a division or divisions in the preparation of the program.

c) This being a project of program building, and not of conference government, there seems to be no objection to any one of the organizations being represented in more than one of the divisions.

d) Such representation should be by an authorized delegate from the kindred group on the Division Committee.

e) There probably should be a Conference representation on these committees in order to insure representation of the general, as well as the special, interests.

So organized, the program of each Conference session should be within the control of the division committee, subject, however, as at present, to the approval of the Executive Committee of the Conference.

The business session of all the kindred groups might well be held at the same specified time, so chosen as not to conflict either with the discussion periods or with the business sessions of the Conference.

Such meetings as are necessary for the discussion of the distinctly unique interests of any one of the constituent societies should, if practicable, be assigned a place within the Conference week, and without conflict as to time with any of the general discussion periods.

V. Your Committee goes no further at this time than to offer without recommendation the foregoing plan for such consideration as the Conference sees fit to give it, but to recommend that whatever action is

taken at this time, this report be referred to a committee for the gathering of precise information, consultation with officials of the kindred groups, and with members of the Conference, and for a study of the methods of other large national organizations similarly situated, with instructions to report to the next annual meeting of the Conference; and that the Executive Committee should take such steps as are practicable in applying the recommendations of the Kindred Group Committee with reference to the 1924 meeting of the Conference.

Respectfully submitted
For the Committee on Kindred Groups
Signed: C. C. CARSTENS
Chairman

Motion carried that the present committee be continued with instructions to carry on further investigations as suggested.

Motion made by Mr. de Schweinitz that a committee be appointed by the incoming President to consider the question of divisional reorganization, and that it be instructed to report at the next annual meeting.

Motion carried.

Motion carried to adjourn.

Wednesday evening, May 23, 1923

Meeting called to order by President Folks prior to the opening of the last general session of the Conference.

The Secretary reported that after consideration of the resolution presented by Reverend Peter Bryce and Mr. C. A. Dawson, concerning a change in name of the National Conference of Social Work, the Executive Committee recommended to the Conference that the name of the National Conference of Social Work remain unchanged.

Motion carried that this recommendation of the Executive Committee be adopted.

The Secretary read the following action of the Executive Committee with regard to the invitation received from Dr. Sand:

It is the opinion of the Executive Committee that the suggestion received through Dr. René Sand regarding the organization of an International Conference of Social Work is an interesting and important one; that the incoming President is authorized to appoint a committee with power to participate in formulating plans for such a conference without committing the Conference to any financial responsibility unless special funds be available therefor; or the Executive Committee shall so authorize by a two-thirds vote; and that the incoming President and Executive Committee are authorized to take such further steps in relation to the conference as may seem to them advisable from time to time, subject to the same financial condition.

Motion carried that the report of the Executive Committee on this subject be adopted by the Conference.

The Secretary announced the result of the election of officers as follows: President, Miss Grace Abbott; First Vice-President, Lee K. Frankel; Second Vice-President, Rev. Peter Bryce; Third Vice-President, Judge James Hoge Ricks. Executive Committee Members: Miss M. Edith Campbell, Cincinnati; Mrs. Martha P. Falconer, New York; John Gillin, Madison; M. C. MacLean, Toronto; Miss Amelia Sears, Chicago.

The President ruled that in his opinion the resolutions referred to the Conference for action at this meeting were unconstitutional because they violated the Preamble to the Constitution, which reads as follows:

The National Conference of Social Work exists to facilitate discussion of the problems and methods of practical human improvement, to increase the efficiency of agencies and institutions devoted to this cause, and to disseminate information. It does not formulate platforms.

Miss Lathrop, as Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, stated that her Committee deferred to this decision by the President but requested the privilege of reading the resolutions thus referred in order that the members of the Conference might be made familiar with their content. This privilege was granted and Miss Lathrop read and commented upon the resolutions presented at the Tuesday business meeting of the Conference.

Motion carried to adjourn.

PART 4

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

CONSTITUTION

Preamble

The National Conference of Social Work exists to facilitate discussion of the problems and methods of practical human improvement, to increase the efficiency of agencies and institutions devoted to this cause and to disseminate information. It does not formulate platforms.

Membership

Any individual or organization interested in the purposes and work of the National Conference may, upon payment of the prescribed membership fee for their membership classification, become a member of the Conference. Membership in the Conference shall be of the following classes: (1) honorary members—to be selected and elected by the Executive Committee, (2) regular members, (3) sustaining members, (4) institutional members, (5) contributing members. State boards and commissions supporting the Conference through subscription to the *Proceedings*, the enlistment of memberships or otherwise financially, shall be designated "state members." State, district, and local conferences may become affiliated with the National Conference under such rules as may be established from time to time by the Executive Committee.

Officers

The officers of the Conference shall be a President, First, Second, and Third Vice-Presidents, a General Secretary, six or more Assistant Secretaries, a Treasurer; also a Corresponding Secretary from each State, Territory, and Province of the United States and Canada.

The President and Vice-Presidents shall be elected annually by the Conference; the Corresponding Secretaries shall be appointed by the General Secretary, and the remaining officers shall be appointed by the Executive Committee.

Committees

The Executive Committee shall consist of the President, the First Vice-President and the Treasurer, ex-officio the chairmen of all of the Division Committees, ex-officio and fifteen other members who shall be elected by the Conference, five each year for a term of three years; vacancies shall be filled in like manner. The Executive Committee shall hold all of the powers of the Conference between meetings, not otherwise reserved or delegated. It may enact rules supplementing the By-Laws and not in conflict with them. The President shall be ex-officio chairman; five members shall constitute a quorum at sessions held during annual meetings and three members at other sessions.

The President shall appoint the committees named in the By-Laws and such other committees as may be ordered by the Conference or the Executive Committee from time to time.

Annual Meetings

The Conference shall meet annually at such time and place as may be determined by the preceding Conference, as provided in the By-Laws. The Executive Committee shall have authority to change the time or place of the annual meeting in case satisfactory local arrangements cannot be made or for other urgent reasons.

General Secretary

The General Secretary shall be the executive officer of the Conference and shall perform his duties under such rules as may be prescribed by the By-Laws or by the Executive Committee.

Amendments

This Constitution and the By-Laws under it may be amended at any business meeting of the Conference, provided that such amendment shall have first been presented to and considered by the Executive Committee.

BY-LAWS

1. Membership Fees. Affiliated Conferences

Membership fees for the following classifications shall be: for regular members with the *Proceedings*, \$5, without the *Proceedings*, \$3; for sustaining members, \$10; for institutional members, \$25. [No individual shall be entitled to hold institutional membership, this membership being reserved solely for agencies, organizations, and institutions]; for contributing members, \$25 or over. [Contributing memberships shall be limited to individuals contributing \$25 or over and to such organizations as may contribute any sum in excess of the membership fee for an institutional membership and which shall elect to be classed as contributing rather than as institutional members.] Sustaining members, institutional members, and contributing members shall be entitled to receive both the *Bulletin* and the annual volume of *Proceedings*.

State conferences similar in nature to the National Conference of Social Work may affiliate with the National Conference through payment of an annual fee of twenty-five dollars and through approval of the application for affiliation by the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee may modify the amount of the fee in case of any conference which may be unable to pay the stipulated fee. State conferences shall be invited to pay more than the fee indicated in order to build up the service of the National Conference on behalf of the state organizations. A separate accounting shall be made of the receipts into and expenditures from this state conference fund.

2. *Duties of Officers*

The President shall be chairman ex-officio of the Executive Committee and of the Program Committee. He shall appoint all committees except the Executive Committee unless otherwise ordered by the Conference or the Executive Committee.

The Treasurer shall keep the funds of the Conference in such bank as may be designated by the Executive Committee. He shall keep his accounts in such form as may be prescribed by the Executive Committee and pay out funds on voucher checks in form to be prescribed by the Executive Committee, and his accounts shall be audited quarterly by a firm of certified accountants appointed annually by the Executive Committee. He shall give bond in an amount approximating the largest amount of Conference funds held at his disposal at any one time, the expense of the bond to be paid by the Conference.

The General Secretary shall have charge of the office and records of the Conference, and shall conduct its business and correspondence under direction of the Executive Committee. He shall make arrangements for the annual meeting. He shall direct the activities of the Assistant Secretaries, Corresponding Secretaries, and other aids: he shall be the official editor of the volume of proceedings, the periodical Bulletin and other publications of the Conference and shall have charge of the distribution of the Conference Literature. He shall develop the membership of the Conference; he shall co-operate with state conferences of charities and other local organizations. He shall conduct an information bureau pertaining to the service of the Conference and shall perform such other duties as may be prescribed by the Executive Committee. He shall receive such compensation as shall be fixed by the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee shall have authority to appoint such other employees as they may deem necessary and to fix their compensation.

3. *Finance*

The financial management of the Conference shall be vested in the Executive Committee. No final action involving finances shall be taken by the Conference unless the question shall have been referred to the Executive Committee.

The Operating Fund shall consist of receipts from memberships and from the local organization entertaining the Conference. The Publication and Educational Service Fund shall consist of receipts from sales of publications and other funds which may be set apart for this purpose. The Executive Committee may accept donations for the creation of funds for other purposes germane to the work of the Conference, provided that no endowment funds shall be accepted in perpetuity; but all such funds must be subject to change of objects or to immediate expenditure; but such change or expenditure must be authorized by a three-fourths vote of the members of the Conference present at a regular meeting and such proposition must first have been submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee.

4. *Appointment of Committees*

Within three months after the adjournment of the meeting the President shall appoint the following named committees:

a) A Committee of three on Resolutions, to which all resolutions shall be referred without debate. No final action shall be taken on any resolution involving a matter of policy at the same session at which it is reported by the Committee on Resolutions.

b) A Committee of twenty or more on Time and Place of the next meeting. This committee shall meet on the afternoon or evening of the first day after the opening session of the Conference for the purpose of receiving invitations from cities, and shall give a reasonable time for the presentation of such invitations. In the proceedings of the committee only the votes of members present shall be counted. The committee shall report to the Conference not later than the fourth day of the meeting. Action on the report of the committee shall be by a rising vote. The city receiving the highest vote shall be selected.

c) A permanent Program Committee consisting of five members shall be appointed by the incoming President of the Conference, this committee to consist of the retiring President, the newly-elected President, who shall act as chairman, the General Secretary, one member of the Executive Committee who is not Chairman of a Division to be appointed for two years, one member of the Executive Committee who is not a Chairman of a Division to be appointed for one year. After the first year of this committee's existence each incoming President shall appoint one new member to serve for a period of two years on this committee.

5. *Divisions*

a) The programs of the Conference shall be grouped under Divisions, of which the following shall be continuous: (1) Children; (2) Delinquents and Correction; (3) Health; (4) The Family; (5) Industrial and Economic Problems; (6) Neighborhood and Community Life; (7) Mental Hygiene; (8) Organization of Social Forces; (9) Public Officials and Administration.

b) Other Divisions may be created for a period of one or more years by the Executive Committee or by the membership at the annual meeting, provided the proposal therefor is first submitted to the Executive Committee for recommendation.

c) Each continuous Division shall be in charge of a committee of not less than nine persons, nominated by the Conference members registered in the Division and elected at the annual meeting of Conference members. One-third of the members of the Division Committee shall be elected each year to serve terms of three years each.

d) Each other Division not continuous shall be in charge of a committee appointed by the Executive Committee, or if created by the membership, in such manner as the membership shall determine at the annual meeting.

- e) Each Division Committee shall have power:
 - (1) To arrange the annual Conference programs coming within its field, subject to the approval of the Executive Committee.
 - (2) To arrange meetings both of general and of special interest within its field, the special meetings being arranged directly by the committee or by groups selected by them.
 - (3) To arrange upon the request of the Executive Committee one or more general Conference sessions.
 - (4) To arrange the annual business meeting of the Division and to provide for the nominations for the succeeding year.
- f) Each Division shall annually nominate a chairman to be elected at the annual business meeting of the Conference. The Division Committee shall each year after the annual election elect a Division Secretary, subject to the approval of the Conference Executive Committee.
- g) The nomination of chairman and members of the Division Committees shall be made at the annual business meeting of each Division, to be held within the first three days of the annual Conference.
- h) Vacancies in the Division Committees shall be filled at the annual meeting in the same manner as the election of new members. Vacancies in the office of chairman or secretary between meetings shall be filled by the Division Committee, subject to the approval of the Conference Executive Committee.
- i) The Conference Executive Committee shall have general supervision over the work of all Division Committees with the power to pass on all programs, in order to insure the harmonious conduct of all parts of the work.
- j) Any member of the National Conference may register in any or all divisions.
- k) On petition to a Division Committee signed by any twenty-five members of the Conference, requesting the inclusion of programs on a special topic, within its field, the Division Committee may organize such programs, either directly or in co-operation with a committee appointed by it. In case of declination or failure of the Division Committee to act, the petition shall be referred to the Executive Committee for final action.
- l) The public evening meetings of the National Conference shall be arranged by the Conference Executive Committee, either directly or through the Division Committees.
- m) The Chairmen of the Divisions of the Conference shall be ex-officio members of the Executive Committee of the National Conference.

6. Kindred Groups

Independent associations may arrange with the National Conference Executive Committee meetings to be held immediately before or during the National Conference and announced in the official program. The Executive Committee shall make such rules and regulations as are necessary from time to time to provide for such meetings.

7. Submission of Questions

Any Division or group desiring to submit any question to the Conference shall present it to the Executive Committee for preliminary consideration, at least twenty-four hours before the final adjournment of the Conference, and the Executive Committee shall report out such question before the final adjournment.

8. Business Sessions

At the annual meeting at least one session shall be held at which only matters of business shall be considered. The time of this session shall be announced in the last issue of the Bulletin preceding the meeting. The officers of the Conference shall endeavor to concentrate on this occasion as much as possible of the business of the Conference.

The right to vote shall be restricted to qualified* members of the Conference; and on request of

* See section 14.

twenty-five members, at any business session the President shall require persons who are not voters to retire before a final vote is taken.

9. Discussions and Debates. Division Meetings

[All meetings of the Conference except general sessions shall be arranged so as to facilitate informal discussion. The reading of papers shall be avoided as much as possible, except in case of the presentation of intricate analyses or of extensive data considered essential by the Division Chairman.]

[In the (informal) discussions of the Conference speakers shall be limited to five minutes each, except by unanimous consent and shall not be allowed to speak twice on any subject until all others have had an opportunity to be heard.]

The chairmen of divisions shall preside at section meetings of their divisions or shall appoint presiding officers in their stead.

Speakers shall address the chair and be recognized before proceeding. They shall not be allowed to proceed until their names, their home cities, and their official positions have been announced. Speakers on informal discussion shall be limited to five minutes each, except by majority approval of those present, and shall not be permitted to speak more than once until all others have had an opportunity to be heard.

Section meetings are designed chiefly for informal discussions. Speakers will be encouraged to address their audiences directly, avoiding as much as possible the continuous reading of papers. No address at a section meeting shall continue for more than thirty minutes, except by consent of those present with a majority vote. No paper shall be presented in the absence of its author, except by a majority vote of those present. Chairmen shall provide for the limitation of total time consumed by prearranged addresses at any section meeting to one hour. Limitation to a shorter period is suggested as being usually preferable.

Chairmen shall announce at the outset of all meetings or at any more appropriate time that all speakers should hand papers, speaking notes, or other data that may be helpful in the preparation of the volume of *Proceedings* to the official reporter present at the meeting announcing the name of the reporter

and arranging for him to be seated nearby. Amplification in the *Proceedings* of matter summarized in addresses shall be permitted upon specific request of division chairmen and approval by the editor of the *Proceedings*.

10. Minutes

A certified copy of the minutes of the business transactions of the annual meeting, excepting official documents, shall be posted by the General Secretary on the official bulletin board at least three hours before the final meeting, in order that the said minutes may be corrected by the Conference, if any question of accuracy be raised before adjournment. The minutes of any business session held after such posting shall be approved at the close of that session.

11. Library

A library for current reference and for historical purposes shall be maintained by the Conference.

12. Local Arrangements

The local arrangements for the annual meeting shall be subject to the approval of the Executive Committee of the Conference.

13. Nomination and Election of Officers

1. The President shall appoint within ninety days following the adjournment of the annual meeting of the Conference, a nominating committee of nine members, none of whom shall be an officer or a member of the Executive Committee of the Conference.

2. This committee shall have the function of nominating two or more persons for each of the offices of President, first vice-president, second vice-president, and third vice-president, and at least twice as many persons for members of the executive committee as there are vacancies occurring in that body.

3. The appointment and personnel of the nominating committee shall be published in the Bulletin next following.

4. Suggestions of names of persons for any of these positions may be submitted to the nominating committee by any member of the Conference at any time following the committee's appointment up to the time of the committee's announcement of the list of nominations.

5. Within ninety days of its appointment, the nominating committee shall, through the Bulletin, solicit suggestions of names of persons for the offices to be filled, and shall renew such solicitation in each succeeding Bulletin up to the time of announcing the list of nominations. The committee shall appoint a place at or near headquarters on the first day of the annual meeting and shall announce the same, at which suggestions for nominations shall be received by them up to 1:15 P.M. of the second full day of the annual meeting.

6. After taking into consideration the names suggested by the Conference members, but not necessarily confining their consideration to these names, the committee shall draw up a list of nominations as previously specified, and the same shall be announced at the general session on the evening of the second full day of the Conference.

7. At any time either before or following the publication of these nominations, nominations may be made by petition of not less than twenty-five members, properly addressed to the chairman of the nominating committee. Such nominations shall be received up to one o'clock P.M. on the third full day of the annual meeting.

8. A final list of all nominations shall be printed and published on the morning of the fourth full day of the annual meeting. At a business session of the Conference to be held on the fourth full day of the annual meeting, these ballots shall be supplied to all qualified members present. Each ballot shall be marked by the voter to indicate his choice for the positions to be filled. The ballots shall then be collected and counted by three tellers appointed by the president and the result announced at the next general session of the Conference. Election shall be decided by plurality of the votes cast.

14. Voting Quorum

Dues shall cover the period of one full year from the date of their payment; but dues paid at the annual session in any year shall cover the period to the date of but not including the next annual session. Any person who was a member on the first day of January preceding and is a member on the date of voting shall be entitled to vote. At any business session fifty such qualified members shall constitute a quorum.

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